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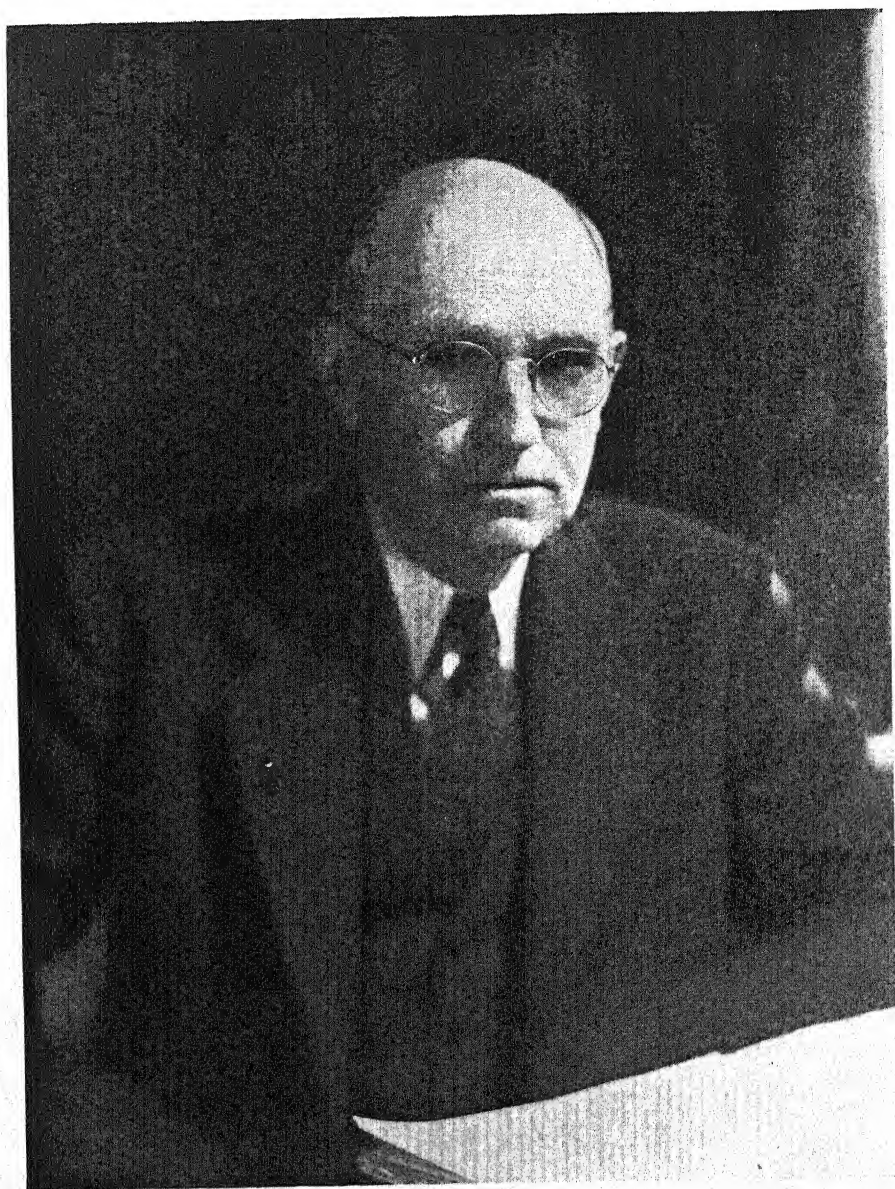
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ALBERT TEN EYCK OLMSTEAD
1880-1945

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ALBERT TEN EYCK OLMSTEAD MEMORIAL ISSUE

ALBERT TEN EYCK OLMSTEAD, 1880-1945

JOHN A. WILSON

ALBERT TEN EYCK OLMSTEAD'S scholarship formed a bridge between two traditions in ancient oriental history. He was one of the last of the comprehensive ancient historians who addressed themselves to the full range of pre-Islamic history. He was one of the first of the professional ancient historians who subjected the pre-classical and classical cultures of the Orient to a methodological technique adapted from the researches in the natural sciences.

Two statements may serve to illustrate the range over which Olmstead's scholarship played. His graduate seminar in ancient oriental history attracted prehistorians, physical archeologists, students of the Old and New Testaments, Egyptologists, Assyriologists, classical scholars, and Islamists, each of whom found his particular value in the teacher's encyclopedic knowledge and training in method. When, in 1944, Olmstead's department at the University of Chicago considered his approaching retirement and the problem of adequate teaching in ancient oriental history, it was quite clear that there had been a great change in one generation of scholarship. So vast had been the expansion of the field that a single man could no longer cover its manifold aspects

competently and with assurance. Olmstead himself realized that and had turned his students toward specialized work. It is now necessary to split Olmstead's general history course into three or four courses by specialists dealing with specific periods and cultures. On these specialists there must lie an increased responsibility to work co-operatively for unity and coherence in order to maintain Olmstead's integrated viewpoint of ancient culture.

The term "professional historian" applies, not to a salaried position, but to a state of mind, to a methodology of craftsmanship. The search for truth has become a Holy Grail. In that statement resides the dilemma of the historian, for truth demands the dispassionate analysis of the natural scientists, yet the quest for truth calls forth the passionate devotion of the zealot. Olmstead was a devoted man. He gave himself so wholeheartedly to his quest that he had no physical strength to spare, and a premature death caught him short of the goals which he had set for himself. Is such ardor compatible with that will-o'-the-wisp, scientific objectivity? In part, this appreciation will address itself to that question. In part, the answer is clear in general terms. No man can be objective in writing about man. The

honest historian seeks a balance between the warmth of his heart in valuing the achievements and failures of man and the cold calculations of his mind in the methodology of discovering, dissecting, measuring, and weighing his source materials. That Olmstead was successful in achieving this combination of fire and ice is attested by the respect of his professional colleagues and the devotion of his professional students.

How did Olmstead pursue the profession of historian in dealing with materials from ancient and alien cultures? How did he ride forth on his holy quest? What were his aims, the rules which shaped his course? What were his background and training, his equipment for the tasks to which he set himself? The answers to some of these questions will be given by quotations from Olmstead's own writings. The answers to some of them will appear in his own history, from his undergraduate days onward.

The boy who entered Cornell nearly fifty years ago must already have been of tempered steel, but there were skilled armorers there who shaped and pointed the metal into a skilled tool.¹ A professor of medieval history hammered insistently on historical method. A teacher of classical history set the model of Eduard Meyer, whom Olmstead considered "the master of contemporary historians of antiquity." An Orientalist of wide gifts, Nathaniel Schmidt, gave direction, balance, and thrust. An assistant librarian, in his spare time, gave a delicacy of touch in the treatment of ancient syntax. The instrument was finished there and remained essentially unchanged. It did have its years of applied use.

Cornell also offered the first opportunities to visit the field. Nathaniel Schmidt was director of the American School of

Oriental Research at Jerusalem in 1904-5. Olmstead, who was working on his doctorate at the time, was awarded the Thayer Fellowship at that school. Three years later he was to lead an ascetic little group through much wider ranges of the Turkish Empire—almost literally on foot. This pacing-off of the ground was not simply a product of youthful vigor and poverty. His colleagues recall with awe the Near Eastern trip of the Olmstead family in 1936-37, when they insisted with the utmost assurance that they must visit the most uncomfortable and out-of-the-way historical sites. Olmstead felt that the historian must know through his own eyes and through the soles of his own feet the terrain which was the scene of his studies.

Where was Jesus' home? We visit the Holy Land. Far and wide we tramp the country until no spot Jesus once trod has escaped our notice. . . . We strike up acquaintance with the people, for the inhabitants of Palestine have changed little in the last nineteen centuries. We talk to them on the way . . . in their own tongue. . . . By night, we sleep in the villages to remark customs once observed by the Master. As we come to respect and even admire these men of so alien a race and religion, we increase our understanding of Jesus.²

Here was a young man who launched his career in what was then considered a world of "Bible Peoples," of pre-classical cultures, who was neither theologian, classicist, nor philologist. He was a historian. But historians were then almost unanimously interested in later cultures. Students of the pre-classical Orient still took their compass directions from the Bible text, and the central problem on the Bible text was still source criticism. Olmstead felt that there should be some reversal of direction, that a phase of history should be understood through its larger setting. He honestly faced the fact that so

¹ *Jesus*, pp. 276-77; *History of Assyria*, p. xv.

² *Jesus*, p. viii.

detached an attitude might affront the inherited reverence which the Bible narrative carried.

Far more difficult is the problem of the Hebrew sources. One difficulty is unique. Our chief sources are contained in the Old Testament, our Sacred Book. . . . The Higher Criticism grew up in battle, and the Higher Critics were inevitably affected by the atmosphere. Some Critics were truly religious, anxious to preserve as much of the old faith as the new light would permit; their position is understandable, even praiseworthy, and the historian of the nineteenth century will do ample justice to their service in bridging the gap from the old to the new, but from the standpoint of an objective historical criticism, their "tendency" is only too clear. Quite as human, though perhaps less worthy of commendation, was the attitude of those who had become disillusioned with the old faith, and consciously or unconsciously showed a destructive "tendency," which if possible was even less "scientific."

Now the first object of the historian is to discover the truth. Whether the ascertained facts agree with his personal opinions is a matter of no importance. He should be on guard against his own personal "tendency," in fact his attitude should be that of complete detachment, almost of indifference. . . . He must assume that his subject is no different in essentials from other fields of history, and that the same principles are always involved.³

Unified treatment of Hebrew development from barbarous nomads to the world's greatest religious teachers affords certain obvious advantages, but it inevitably ignores equally important aspects whose full significance we are only beginning to realize. . . . We cannot hope to understand Hebrew religion unless we project its development against the background of contemporary history.⁴

Preceding studies in source criticism have generally ignored the fact that all their con-

clusions are of tentative value only, until tested and proved through incorporation of the results in a full-length history. . . . The present volume has been written through the use of an almost complete history of the later ancient Near East extending from Cyrus to Muhammad, in which oriental sources are used side by side with the Greek and Latin, and in which the viewpoint is that of the Near East itself.⁵

In the young historian who set himself so exacting and so comprehensive a goal there was a very real force, which he felt to be valid and new. But the force was new in the world of its application. Such a force, to be effective, must find a hearing, and there seemed to be no place for it and its prophet in contemporary circles. At first he was a solitary figure crying out in the wilderness.

When one young graduate student, suspecting that there might be a future in the ancient history of the Near East, attended his first meeting of the American Historical Association, he was treated courteously but inspected curiously as a strange animal who had wandered into the wrong zoo.⁶

Gaining a hearing for a new attitude was a slow process, and a lonely one. Gradually Olmstead's enthusiasm attracted other converts who dared to take themselves seriously as professional historians. It was some years before the American Historical Association gave its blessing to a new movement by setting up an ancient history section for the annual meeting. The credit for this victory is Olmstead's.⁷

Preaching and practice went together. For thirty-six years Olmstead was a university teacher of ancient history, at Missouri (1909-17), at Illinois (1917-29), and at Chicago (1929-45). He poured out

³ *Jesus*, pp. 291, 294.

⁴ "Hebrew History and Historical Method," in *Persecution and Liberty: Essays in Honor of George Lincoln Burr* (1931), pp. 21-22.

⁵ From Olmstead's appreciation of Breasted, published in the *Open Court*, January, 1936, p. 1.

⁷ "History, Ancient World, and the Bible," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, II (1943), 27.

⁴ *History of Palestine and Syria*, p. vii.

a flood of articles, the majority of which were pilot works leading up to his books. The books thus far published are four: *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria* (1908), *History of Assyria* (1923), *History of Palestine and Syria* (1931), and *Jesus in the Light of History* (1942). He completed a manuscript on the history of the Persian Empire, and its publication may be expected. But his projected histories of New Testament times and of the Hellenistic and Iranian Orient remain unfinished.

The finished books show that sound historical method produces sound history. Each of these works was a landmark in its stated area and period. After more than twenty years, the *History of Assyria* could, of course, be enlarged by recent discoveries, but needs no essential correction in its presentation of the slow growth of a nation, the brilliant flowering of an empire, the first establishment of the principles of empire for future states to follow, and the basic elements of worth in the often maligned Assyrian. The truly great achievements of the Hebrews in religious thought and precept stand out in proper relief in the *History of Palestine and Syria*, in which the Hebrews are treated as one of the peoples of greater Syria, understandable through their larger setting, but also best appreciated as the noblest culmination of that setting. The book *Jesus* is a historical contribution in the same terms, but it stands out even more boldly, because here we have an Orientalist writing about an extraordinary development in the oriental scene. Olmstead's combination of knowledge of the larger background, methods of analysis, and attitude of mind produces a book which makes Jesus' teaching specifically applicable to his time and place—and an inspiration for any time and any place. Books like these cannot be tossed off in a

year or two; they are the products of years of consistent scholarship.

Teaching provided two opportunities. At the undergraduate level, he discussed the most recent discoveries and theories in terms intelligible to that audience. This was training in making simple and straightforward the historian's sequential statement, and he wrote his books as he spoke them. One can often catch his intonation or a characteristic turn of verbal expression in them. That does not imply ease of composition. His lecture courses were different from year to year, and his manuscript was written, re-written, and re-written again. There was nothing static in his mode of expression.

His graduate seminars served an even more specific purpose as battlegrounds and testing-grounds.

Year after year my students have minutely investigated with me in connection with our Seminar in Oriental History the background of New Testament times. Two of these years were devoted to the intertestamental literature, two more to the New Testament itself.⁸

He has acknowledged some of the specific contributions which these students made to his researches. On their side, the students had an exciting and rewarding experience. One of them has testified to the value of his teaching.

Some of us, his graduate students, members of his perpetual seminar in Ancient History, were privileged to belong to an inner circle, an intimate group who met Professor Olmstead at his best. . . . He taught us the fundamentals of research and led us to share in his discoveries. In the informal intimacy of our sessions we could see his mind at work—his insistence upon exactness and care in treating with facts, his wealth of information and many-sided interests, the skill of his analysis, the keenness of his judgment, his patience with stubborn facts, his aptitude at synthesis, his relentlessness as a debater. He not only gave

⁸ *Jesus*, p. 275.

criticism but likewise sought it, even from us, his students.⁹

Olmstead gave wholehearted devotion to his students. All of them were welcomed to the teas at his home, the hilarious Christmas party, or the annual picnic. To the more advanced products of his teaching he was a fiercely loyal elder brother, encouraging, chiding, defending, counseling. He gave and accepted devotion with enthusiasm.

How successful, then, was this man in attaining his goal of "complete detachment, almost of indifference"? More successful, perhaps, than the rest of us. But his writings and his talks certainly did not consist of bloodless conjugations of selected facts, construed by inexorable law. This was a man of deep-set emotions, and his heart responded to the emotions of men of the past. He was well aware that the historian must have a heart and give his heart play. He sought for a balance between thorough objectivity and human sympathy. Writing of history as both science and art, he gave his credo on the attitude of the professional historian.

Once he has begun his youthful training, the would-be historian must take a self-imposed oath of more than Hippocratic severity. Difficult though it may be in actual practice, he must strive to attain the same objectivity as the natural scientist. He must forget the prejudices of his race, his people, his social class, his religion, and his sect. He must free himself of any influence from his school of thought and from the more subtle influences which he breathes in the very atmosphere of his time. . . . It is his duty to see that justice is done to all and that the rules of historical evidence are strictly enforced. Since he is but human, he will often fail to reach his ideal; nevertheless, this is the profession of faith by the historian.

But the historian is more than a judge. Because he is human, it is possible for him to

understand sympathetically the men of the long-distant past. In a deeper sense than was meant by the Roman comic poet, he must say from his heart: "I am a man; nothing human do I consider alien from me." . . . He will never succeed in his attempt to re-create the past unless for the time he can lay aside the intellectual trappings of the modern world and in his imagination place himself in the environment of the men he describes.¹⁰

Certainly no one can subject himself in imagination to another environment and remain completely objective, as Olmstead saw when he laid down this element of balance. But balance is never easy, and it is particularly difficult where religious emotion and long-standing tradition insistently pull to the right or to the left. In his treatment of Jesus as a historical figure Olmstead therefore set himself his most difficult professional problem. He was well aware of the nature of his task, and he had confidence that his standards of craftsmanship were adequate.

Must the historian abandon all attempt to picture the historical Jesus? Must he remain content to write a book which simply repeats what the disciples thought about their Master? Must Jesus always be to us a dimly recognizable figure, seen vaguely through wavering clouds of doubt? Or can the historian report in all honesty that he has met the Great Prophet face to face under the blazing light of history? . . .

Who, then, was Jesus of Nazareth? The answer is presented in the following pages. At long last, Jesus makes his own appearance in the full light of history.¹¹

The resultant figure is presented as a man, essentially like unto ourselves and therefore understandable by us, and a man who lived in a time of political, social, and intellectual ferments not unlike our own.

¹⁰ "History, Ancient World, and the Bible," *op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹¹ *Jesus*, pp. vii, xi.

⁹ From a tribute by Raymond A. Bowman.

Jesus was a Jew, living in the early first century of our era, and he can be understood to the full only in terms of his time and race. His intellectual background was that of the Jewish lower middle class.¹²

Thus the dispassionate historian. But there is also present the sympathetic human. Historical dispassion must not eliminate the words of emotional valuation. Adjectives and adverbs must do justice to "the central figure of world history."

No man could have so impressed himself upon his disciples as to survive so shameful a death had he not given and received an intense love. Even today, in far distant lands and under far different environment, despite the handicap of an alien language and a foreign race, the attractiveness of Jesus is strongly felt. His life is still an inspiration, yet more so his heroic death. Few as are his surviving utterances, they appeal to us today as never before.¹³

This is history as it should be written: the objective assemblage and analysis of data, the objective articulation of those data into a consecutive story, and the subjective evaluation of those data in terms of human experience. The historian has a positive duty to state *himself* in reporting the work to which he has given so much thought. Without that element of subjectivity, history would be arid and valueless. It is only necessary to hold personal valuations in some restraint and to make it clear where objectivity ends and subjectivity begins. This Olmstead accomplished. In testimony I should like to adduce two reviewers of *Jesus* as witnesses.

The first reviewer addresses himself essentially to method and is impressed with the objectivity of the book.

Here for the first time the critical judgment accruing from a lifetime of historical research has been brought to bear on the source material of the life and teachings of Jesus. . . . He has accordingly put Jesus more correctly in his

environment than any other writer, and his knowledge of the literary milieu of Jesus has enlightened many a difficult point in his life and teachings. . . . No one can gainsay the years of careful research and the wide scholarship that went into the making of this book, nor its objective approach.¹⁴

The second review was written from the more restrained attitude of the papyrologist, who might be expected to express some skepticism to the new method. Here the emphasis is chiefly on result rather than method, and the reviewer points out the subjective element.

He has a real reverence for his subject, but at the same time handles the evidence from the point of view of the historian. . . . His reconstruction, for example, of the education and literary background of Jesus is admirable, and his narrative is full of vivid touches drawn from experience of the daily life, so constant amid all political and religious changes, of the Palestinian peasantry. . . . If he does not quite give us Jesus "in the full light of history" he does give a reverent and very meritorious, though largely subjective, reconstruction of His life and teaching founded on careful study and profound knowledge.¹⁵

This, then, is the full historian. He is unflaggingly diligent in maintaining the high standards of his profession, thoroughly faithful to the data which he must reconstruct, patient in analysis and synthesis. He is also a human, loyal to the emotional standards which have persisted through man's years, reverent toward that which merits devotion, and wrathful against that which violates the directions of man's heart. Such a balance makes the whole man. May we, who follow him, who so admired his knowledge and his method, also achieve some of that balance of mind and heart, so that we too may be better historians.

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¹⁴ Theophile J. Meek, in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, II (1943), 124.

¹⁵ H. I. Bell, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1943, pp. 274 ff.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 270.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

CUNEIFORM MATERIAL FOR EGYPTIAN PROSOPOGRAPHY 1500-1200 B.C.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

THE study of ancient Near Eastern personal names, both prosopographically and linguistically, has made notable progress in recent years. Landmarks like Hermann Ranke's monumental work (based on the collections of the Berlin *Wörterbuch*), *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1935), and *Nuzi Personal Names*, by Ignace J. Gelb, Pierre M. Purves, and Allan A. MacRae (University of Chicago Press, 1943) have enormously facilitated detailed surveys of restricted segments. A number of smaller studies are models of their kind: I mention, for example, Theo Bauer's monograph, *Die Ostkanaänder* (Leipzig, 1926), still very useful, though in process of being antiquated rapidly by the publication of the Mari tablets. An important work which I have not yet seen is Wilhelm Eilers' *Iranische Beamtennamen in der keilschriftlichen Überlieferung*, Part I (Leipzig, 1940); to judge from previous publications of his in related fields, Eilers was remarkably well qualified for this task.

Two particularly interesting groups of names preserved in cuneiform transcriptions of the period 1600-1200 B.C. are the Indo-Aryan names and the Egyptian names, some seventy of each of which have been recognized so far. The former have been studied and will be published by Roger T. O'Callaghan and Paul-Émile Dumont, who have demonstrated (contrary to my own previous view) that the names in question are specifically Indic and not proto-Iranian at all, i.e., they probably belong to an earlier wave of Aryan migration from Central Eurasia, preceding the Iranian movement by many

centuries. The latter are collected in this paper.

In 1910 all then recognized Egyptian names in cuneiform transcription were admirably collected and discussed by Ranke, in his basic treatment, *Keilschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vokalisation* (cited here as *KMAV*).¹ After the publication of the Boğazköy tablets had begun, Ranke published a number of excellent short papers on new transcriptions of Egyptian names in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*. Controlling both the cuneiform and the Egyptian sources, and being in continuous direct touch with all the leading German investigators, Ranke's work was first class in quality.

In this paper I am listing and discussing (with references to adequate treatments elsewhere wherever possible) all available Egyptian personal names from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth dynasties which are found transcribed in contemporary cuneiform tablets. Names of gods and

¹ Note the following abbreviations: *AKF* = Burckhardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen* (1909); *ÄPN* = Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (1935); *BA* = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*; *BASOR* = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*; *EA* = Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (1915), cited by page when italicized and by number of tablet when roman; *EMF* = Helck, *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. Dynastie* ("Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens," Vol. XIV (1939)); *JEA* = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*; *KBo* = *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (1916—); *KMAV* = Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vokalisation* (1910); *KUB* = *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (1921—); *ME* = Middle Egyptian, Middle Empire; *LE* = Late Egyptian; *NK* = New Kingdom; *OLZ* = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; *RA* = *Revue d'Assyriologie*; *VESO* = *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (1934); *WB* = Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (1925—); *WZKM* = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*; *ZA* = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*; *ZAS* = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*; *ZDMG* = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

places are not included; they, as well as many Egyptian words in cuneiform transcription, will be collected and discussed elsewhere. Because of the prosopographic character of this collection, I have included a number of titles, especially since it is often hard to say whether the cuneiform scribe was transcribing a name or an official title: e.g., Nos. 16 (*ihripita*), 42 (*pamaḥū*), 45 (*pawūra*), 53 (*šahšīha*). There are numerous corrections in reading and interpretation in detail, as well as a number of names not hitherto reported as Egyptian, especially in the already published Boğazköy tablets. In the four or more volumes of texts from Boğazköy published during the war there may be additional names, and other names are probably not yet published. In June, 1939, Dr. Elmar Edel of the Egyptian section of the Berlin museums wrote me that he was awaiting permission to publish a number of new Egyptian names from the unpublished Boğazköy texts; among them was an extremely interesting name (to which Ranke first drew my attention), of particular value to me since it confirmed one of the key values of my vocalization of the syllabic orthography. I now learn that Dr. Edel and his precious material have not perished in the holocaust through which the world has just passed.

There are two principal aspects to this paper—phonetic and historical. The new data provide material which will prove of increasing value to the student of Egyptian morphology, particularly of verbal structure. I have given below numerous indications of the significance of the vocalizations of verbal forms imbedded in personal names. I have paid special attention to phonetic details, since many identifications of names in the past have proved phonetically untenable, sometimes misleading the historian seriously. Among the most important points hitherto neglected

are the national or individual peculiarities of scribal spelling; cf. my discussion of Nos. 6 (*Ha'amašši*), 45 (*Pawūra*), 62 (*Tūtu*), etc. For corrected readings cf. the discussion of Nos. 2a, 15, 60, 68, etc.

Historically our new data are of considerable significance, both for Egyptian and for Canaanite conditions and politics during the Amarna Age.² Wherever possible I have indicated the relative or absolute date of each pertinent reference. My chronology of the Amarna Tablets depends partly on old and new Egyptian synchronisms, and partly on my own—still in large part unpublished—studies on the subject. Evidence will be presented in a forthcoming paper on the 'Abdu-Heba correspondence for various points which have not been clarified either in my paper on the identification of Queen Mayāti with Merit-aten (*JEA*, XXIII, 190 ff.; see below, on No. 27) or in the course of the present treatment. A number of erroneous earlier identifications of officials have been corrected (e.g., Spiegelberg's identification of Māya, No. 26a), while several new identifications appear, including those of Māya (No. 26a), Rēanapa (No. 49), and Sūta (No. 56), not to mention a number of other possible, but doubtful, cases.

I have prefixed an asterisk to all entries (about half of the number) where new data of real significance will be found, including earlier contributions of my own; this device will enable critically minded students to concentrate their attention on these entries. My transcription of Egyptian consonants is conventional, except that I substitute the *ṣ*aleph sign through-

² I have not had access to J. de Koning's book, *Studien over de El-Amarna-Brieven en het Oude-Testament* (Delft, 1940), during the preparation of this paper; cf. my remarks, *BASOR*, No. 87, p. 38, n. 33. Except occasionally for relative chronology and for detailed treatment of the references to certain officials, de Koning's study has no direct bearing on this paper, and my conclusions are throughout independent of his.

out for the meaningless *i*; unfortunately, there is no accepted distinction in transliteration between the double reed-leaf (*y*) and the character originating in the old dual sign, and I hesitate to propose an innovation here, for want of conclusive evidence as to the phonetic value of the latter (except in the syllabic orthography, where it represents the vowel *i*) in Late Egyptian. Whenever practicable I dispense with the dots used in the conventional transcription of Egyptian to distinguish verbal stems from formative elements. In my representation of syllabic groups I follow my *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven, 1934),³ but no equation is dependent upon this system, except in the case of a few hypocoristica, where the consonantal transcription would leave a number of different possibilities, reduced by application of my system to one or two. I have been very chary in indicating the length of vowels, for reasons which will be briefly formulated in the Excursus at the end of this paper. Finally, my transliteration of cuneiform follows the system of Thureau-Dangin, with a slight modification in transcribing A-A = *ay(y)a*, etc., derived from Poebel's researches. For an adequate treatment of the equivalences between Egyptian and cuneiform consonants Ranke's *KMAV* 85-93 remains standard; modifications are minor and are brought about mainly through the analysis of different national and scribal peculiarities of transcription (see above); a

³ Owing to the fact that important pertinent material was to have been published by English and German scholars when the war broke out, I have indefinitely postponed publishing the results of subsequent studies, which have added scores of new equations (a number of which appear in the present paper) without hitherto resulting in any modification of my position. For criticism of it see W. F. Edgerton, *JAOS*, 1940, pp. 473 ff. (cf. my brief comment, *BASOR*, No. 81, p. 20, n. 21). It may be added that by 1939 my point of view had been accepted by nearly all European Egyptologists specializing in the linguistic approach; e.g., by such competent men as Sturm and Vycichl.

few minor errors of Ranke affect only minor points, which are duly corrected under the proper entries. No one should undertake to study or to criticize this material without a careful advance study of Ranke. Otherwise, such invariable equations as Eg. *s* = cun. *š* will seem baffling, whereas they are perfectly normal.

LIST OF EGYPTIAN NAMES WRITTEN
IN CUNEIFORM BETWEEN
1500 AND 1200 B.C.

Abbiḥa. See *Appiḥā* (No. 68).

1. *Amanḥappa* (*A-ma-an-ap-pa*, *A-ma-an-ap-pi*) = *ḥmn-(m)-ḥpṣt* (*ÄPN* 27:18), "Amūn Is in Luxor." On the name and its forms see Ranke's discussion (*KMAV* 7). *Amanḥappa* was a high Egyptian official in Syria toward the end of the reign of Amenophis III (*EA* 117:21 ff.) to whom Rib-Adda of Byblus addressed six letters and who is mentioned in several others. For some time he was military governor of Šumur (Simyra), the Egyptian garrison-town near the mouth of the Eleutherus.
- *2a. *Amanḥatpa* (*A-ma-an-ḥa-at-pa*; see Albright, *ZÄS*, LXII, 63-64, *BASOR*, No. 94, p. 16, n. 15) = *ḥmn-ḥtp(w)* (*ÄPN* 30:12), "Amūn Is Gracious." A. was military governor of Palestine with seat in the Egyptian garrison-town of Gaza, who wrote two letters to Rēwašša, prince of Taanach, about the third quarter of the fifteenth century (see Albright, *BASOR*, No. 94, pp. 23 ff.). It is possible that he is to be identified with the Amenophis who was later viceroy of Nubia under Tuthmosis IV (ca. 1423-1413); cf. *BASOR*, No. 94, p. 27.
- 2b. *Amanḥatpi* (*A-ma-an-ḥa-at-pi*) = *ḥmn-ḥtp(w)*, the same name as

2a, pronounced approximately *Aman(ē)ḥatpē*. Chief of the south Syrian town of Tušul(a)tu (EA *Tušulti*); see EA 185 and 186, *passim*. The name may have been given this native prince when he was being educated as a hostage in Egypt, in accordance with the practice of that day.

3. *Amanmaša* (*A-ma-an-ma-ša*) = *mn-ms(w)* (ÄPN 29:8), "Amūn Is Born." The name occurs three times in EA (105:34, where the 'ma-ša' is clear in Schroeder's copy, though not hitherto recognized; 113:36, 43; 114:51). Egyptian official in Syria during early part of Akhenaten's reign, who acted with Appihā (*q.v.*) as judge in the long dispute between Rib-Adda of Byblus and Yapa-Adda of Tyre (so probably),⁴ and was later Egyptian commissioner at Byblus (EA 113). In EA 114 there seems to be a reference to "another Amanmaša (*A.ša-nu*)," who seems to have journeyed from Cyprus to Egypt by way of Byblus.

Atahmaya. See *Tahmaya*.

Dūdu. See *Tūtu*.

4. *Ḥaʿapi* (*Ḥa-a-pi*, *Ḥa-ip*) = *Ḥpy* (ÄPN 234:7), common in NK as a hypocoristic of a longer name containing the element *ḥpy*, "Nile-god." For the identification see already Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II (1896), 308. The name was pronounced approximately *Ḥaʿpi* at this time. *Ḥaʿapi* was governor of Šumūr (Simyra), the Egyptian base near the mouth of the Eleutherus, at the time it was wrested

from Egypt by Aziru of Amurrū during the reign of Akhenaten; he is said to have been son of Paḥammata (*q.v.*); see EA 149:37; 107:16; 132:42; 133:9; and p. 1204.

- *5. *Ḥamašša* (*Ḥa-ma-aš-ša*?) = (?) *Ḥa-m()-š()* (ÄPN 241:3), a name fairly common in the Eighteenth Dynasty. *Ḥ*. was commissioner in southern Syria in the Amarna Age; under him was Kumidu (Kāmid el-Lōz); see EA 198:15.

- *6. *Ḥaʿamašši* (*Ḥa-a-ma-aš-ši* three times in EA 11; *Ḥa-a-maš-ši* three times in EA 27) = *Ḥ^c-(m-)wšst* (ÄPN 263:19), "(Amūn) Shines in Thebes," a very common name in NK (from the fifteenth century on) and later. This name has hitherto been erroneously identified with *Ḥaramašši* (*q.v.*), but has nothing to do with it, as becomes particularly clear from the fact that in EA 11: obv. 19, rev. 12, 13 the name is shortened to *Ḥaʿaya* (*q.v.*), an impossible abbreviation for a name beginning with the name of the god Horus (*Ḥāra*). It must be remembered that in the letters from Babylon intervocalic *m* was regularly pronounced *w* (so, e.g., in the name *Biriawaza* [so read for "Nami-awaza" with Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XXXVII, 171], written *Bi-ri-ia-ma-za* in EA 7:75), and our name may, accordingly, be transcribed just as well *Ḥaʿawašši*. The usual pronunciation *Khaʿ-em-wēse* is not justified; Greek *Chammōis* (cf. the *Chamois* of Syncellus), *Chommouis*, *Chomois* (scattered from the third century B.C. to the second A.D., Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, cols. 471, 477) point to a later *Ḥamwōšē*, with Hellenized ending, and earlier **Ḥaʿ(em)wāšē* < *Ḥaʿ(em)wāšsē*.

⁴ The figure of Yapa-Adda (cf. EA 1168-69, etc.) remains decidedly enigmatic. He was at all events in a special position with respect to the Egyptian government, being both a native prince (probably preceding Abimilkid at Tyre) and an Egyptian functionary (note the tone of his letter to Yanhamu, EA 98).

The Mitannian spelling points the same way, since the Hurrian scribe of EA 27 always writes, e.g., the word *awātu*, "word," *amatu* (not *amātu*!) after the Babylonian spelling. It is probable that the preposition (*e*)*m* was elided as in the name *Amanāpa* (*q.v.*), since it is sometimes omitted in contemporary orthography; the name was then pronounced approximately *Ḥa^aawāššē*. *Ḥa^aamašši* was envoy of Akhenaten at the courts of Mitanni and Babylon. Cf. also below, Nos. 7 and 13b.

7. *Ḥa^aaya* (*Ḥa-A.A*), abbreviated form of the preceding, Egyptian *Ḥ^ay* (ÄPN 265:7; Ranke's writing *ḥ^a.jj* is pleonastic), a common NK hypocoristicon, pronounced *Ḥa^aya*. For the same or another *Ḥa^aaya* see below, No. 13b.
8. *Ḥanē* (*Ḥa-ni-e*) = (?) *Hn^a* (ÄPN 229:28) or *Hnw* (ÄPN 229:31-32), possibly *Hnw* (ÄPN 242:1-2) or *Hnw^a* (ÄPN 242:12). *Hnw* (ÄPN 229:32) is the only one of these names attested by Ranke's list for NK. The vocalization presents difficulties; one might perhaps expect something like *Hn^aw* or *Hn^aw*; cf. *Manē* (*q.v.*) = *Mn^aw*. Cf. No. 9. *Ḥanē* was an Egyptian interpreter who accompanied *Manē* to the Mitannian court in the time of Amenophis III (EA 21:25).
- *9. *Ḥan^ai* (*Ḥa-an-i*, *Ḥa-an-ni*) = *Hn^a* (ÄPN 229:28). It is true that this name seems attested only for Old Egyptian, but since such names as *Hn-nḥt(w)* (ÄPN 229:26) appear in NK, the point is not serious. *Ḥanni* was son of *Mairēya* (*q.v.*); he appears in a letter written by the Egyptian king to the chief of Achshaph near Accho in southern Phoenicia (RA, XIX, 100) as

"chief of the stable" (*ākil tarbaši*), probably rendering the Egyptian title *ḥry ḥw* (with Helck, *EMF* 38, n. 4).⁵ In EA 162, written to the prince of Amurrū, Akhenaten writes that he has sent him his envoy (*mār šipri*), *Ḥanni*, in order to extradite some Egyptian fugitives. In Aziru's letter, EA 161, the name of this same *Ḥanni* is written several times *Ḥan^ai*, probably distinct from *Ḥanya*, No. 10.

- *10. *Ḥanya* (*Ḥa-an-ia*) = *Hny* (ÄPN 229:30, "*hn.jj*"; cf. 425:15), attested hitherto only for ME, but almost certainly our name, which is distinct from No. 9. The number of references to him given by Knudtzon may now be doubled. He was sent to collect tribute from Šubandu, the Indo-Aryan chief of a district which appears to have been somewhere in or near the Plain of Sharon (EA 301:12). It is certainly he (read '*Ḥa-an-ia*' for the '*Ḥa-ba-ia*' of Knudtzon in EA 316:15) who was the commissioner (lit. "tax-collector," *rābišu*) sent to the chief of Yurša in the southern Plain of Sharon. He also appears in a letter from Amenophis III to Milkilu, prince of Gezer, in the same neighborhood, as the *awēl-tūr ummān-pi-ta-ti*, by which enigmatic expression⁶ the scribe undoubtedly meant to say simply "chief of the archers" (Eg. *pḏtyw*), commissioned by Pharaoh to "buy" maidens. And finally this same *Ḥanya* is mentioned in a letter of the same period from Ugarit (see my demonstration,

⁵ Correct my remarks in *BASOR*, No. 92, p. 29, n. 8, where we should read *ākil tarbaši* instead of *rābišu*; the official in the Gezer fragment was thus an officer of chariotry, sent north on a royal commission.

⁶ Perhaps the result of conflation between *ākil tarbaši* (see n. 5) and some such expression as *rāb pīlātī*, "chief of the archers."

BASOR, No. 95, pp. 30 ff.); see EA 47:23.⁷

11. *Hāramašši* (*Ha-a-ra-ma-aš-ši*) = *Hr-ms(w)* (ÄPN 249:1), "Horus Is Born," a common name in NK; see Ranke, *KMAV* 10. He was envoy of Amenophis III to Mitanni. No. 6, *Ha-amašši*, is entirely distinct, both in name and in period.
12. *Hatip* (*Ha-ti-ip*) = *Htp* (ÄPN 257:22), a fairly common NK hypocoristicon. It must be recognized, however, that Eg. *Htp* may also stand for *Htp(w)*, reflecting the stative element in such names as *Aman-hatpa* (Amenophis); our name must be an abbreviation of names beginning with the optative *šdm.f*, such as *Htp-šhmt*, "May Šahmet Be Gracious" (ÄPN 259:16), attested for NK, or *Htp-mn(w)*, transcribed in later Assyrian, with syncope, as *Hatpimūnu* (ÄPN 258:1). *Hatip* was Egyptian commissioner in Amurrū, under Akhenaten.
- *13a. *Haya* (*Ha-ia*) = *Ha-ya* (ÄPN 233:18; *VESO* 52, XII.A.3), regular hypocoristicon of *Amanhatpa* (*Amenophis*) in NK (Sethe, *ZÄS* XLIV, 89-90; cf. *VESO* 21-22). The *Haya* to whom Rib-Adda of Byblus addressed EA 71 is characterized as *pa-zi-¹te?*, clearly written and certainly not part of the name (in Winckler's copy, as corrected by Knudtzon, *EA* 366, n. c, the traces of the third sign point to *TE*; these traces had disappeared before Schroeder's copy was made); the word would lend itself perfectly to identification with NK *p3-šty*, "the vizier," then perhaps pronounced approximately *p3-šūš* (there are

⁷ On *Hanya* see Alt, *Palästina-jahrbuch*, XXXII, 22 ff. (but our Nos. 8-10 cannot be combined as done by Alt).

many examples to illustrate the equivalence of Eg. *t* (č) and cuneiform *z* in texts of this age). Since EA 71 belongs with a group of Rib-Adda letters written toward the end of the reign of Amenophis III, it is only natural to identify this *Haya* with the Amenophis who was vizier of Lower Egypt in the thirty-first and thirty-fifth years (i.e., 1383 and 1379—the latter date is not certain, as Seele kindly informs me); cf. on the latter most recently Anthes, *ZÄS* LXXII, 67-68. However, in EA 71:4 ff. *Haya* is eulogized in the following strong words: "Amūn, god of the king, thy lord, hath given (plural of majesty) thee repute in the presence of the king, thy lord. Behold, thou art a wise man who dost know the king, and because of thy wisdom(!) the king sent thee as commissioner."⁸ Phraseology like this is unique in the Amarna Letters; it shows vividly what a great reputation for wisdom *Haya* enjoyed. Since Amenophis, son of Paapis, the famous official of Amenophis III, who died at the age of eighty (or more) after the thirtieth year of Amenophis III (see most recently Helck, *EMF* 2-13) and who became renowned in later times as one of Egypt's greatest sages, states explicitly in an inscription that he was also called *Haya*, it is very tempting to identify our *Haya* with him. I tried at first to renew a long-discarded identification of the sage with the vizier

⁸ Read II. 8-8: *a mur alla awēlu emqu idi šarri u ina em(qu)tika ištaparka šarru; idi is*, of course, participle of the Accadian verb *iḏā*, "to know," and we may probably read *em-(qu)-ti-ka* (cf. Aram. *emqūḏā*, "depth"), "thy wisdom," not an impossible *im-ti-ka* (where *imtu* would be equivalent to Heb. *emēl*, for **imiltu* < **imintu*, which would be phonologically without parallel).

of the same name, but after Seele's cogent objections I have given this idea up. It seems probable to me that our Haya is the famous sage rather than the vizier, in spite of the plausible explanation of the signs following his name (it may be, as Seele has suggested to me, that Rib-Adda confused the two officials of the same name), since the Byblitan prince was unquestionably trying to reach the king through one of his most influential courtiers and since it is hard to get around the implications of the eulogy in lines 4 ff. It may be significant in this connection that the sage Amenophis received as one of his latest honors the title *šy hw hr unmy n nswt*, "Fan-bearer at the King's Right" (EMF 11), since this title was also borne some few years later by Yanhamu (EA 106:38: *mušal(l)il šarri*; see Ranke *apud* Weber in EA 1171 and Helck, EMF 39), who enjoyed a high reputation as the king's close friend and adviser.

- 13b. Haya (Ha-ia), the same name as the preceding, but borne by a different person, who was sent from Egypt and was assisted by Rib-Adda to slip through the rebel blockade into the garrison-town of Simyra, which fell not long afterward (EA 112:42, 48), in the early part of Akhenaten's reign. With this same minor officer may be identical the Haya (Ha-ya), son of Miyarē (q.v.), mentioned EA 289:30 ff. as commander of garrison troops sent to Gaza from Egypt. A third reference to this man may be in EA 101:2, roughly from the same period; the spelling Ha-ya-a shows the usual Accadian prolongation of the final vowel in

a question. Entirely different is Haḫaya (EA 255:8), about whose arrival to organize the caravan service via Beth-shan to Mitanni and Babylonia Mut-Ba'al, chief of Pella, reports. Since EA 256 (on which see BASOR, No. 89, pp. 9 ff.), which also mentions Mut-Ba'al, dates from the reign of Akhenaten, it is quite possible that this Haḫaya is the same as the contemporary Haḫaya who was envoy to Mitanni and Babylon. Still more obscure is the official Haḫay (Ha-a-i) to whom Aziru of Amurru addressed one or two letters (EA 166-67); the name may possibly be Eg. *ḫ(y)* (ÄPN 263:7), a hypocoristic form which was very common in NK.

14. Huriya (Hu-u-ri-i-ia'), abbreviated form of the prenomen of Akhenaten, in letter from Šuppiluliuma of Khatti (EA 41:2).

- *15. Ia-māya • (Ia-ma-a-ia) = *ḫ-my* (ÄPN 12:18), hypocoristicon of *ḫ-ms* = Amōsis, "The Moon-God Is Born," both very common in NK. The first element appears in Coptic as 002:102:aa2 (Sahidic, Bohairic, and Faiyumic, respectively), so there can be no doubt about the approximate NK pronunciation *ḫ-ah*. Amōsis was then pronounced *ḫ-ah-māse* and the hypocoristic form *ḫ-ah-māya*. There can be no doubt about the reading of the slightly damaged cuneiform text, which was correctly given by Winckler in both his copy and his transcription; Knudtzon's *Tur-a-ma-a-ia* is meaningless. Ia-māya was an officer in command of Egyptian mercenary troops at Simyra in Phoenicia in

- the time of Amenophis III (EA 62:42, 45).
16. *iḥripita* (*iḥ-ri-pi-ta*) = *ḥry-pdt*, "officer of archer(s), commander of an army detachment" (Ranke, *EA*, p. 1606). This is probably no name Aḥribita, or the like, as previously supposed by Knudtzon and others, but a military title, as appears from the context, EA 107:14 ff.: "Let the military commander stay in Simyra, but take Ḥa'ip (*q.v.*) to thy presence . . . and hear his words." In such case the scribes were frequently in doubt and provided titles with the personal determinative. The name *P3-ḥry-pdt* (ÄPN 115:27) was common in NK. The vocalization is in order, since *ḥry* survived into Coptic in composition as *hri* or *hre* and the word *pḏtyw*, "archers," appears frequently in EA as *piṭate* or *pitate* (used interchangeably in the letters of Canaanite scribes).
 - *17. *Iriyamašša* (*I-ri-ma-ia-aš-ša*, *I-ri-ia-ma* [])⁹ = **ry-ms(w)*, "A Companion Is Born," which does not appear in Ranke's list but has numerous partial parallels from NK, all containing the element *ry*, "companion" (ÄPN 41:23 ff.). The vocalization appears to be in order: for the first element note the Coptic plural *ⲉⲣⲏⲩ*, "companions," and for the second cf. the name *Amanmaša*, above. He was an envoy of Akhenaten to Byblus (EA 130:11).
 18. *Iršappa* (*Ir-ša-ap-pa*) = (?). Envoy from Amenophis III to the king of Arzawa in Asia Minor, mentioned twice in the former's Hittite letter, EA 31.
 19. *Kašī* (*Ka-si-i*) = (?). Mentioned in a letter from Kadašman-Ḥarbe of Babylon (EA 3:16) to Amenophis III as the latter's envoy to him. In spite of the personal determinative, one cannot help suspecting that the name is merely the genitive of the N.W.-Semitic *kāsū*, "groom," attested by a contemporary Accadian letter found at Ugarit (cf. *BASOR*, No. 63, p. 24, below).
 - *20a. *Le'eya* (*Le-e-ia*) = *Ri-i-ya*, *Ri-ya* (ÄPN 216:28-9; 217:1; 425:3-4), a common NK hypocoristicon, always written syllabically (not yet included in *VESO*).¹⁰ This *Le'eya* is included in a list of Egyptians in Amurru wanted by Akhenaten for extradition to Egypt (EA 162:70).
 - *20b. *Le'eya* (*Le-e-ia*), the same name as the preceding, belonging to a royal officer ("prefect," *šd-kin*) whom Ramesses II sent to Hattušiliš of Khatti, according to the former's letter, *KUB*, III, No. 34:15.
 21. *Mairēya* (*Ma-i-re-ia*) = *Mry-rc* (ÄPN 160:23), "Beloved of Rē"; on the vocalization and morphological parallels see *JEA*, XXIII, 191-92. *Mairēya* was father of Ḥanni (*q.v.*); see *RA*, XIX, 100.
 22. *Manahpirya* (*Ma-na-aḥ-pi-ir-ia*, *Ma-na-aḥ-pi-ia*) = *Mn-hpr(-rc)* (ÄPN 150:13-14), prenominal of Tuthmosis III, "May the 'Essence' of Rē Endure!" For the hypocoristic form, corresponding to a writing **Mn-hpry*, see the excellent discussion of Ranke, *ZÄS*, LVI, 73 ff. The vocalization *man-* shows that we may not have the same verbal form as in prenomina like

⁹ I owe to Dr. C. H. Gordon my knowledge of the unpublished second form, which shows that the first spelling contains a transposed syllable.

¹⁰ This name (documented twice in the same spelling in different centuries) is extremely interesting because of the rare initial *l* (on *l* in Egyptian cf. Sethe, *Verbum*, I, 134-35) as in *N-m³-t-r^c* = *Lamaris*, etc.

Mn-mš't-r^c (*Minmu'arē'a*, *q.v.*) or *Mn-ph'ty-r^c* (*Minpahtarē'a*, *q.v.*), a fact which gives us another argument, not adduced by Ranke, for distinguishing between our name and the prenomen of Tuthmosis IV, *Mn-ḥprw-r^c*, which belongs with the names just cited. The form *man* may then be Gardiner's perfective *sdm.f* (*Eg. Gram.*, § 450, 4), while the *min* of the other names would be verbal adjective, "enduring."

- *23. *Manē* (*Ma-ni-e*) = *Mn^w* (ÄPN 151:5), "Shepherd," attested as a personal name in NK (Coptic *MAN-*, "herder," is a participial *mn²*, and is not our form). *Manē* was envoy of Amenophis III at the court of Mitanni; he is mentioned very often in EA 19, 20, 21, 24.
- *24. *Manya* (*Ma-an-ia*) = *Mny* (ÄPN 151:4), attested for NK, probably a hypocoristicon of some name like *Mn-ḥpr-r^c* (cf. above, No. 22). *Manya* was an Egyptian wanted for extradition from Amurrū by Akhenaten (EA 162:72).
25. *Marniptaḥ* (*Mar-ni-ip-taḥ*) = *Mr.n-ptḥ* (ÄPN 156:22), "He whom Ptah loves," as pointed out *JEA*, XXIII, 192, n. 3; *mārnē* is thus the vocalization of the perfective relative of *mr²*, "to love." Mentioned in a broken context in *KUB*, III, 38; cf. Friedrich, *OLZ*, XXVII, 706.
- *26a. *Māya* (*Ma-ia*, *Ma-a-ia*, *Ma-ya*) = *Ma-ya* (ÄPN 146:10; *VESO* 43, VIII.A.1), hypocoristicon of *Taḥ-maya-Pth-my* (*q.v.*) = *Taḥmašši-Pth-ms* (*q.v.*). *Māya* flourished well along in Akhenaten's reign, when he was Egyptian commissioner (*rābišu*), contemporary with Baḥlušipti ("Addu-dani") and Yapahu of Gezer (EA 292, 300), successors

of Milkilu, and with Yabni-ilu of Lachish (EA 328), successor of Zimrēda. EA 337 comes from a certain Ḫiziru, of whom nothing is otherwise known. On the other hand, all clear references to *Taḥ-maya-Taḥmašši* (*q.v.*) point to the end of the reign of Amenophis III, or more probably the beginning of Akhenaten's reign. Since the names *Māya* and *Pth-ms(w)* are both exceedingly common in Egypt at this period (cf. Anthes, *ZÄS*, LXXII, 60-68, for a partial list of men named "Ptahmose"), we must be wary of identifications: e.g., Spiegelberg's suggestion (*ZA*, XXX, 299-300) that this *Māya* is to be identified with a certain *Māya* who was contemporary with Amenophis III and probably also with his predecessor, Tuthmosis IV, cannot possibly be correct. On the other hand, it is practically certain that our *Māya* is the Egyptian general of humble origin who was buried at Amarna (Davies, *Amarna*, V, 1-5); the latter *Māya*, on whom see also Helck, *EMF*, pp. 16, 27 ff. (who always writes the name erroneously *M^cj*), is called *mr-mš^c n nb šwy*, "general of the Lord of the Two Lands," and had a brief but brilliant career under Akhenaten. Seele calls my attention to the fact that *Maya* seems to have fallen from favor shortly after the seventh year of Akhenaten (Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 5). This suggests that we must date the EA references to him about ten years before the death of Akhenaten; they would then become chronologically very significant.

- 26b. *Māya* (*Ma-a-ia*), the same name as the preceding, belonging to an

Egyptian living in the residency at Simyra (Şumur) toward the end of the reign of Amenophis III (EA 62:26).

- *27. *Mayāti* (*Ma-ia[ya]-a-ti*) = *Mryty* (ÄPN 161:25), a name attested for NK, in this case unquestionably hypocoristicon of *Mryt-tn* ("Beloved of the Solar Disk"), queen of Smenḥ-ku-rē: see my detailed treatment, *JEA*, XXIII, 191 ff., 203, n. 1; *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXI, 304.
28. *Mihuni*(?) = (?). An envoy from Egypt to the Babylonian court under Amenophis III (EA 11:16). Since Winckler-Abel hatched the sign *HU* and Knudtzon expressed doubt about the reading (though Schroeder reproduces it without hatching), and since the name may be longer, I hesitantly suggest the possibility *Mi-in*(!)-[].
29. *Minmuwārēa* (*Mi-in-mu-a-re-a*) = *Mn-mš-t-rē*, prenomen of Sethos I (*KBo*, I, 25:5); cf. Ranke, *KMAV* 12, and on the formation of the name see above, No. 22; it perhaps means "Enduring in Truth Is Rē," or the like.
30. *Minpahtarēa* (*Mi-in-pa-aḥ-ta-re-a*) = *Mn-pḥty-rē*, prenomen of Rameses I (*KBo*, I, 7:5); cf. Ranke, *ZÄS*, LVIII, 132-33. For the formation of the name, which seems to mean "Enduring in Power Is Rē," cf. above, No. 29.
31. *Miyarē* (*Mi-ia-re-e*) = *Mr(y)-rē* (ÄPN 157:8), perhaps meaning "He Whom Rē Shall Love" (contrast Ranke, *ZÄS*, LXXIII, 93), i.e., the verbal element is the prospective relative (Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, pp. 1 ff., and esp. 7-8, n. 7; Gardiner, *Grammar*, pp. 297 ff.). It would follow that the prospective relative *mr(y)* was vocalized *miya*, a fact which suggests that *mry* is a writing like *swry*, in which the *y* really replaced the *r*; with this would agree fem. *mrt*, not *mryt*. Note that the passive participle *mry* was vocalized *may* (No. 21) and that the perfective relative was *márnē* (No. 25). *Miyarē* (EA 289:31) was father of a *Haya* (*q.v.*).
- *32. *Nahḥa* (*Na-aḥ-ḥa*) = *Nḥ* (ÄPN 207:9), a common name in NK. *Nahḥa* appears in *KUB*, III, 34:13, 22, as an overseer of the horses (*rab šīsē*) from the royal stables (*ša bīt šīsē rabī ša šarri*) of Rameses II, being sent, along with a royal prefect(?), *Le'eya* (*q.v.*), to the Hittite court. He was, accordingly, a *ḥry ḥw*, called *ākil tarbaši* in the Amarna Age, a century before (cf. on No. 9, above).
33. *Nahramašši* (*Na-aḥ-ra-ma-aš-ši*) = **Nḥr-ms*(?), "The God *Nḥr* Is Born(?)." Since the second element is undoubtedly *ms(w)*, "be born," there can be no doubt that the first contains a divine name or appellative. Ranke is probably correct in rejecting the tempting identification with **nḥr(t)-ms(w)* because of the vocalization *An-ḥa-a-ra*, Gr. *Onūris*, Coptic *-n20YPS*, which is attested for the first element of the latter name (*KMAV* 13, n. 4; *ZÄS*, LVI, 71-72). Accordingly, I hesitantly propose combining the element *Nahra* with the god *Nḥr* (*Nḥ*) of the Amduat texts in the Nineteenth Dynasty royal tombs (*WB*, II, 298), with which cf. the ME and NK names *Nḥ-nfr*, *Nḥ()-nḥ*, etc. (ÄPN 207:10, 11, 18, etc.). *N* was an Egyptian at the court of Mitanni in the reign of Amenophis III.

34. *Naphururēya* (*Na-ap-hu-u-ru-re-ia*, etc.) = *Nfr-hprw-rē*, prenomen of Amenophis IV (Akhenaten), meaning "Beautiful of Forms Is Rē." For the many variations in the spelling of this name see *EA* 1565,¹¹ and for the vocalization Steindorff, *BA*, I, 338-39, checked by Sturm, *WZKM*, XLI, 167 ff.
35. *Naptera* (*Na-ap-te-ra*) = *Nfrt-ry* (*ÄPN* 201:16), "The Most Beautiful (Woman)," name of the queen of Ramesses II. The vocalization is puzzling, and the name is written *Na-at-te-ra* by Weidner (cf. Friedrich, *OLZ*, XXVII, 705, n. 2), but there is no question about the identification. In view of some writings of the Egyptian name, one may possibly consider it as a hypocoristic of **Hthr-nfr.t-ry* (cf. *Hthr-nfr.t*, *ÄPN* 235:14), or the like, taking *nfr.t* as stative (old perfective), in which case we might pronounce the original Egyptian name as **Nafraterā(y)*, the first *ra* dropping out by haplology, just as in several cuneiform reproductions of Egyptian names (e.g., *Naphurēya* for *Naphururēya*). Of course, the *t* may have been preserved in such a compound after a feminine adjective, in which case the preceding pronunciation might be correct and the suggested explanation wrong.
36. *Nibmurēya* (*Ni-ib-mu-a-re-ia*, *Ni-im-mu-a-re-ia*, etc.) = *Nb-mš-t-rē*, prenomen of Amenophis III, meaning "Rē Is Lord of Truth." For the numerous variations in spelling see *EA* 1565-66 and *JEA*, XXIII, 195; for *muš-a(t)*, "truth," cf. *Recueil de travaux*, XL, 68.
- *37. *Nimmahē* (*Ni-im-ma-hē-e*) = *Nb-mhyt* (*ÄPN* 185:7), "Lord of the North Wind," a common name in NK from the fifteenth century on. This is a striking confirmation of Spiegelberg's ingenious and convincing demonstration that the word *mhyt*, "north wind," was vocalized approximately *mḥē* (*ZÄS*, LXV, 131), with *ē* which did not go back to original *ū*, as shown by *mhyty*, "north," Coptic ⲙⲏⲧⲏⲣ. N. was one of the Egyptians in Amurrū sought by Akhenaten for extradition (*EA* 162:77).
- *38. *Ni-i* (*Ni-i-u*) = *Ni-i* (*ÄPN* 181, 12), common in NK, but not yet included in *VESO*. An envoy from Amenophis III to the court of Mitanni.
- *39. *Paʿap(u)* (*Pa-a-pu*, *Pa-a-pt*). Since the cuneiform spelling can be Egyptianized also as *Paʿapi*, *Pāpu*, or *Pāpi*, it is not certain whether it corresponds to *ÄPN* 130:3, 131:12, or 132:14, all documented for NK. My preference is for the name usually written *Pp*, because of the Greek transcription, which points to late *Pyōpē*, older *Pāpē*, or the like; cf. *BASOR*, No. 87, 36, n. 27. *Paʿapu* was a local Egyptian official in Palestine under Amenophis III (*BASOR*, No. 87, 36).
40. *Paḥamnata* (*Pa-ḥa-am-na-ta*, *Pa-ḥa-na-te*) = *P3-ḥm-ntr* (*ÄPN* 115:16), "The Servant of (the) God," a very common NK name, belonging to several personalities of our general period: *P3-ḥm-ntr*, high priest of Ptah in Memphis at the end of the reign of Amenophis III, son of *Pth-ms(w)* (a *Tahmasši*), who held the same position before him (Anthes, *ZÄS*, LXXII, 62 ff.); *P3-ḥm-ntr*, high priest of Ptah in Memphis, father of *Rē-ḥatpe* who was vizier

¹¹ On the curious variant *Pipḥururēya* see most recently *JEA*, XXIII, 194.

under Ramesses II and "royal envoy to the land of Khatti" (*wꜣwtꜣ nswt r ʔ Ḫt*); not to mention one or two others listed by Anthes (*ibid.*, pp. 64-65). On the form of the name cf. Ranke, *ZÄS*, XLVI, 109-10, and Sturm, *WZKM*, XLI, 169-70, as well as my observations below. Our Paḥamnata was Egyptian commissioner (*rābiṣu*) in Syria, with residence at Simyra, toward the end of the reign of Amenophis III (EA 60, 62, 68); nearly a score of years (probably) later Rib-Adda of Byblus, now an old man, recites the allegedly evil deeds of Paḥamnata and his son, Ḥaṣip (*q.v.*), in EA 131 and 132 (EA 132:39-40 must be read *ú la-a yi-iš-mu i-na a-wa-te* [etc.] and rendered, "And he [Pawūru, *q.v.*] must not hearken to the words of Ḥaṣip, whose father alienated the cities [etc.]"); Ḥaṣip's own activity falls under Akhenaten, in part toward the end of his reign. Whether Paḥamnata is to be identified with his contemporary namesake, the high priest of Ptah in Memphis, is a question which I must leave to others; it is perhaps improbable but scarcely impossible.

41. *Paḥura* (*Pa-ḥu-ra*, *Pi-ḥu-ra*, *Pu-ḥu-ru*, *Pu-ḥu-ri*) = *P3-ḥu-ru* (ÄPN 116:17; *VESO* 54, XIII. A.6), "The Syrian," a very common personal name in NK. Since all datable references to this personage, who was Egyptian commissioner in Syria in the reign of Akhenaten, mentioned together with Yanḥamu (EA 117:61), fit perfectly together, and there is no trouble with the phonetic form of the name (pronounced approximately *Pēḥūrē*), it is absurd to distinguish two separate individuals by this

name. The idea that we have here a title *p3-hry* is out of the question, since the latter was pronounced approximately *paḥri*, without a vowel between *h* and *r*. For references see EA 1566-67.

- *42. *pamaḥu/ā* (*Pa-ma-ḥu*, *awēl pa-ma-ḥa-a*) = *p3-mḥ-b*, "commissioner" (lit. "plenipotentiary"), which was pronounced approximately *pama-ḥaʔu*; see my detailed treatment of this word, *JEA*, XXIII, 200-201, n. 4, to which I have nothing to add.
- *43. *Parēamaḥū* (*Pa-re-a-ma-ḥu-ū*) = *P3-rc-m-ḥb* (ÄPN 114:13; *KMAV* 16), "The Sun-God Is in Festival." P. was an architect and physician, known from the Hittite archives (*KUB*, III, 67) and probably from a Beth-shan stele (see my remarks, *AASOR*, XVII, 77, n. 38). Ranke's identification of the name is certainly correct (against Friedrich, *OLZ*, XXVII, 705); final *b* is often lost after *u* in later Egyptian, just as in the preceding word (No. 42) and in Greek *Harmais* = *Ḥaremḥēb*, for older *Ḥaremḥūb*, or the like. From this name it probably follows that the word for "festival" was pronounced in NK *ḥūb*, *ḥūw*.
44. *Pariḥnāwa* (*Pi-ri-iḥ-na-(a)-wa*, *Pa-ri-iḥ-na-a-wa*) = *P3-rḥ-nw* (ÄPN 419:11), "He Who Knows (How) To See" (Schäfer *apud* Ranke, *ZÄS*, LVIII, 133-34), attested in NK. For the grammatical structure see Ranke's remarks: *rḥ* is (perfective active) participle; *nāwē* is infinitive. *Pariḥnawa* is mentioned in three Boğazköy tablets (*KBo*, I, 19, rev.: 16; *KUB*, III, 51, obv.(?): 22, rev.(?): 4-5; *KUB*, III, 70, rev.: 10). In the last passage he appears

as special envoy from the Egyptian prince Šutaḥapšap (*q.v.*) to Ḥat-tušiliš of Khatti in the early thirteenth century. The context of the other two passages is obscure; in *KUB*, III, 51, he is clearly envoy to Khatti, but in *KBo*, I, 19, he appears with Piyati and Rē'anna (*q.v.*) as an official, designated as "the elder" (*šēbu*).

- *45. *Pawūra* (*Pa-wu-ra*, *Pi-wu-ri*, *Pa-ū-ru*, *Pu-ū-ru*) = *P³-wr* (*ÄPN* 104:4), "The Great One, the Chief." In dealing with this name (on which cf. Weber, *EA* 1224 ff.), we are handicapped by the fact that (*p³*) *wr* is common in NK as an expression meaning "(foreign) chieftain," in which sense *pa-wu-re* and *pa-wu-ra* are undoubtedly used of Etak-kama of Kadesh in *EA* 151:59; 149:30. The usual spelling *Pawēra*, etc., which I still employed in 1937 (*JEA*, XXIII, 196) is wrong: the name appears twice in the letters of 'Abdu-Ḥeba of Jerusalem, where the sign *PI* = *wa*, etc., is scarcely ever used, as *Pa-ū-ru*, *Pu-ū-ru*, proving the reading *Pawūra* conclusively. If there were any doubt remaining, it would be removed by the fact that the same adjective¹² appears in Greek transcription in *Aroēris* for *Ḥr-wr* and *Oso-roēris* for *sr-wr*; for the latest summation of the evidence for LE *ū* becoming *ē* in later Egyptian and Coptic see Worrell, *Coptic Texts* (1942), p. 315 (cf. *VESO* 17-18). It follows that the *rābiṣu* *Pawūra* of the Byblus letters from the reign of Akhenaten is identical with the *rābiṣu* *Pa'ūru*

¹² It is morphologically interesting to have another proof of the close relation between the stative (old perfective) and a large class of adjectives in Egyptian, just as in Semitic, since the vowel of the biconsonantal stative in Egyptian was also *ū*, Coptic *ē*.

or *Pu'ūru* of the roughly contemporary letters from Jerusalem; both were high officials, controlling Palestine and Phoenicia. The Byblian correspondence speaks of *Pawūra* as "royal counselor" (*mālik šarri*); the Jerusalem correspondence says that he was stationed in the Egyptian residence city of Gaza. *EA* 131:22 mentions his assassination.

- *46. *Pīeya* (*Pi-e-ia*, *Pi-i-ia*) = *Pi-i-ya* (*ÄPN* 129:25; *AKF*, II, 22:398; *VESO* 34, III.B.6), a common NK hypocoristicon—not foreign as supposed by Burchardt. Mentioned in *EA* 292 and 294 as the name of a petty Egyptian officer who was allegedly taking advantage of his position to pillage and oppress the people of Gezer toward the end of the reign of Akhenaten. On the probable status of his Canaanite(?) mother Gulatu cf. my remarks, *BASOR*, No. 86, p. 29, n. 9.
- *47. *Piyati* (*Pi-ia-ti*) = *P³-t(f)* (*ÄPN* 102:6), "The Father," and probably also *P()-y()-t()* (*ÄPN* 102:5), which seems to be a syllabic spelling of the former; both names are attested in NK. Coptic πειωτ, for older **peyāte*, establishes the vocalization. *Piyati* was an Egyptian of some importance mentioned in *KBo*, I, 19, rev.: 15 (for the entire text see Meissner, *ZDMG*, LXXII, 38 ff.), along with *Piriḥ-nawa* (*q.v.*).
48. *Rē'amašēša* (*Re-a-ma-še-ša*, etc.) = *R^c-ms-sw*, Ramesses II. For occurrences of the name see Friedrich, *OLZ*, XXVII, 705, and for the form of the name cf. von Calice, *ZÄS*, XLVI, 110-11. For the abbreviated form *Rē'amašya* cf. Ranke, *ZÄS*, LVIII, 134-35.
- *49. *Rē'anapa* (*Re-a-na-pa*, *Re-a-na-ap*)

= *R^c-nfr* (ÄPN 219:10; xxvi, *ad loc.*), "Rē^c Is Good," a name accidentally not yet attested for NK in Ranke's collection, but known from the house of this very official, excavated at Amarna (Peet and Woolley, *City of Akhenaten*, I [1923], 9 ff.). He is called "chief groom, overseer of the horses of all the stables," etc.; in other words, he was general of chariotry (scarcely *Kavalleriegeneral* with Helck, *EMF* 63, n. 11, since there was no true cavalry at that time). Rē^canapa appears as *rābišu* in charge of the Coastal Plain of Palestine, including Ascalon (EA 326), Yurša in the region of Jaffa (EA 315), and Gezer (292:36). From the last-mentioned letter we learn that Rē^canapa was in Palestine under the reign of Akhenaten, during the period when Māya (*q.v.*) was in charge of the Asiatic provinces. That the names are identical is proved by the fact that *nfr*, "good," is *noyqe* in Coptic, which must go back to a *nāfē* = *nāp(a)*.

- *50. *Rē^cannā* (*Re-a-an-na-a*) = *R^c-n-...(?)*. Mentioned with two other Egyptian officials in *KBo*, I, 15, rev.: 12; the last, broken, sign seems to be *awēlu*, prefacing the man's title, not *na* as Meissner thought (*ZDMG*, LXXII, 40). The name reminds one of the abbreviated *nn* (ÄPN 62:16-18, the last spelled syllabically *ṣ(a)n-na*), all NK, and *Hr-ṣ-n-wšbt* (ÄPN 246:11), "It Is Horus Who Returns Answer," attested for the Eighteenth Dynasty.

- *51. *Rē^cwašša* (*Re-wa-aš-ša*) = *R^c-wsr* (ÄPN 217:13), "Re Is Mighty," accidentally not attested for NK.

On this name and the prince of Taanach who had adopted it see *BASOR*, No. 94, pp. 16-17, n. 20, and No. 95, p. 31, n. 4 (note that *NINDA* also appears several times as *ša* in the Accadian word *ša-kin*, "prefect" at Boğazköy). Rē^cwašša probably flourished about the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

- *52. *Situnšu* (*Si-tū-un-šu*) = **Šd-wy-nswt(?)*, "May the King Save Me!" a name of good NK type; cf. ÄPN 330:16 ff. for names beginning with *Šd-wy* and 213:1 ff. for names containing *nswt* (= cun. *ins-* in *insibya* = *nswt-byt*). For the name, its Egyptian character and date, together with pertinent phonetic details, see my discussion, *BASOR*, No. 86, p. 28, n. 4.

- *53. *šaḥšiḥa* (*ša-aḥ-ši-ḥa-ši-ḥa*) = *sh-š^c.t* (*š^c.wt*), "letter-writer," or perhaps pleonastic, "epistolary secretary." This word, occurring with the personal determinative (which is often misused in the Amarna letters, being prefixed to titles or appellations as well as to true personal names) in EA 316:16, has hitherto proved completely baffling. It forms the special address of a postscript to a typically servile letter to Pharaoh from a local chief of Yurša in the Plain of Sharon and is to be judged like the four postscripts addressed by 'Abdu-Ḥeba of Jerusalem to the "royal scribe" (*ṭupšar šarri*); these Canaanite chieftains were only too well aware that their letters frequently failed to reach the royal ears and were filed away without receiving any attention from any responsible person. Phonetically there is no real difficulty, since Coptic *ca₂:ca₂* points to an earlier vocalization *sāḥ* for "scribe,"

the guttural preventing *ä* from becoming *ö*, as so often. For *š̄c.t* = *š̄w̄č*, written *šiḥa*, cf. *w̄w* = *w̄č̄č*, written in cuneiform *we-ḥu*, *we-ḥi*, etc., as well as *we-ú*, etc. The compound *saḥš̄c̄e* was perhaps taken by the Canaanites as a single word (cf. *ḥm-ntr*, etc.), which would explain the addition of *ši-ḥa* (= *š̄c̄.wt*, "letters"?); other explanations are possible. Egyptian *sh-š̄c̄.t*, "secretary," is attested from our period on (cf. *WB*, III, 480; IV, 419); that it was familiar in Asia appears from mention of Halpasila, *sh-š̄c̄.t* of the king of Khatti (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 160, 165), and later reference to the *sh-š̄c̄.t* of the prince of Byblus, Zakar-Ba'al (Wen-amūn, ii:68).

- *54. *Šarru* (*Ša-ar-ru*) = *Sr* (ÄPN 316: 23 ff.), "Prince, Notable," attested for NK. An Egyptian wanted by Akhenaten for extradition (EA 162:68).
55. *Šatepnarē'a* (*Ša-te/i-ip-na-re-a*) = *Stp.n-r̄c̄*, secondary name of Rameses II, "He Whom R̄c̄ Has Chosen" (construction like *marnē*, above, No. 25); for references see Friedrich, *OLZ*, XXVII, 705.
- *56. *Šūta* (*Šu-ta*, *Šu-ú-ta*) = *Su-ta* (ÄPN 321:17, where *Su-ti* and *Su-ta* appear together in syllabic writing). This is a hypocoristicon shortened from the usual *Sutáya* (*VESO* 56, XIV.D.3a; ÄPN 322:8), whose two writings *Su-ta-ya* and *Stḥ-y* (pronounced simply *Sty*) explain why we have the syllabic *ta* (*t̄*) inserted after *Stḥ* in several cases (ÄPN 322:8, 11, 13). The Greek *Sēthōs*, with *th* = Eg. *t* as *Athōthis*, *Othōēs*, etc., stands for *Sutáya*, while *Sēth* stands for *Sūtaḥ* (*VESO* 56, XIV.D.3). The *Sūta* of

EA 234 and 288, an important official (*rābišu*) of Akhenaten whose orders had to be obeyed at Accho as well as at Jerusalem, is probably identical with the Sethos who was military commander (*hry-pdt*, "captain of archers," cun. *iḥripita*, *q.v.*) and father of *P3-r̄c̄-ms-sw*, who became Ramesses I when he was already advanced in years. Since Ramesses I had been a very high military and civil official under Harmais (cf. Montet, *Kemi*, IV, 210 ff.; Helck, *EMF* 84 ff.) and his son Sethos I was over sixty at his death, ca. 1301 B.C., according to the medical report on his mummy, his grandfather, Sethos, must have been born before 1400, and would thus be at least thirty at the time of the EA correspondence mentioning *Sūta*. The identity of the two is thus probable, especially since names formed with *Sūtaḥ* were just beginning to appear again at the time.

57. *Sūtaḥapšap* (*Šu-ta-ḥa-ap-ša-ap*) = *Stḥ-ḥr-ḥpšf* (ÄPN 322:6), "*Sūtaḥ* Is on His Sword," name of a son of Ramesses II, apparently the crown prince, about 1279 B.C.; see Ranke, *ZÄS*, LVIII, 135 ff.

*58. *Šutti* (*Šu-ut-ti*) = *Su-ti* (ÄPN 321: 14, 17), a NK hypocoristicon (add to *VESO*), known from the Amarna period (Davies, *Amarna*, IV, 25) as the name of an official of Akhenaten. In EA 5:19 the name is attached to an Egyptian envoy to the court of Babylon in the time of Amenophis III.

59. *Taḥmaya* (*Ta-ḥ-ma-ia/ya*, *A-taḥ-ma-ia*) = *Pth-my* (ÄPN 140:6), a common abbreviation of *Pth-ms* = *Taḥmašši* in NK. (See No. 60.)

*60. *Taḥmašši* (*Taḥ-ma-aš-ši*; also *Ta'-ḥ-ma-aš!-ša!* in EA 284:9) = *Pth-*

ms(w), "Ptaḥ Is Born," an exceedingly common NK name; cf. *Anthes*, *ZÄS*, LXXII, 60 ff. The four passages which mention him as military commander (twice as *Taḥ-mašši/a*, EA 303:20; 284:9 [my emendation], and twice as *Taḥ-ma-ya/Ataḥmaia*, EA 265:9 ff.; *RA*, XIX, 96) all belong to the end of the reign of Amenophis III or the beginning of the reign of Akhenaten. The *Pth-my* who seems to have lived under Tuthmosis IV (Helck, *EMF* 27) may be the same person, in which case he would have been thirty years or so older by the early EA period; moreover, the text published in *Recueil de travaux*, X, 150, which calls *Pth-my* the *mr mš'(mnfytyw) n nb ʔwy*, "general of the Lord of the Two Lands," may actually belong to the reign of Amenophis III, in which case there would be little doubt about the identity.

61. *Teye* (*Te-i-e*; for occurrences see EA 1569), name of the queen of Amenophis III, written *Ta-y()*, *Ta-i-y()*, *Ta-y()-i* (i.e., probably *Ta-yi*) in Egyptian; cf. *VESO* 21 on the difficulty of finding a satisfactory explanation for the curious spellings of the queen's name and those of her father. For similar hypocoristica, *Ti-i-ya*, *Ta-ya-Ti-ya*, etc., cf. *ÄPN* 377:21 ff.

- *62. *Tūtu* (*Du-ū-du*, *Du-u-du*, *Du-ud-du*) = *Tu-tu* (*ÄPN* 383:23; *VESO* 64, XIX.F.7), a common NK hypocoristicon, best known from Amarna, where the tomb of our *Tūtu* has been preserved (Davies, *Amarna*, VI, 7-15). The identification was originally made by Steindorff (*BA*, I, 331, n.), and was first rejected by Ranke (*KMAV* 21),

but later accepted by him, with full defense of the change in his views (*ZÄS*, LVI, 69-71). That the identification is correct we may regard as certain, but Ranke is not justified at all in explaining the name as Semitic (i.e., = *Dawīd*). He is, of course, quite right in objecting to a direct equation of Eg. *t* and Canaanite *d*, but the cuneiform orthography has misled him. Actually, all occurrences of the name are in letters written from Amurrū to Egypt by a Hurrian scribe during the reign of Akhenaten: Hurrian scribes hopelessly confused the Semitic and Egyptian stops, which were phonetically unintelligible to them. Illustrations in the letters mentioning Dudu are legion; we may mention *duwaššar* (twice) for Accad. *tuwaššar*, *erišdu* (twice) for *erištu*, all in EA 158.

- *63. *Tūya* (*Tu-ū-ia*) = *Tu-ya* (*ÄPN* 379:8), a common NK hypocoristicon (not yet included in *VESO*). *Tūya* was among the Egyptians wanted for extradition from Amurrū in Akhenaten's times (EA 162:69).
64. *Ṭa-a-šēr-ti-i* = (?) **D²-sw-r-ḏ.t* (cf. *ÄPN* 397:24, *D²-sw-r-nḥḥ*, attested for NK; cf. also Nos. 22-23, attested also for NK), "May the One Who Has Given Him Be for Ever." The third cuneiform sign is *ŠAR*, which in this period is nearly always read *šar*, but is already beginning to fall together with *ŠIR* (*šir*, etc.); in our letter it is clearly read *šir*, *šēr* in lines 42 and 56. My suggestion for the last element is doubtful, both because we do not know the vocalization of the Egyptian word from other sources and because the Egyptian scribe who wrote

this letter confused his stops in every possible way, since Egyptian and Semitic employed dissimilar stops (cf. my remarks, *JE*, XXIII, 201-2). *Ta³ser^{ti}* (if we may so reconstruct the name) is mentioned along with half-a-dozen men with good Egyptian names wanted for extradition by the court of Akhenaten.

65. *Wašmu³arē^a* (*Wa-aš-mu-a-re-a*, etc.; see Friedrich, *OLZ*, XXVII, 705, for spellings and occurrences) = *Wsr-m³t-r^c*, prenomen of Rameses II, "Strong in Truth Is Rē."
 66. *Wašmu³arē^a-nahta* (*W[a-aš-mu-a]-re-a-na-ah-ta*) = *Wsr-m³t-r^c-nht* (*ÄPN* 85:16), "Ramesses II Is Mighty," well attested for NK; see Ranke, *ZÄS*, LVIII, 137-38. Mentioned *KUB*, III, 66:14 as an Egyptian envoy to the Hittite court, probably well after 1275 B.C.
 67. *Wišⁱari* (*Wi-iš-ia-ri*) = (?). The name, found with Egyptian names of persons wanted for extradition to Egypt in the time of Akhenaten (*EA* 162:71) remains enigmatic; it may possibly be Indo-Aryan.
 - *68. *Appihā* (*Ap-pi¹-ha*, *Ap-pi¹-ha-a*) = (?)**p³-h^c(^c)*, "The God Api Shines" (?). The name appears twice as *Ap-pi¹-ha* in *EA* 69:25, 29, a colorless letter of Rib-Adda of Byblus which may just as well be dated later, in the early part of Akhenaten's reign, as among the earliest Rib-Adda letters. It also appears, though not hitherto recognized, as *'Ap¹-pi¹-ha-a* in *EA* 100:12, a letter of the elders (*ši-bu¹[-ti]*) of Irqata, probably to Akhenaten. The circumstances of *Appihā*'s mission are the same in both letters. The same functionary appears finally in *EA* 105:35, where we must

certainly read *Ap(!)-pi¹-ha-a*, in spite of Knudtzon's note, as shown by the photograph; here he appears as a judge along with Yanhamu, in the time of Akhenaten. For the possible Egyptian equivalent which I have suggested, cf. the Middle-Egyptian names beginning with *p³*, *ÄPN* 22:16 ff. Another, possibly better, explanation which occurs to me is that the name is shortened from **mn-m³p³t-h^c*, "Amūn-in-Luxor Shines." In favor of this alternative is the NK date and the vocalization: for *p³.t* = *appi* see No. 1, and for *h^c(^c)* = *ha-a* see No. 6.

EXCURSUS: ACCENT AND VOWEL QUANTITY IN NEW EGYPTIAN

In 1894 Steindorff laid the foundation for our present knowledge of the historical relation between vowel accent and quantity in Egyptian by his epochal treatment of Coptic phonology in his *Koptische Grammatik*. Steindorff's principles were applied with rigorous logic to Egyptian by Kurt Sethe in the equally epochal first volume of his work, *Das ägyptische Verbum* (1899). In 1923 Sethe continued this investigation with a brilliant new monograph, *Die Vokalisation des Ägyptischen* (*ZDMG*, LXXVII, 145-207), which is still standard. Meanwhile I had been carrying on independent research along similar lines, completing a monograph for *BA* in 1919. When it became clear that this journal would be discontinued, I published an abstract of my conclusions in the *Recueil de travaux*, XL (1923), 64-70, which appeared several months before Sethe's much longer study and was approved almost throughout by the latter in a postscript appended to his study. Sethe's results were almost mathematical in their logical elegance, but he found himself un-

able to explain such phenomena as the development of *Mēnfe*, "Memphis," from Old Egyptian *Mn-nfrw* (really *Mn-nfr*; see below), since according to his rules the accent should fall on the syllable preceding the final *rw* (*op. cit.*, pp. 190-93). Moreover, the name *Paḥamnata* (above, No. 40), undoubtedly Eg. *P3-ḥm-ntr*, "The Priest," would be impossible to square with the fact that Coptic *ⲉⲛⲧⲉ* goes back unquestionably to Eg. *ḥm-ntr* (*ibid.*, p. 192, n. 1), in view of the rule that the accent must fall on the long penult (Copt. *ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ* < Eg. **nālē* < **nāčēr*).¹³ In Ranke's first important work in this field (*KMAV* 71 ff., 77 ff.) he did not deal with this problem at all (cf. *ZÄS*, XLVI, 109, n. 4). In 1923, I stated erroneously that "before 1300 all short accented vowels in open syllables were lengthened" (*op. cit.*, p. 66). In 1934 (*VESO*) I was in the process of changing my views, but I decided to omit detailed discussion and to postpone treatment of some of my data which contradicted this position until later (cf. also my analysis of certain words in 1937 [*JEA*, XXIII, 196, n. 5, etc.]). At the same time the late Josef Sturm reached similar conclusions in an important paper in *WZKM*, XLI (1934), 43 ff., 161 ff. (cf. esp. p. 169 and n. 1), but without clearly formulating them. I reached my present position about six years ago but have not hitherto had an opportunity to present my views. For lack of space I must restrict myself to bare essentials.

As Sethe pointed out (*ZDMG*, LXXVII, 190-91) there are a number of archaic compound words, some of which go back into Old Egyptian, in which the tendency of the accent is to recede to the first syl-

lable, with little or no regard to the length of the vowel after the first syllable, according to Coptic rules. Following are some examples (corrected in detail where necessary): *ⲉⲛⲧⲉ* from **ḥāntē* < **ḥām-nātē* < **ḥām-nāčēr* (see above); *ⲙⲛⲓⲕⲉ* from **Mūnfē* (> Heb. *Mōph*, Stricker, *Acta orientalia*, 1937, p. 9) < **Mūn-nāfēr* (where the second element, Coptic *ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ*, has hitherto been supposed to go back to **nāfē*); *ⲕⲟⲛⲧⲉ*, "incense," from (*šty*)-*ntr*, possibly pronounced at one stage **sāč(ē)-nāčē*. For other illustrations cf. Sethe, whose list can now be extended.

In *VESO* I pointed out a number of words in which the LE accent was on the antepenult (extremely difficult to square with my own rules of 1923 and impossible to conform to Sethe's principles of the same year); examples are *bi-a-ya* (*bī-aya*), "palm branch," > Coptic *ⲃⲁ*, *ⲃⲁⲉ*(i), etc. (*VESO* 40, VI.B.9); *ma-ar-ka-ba-ta* (*markābata*), "chariot," > Coptic *ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲃⲱⲩⲉⲧ* (*VESO* 39, VI.A.4); *a-ga-ra-ta* (*agālata*), "cart," > Coptic *ⲁⲃⲟⲗⲧⲉ* (*VESO* 38, V.A.10); *sa-ru-ti-ya* (*sarūtiya*), "to glean," > Coptic *ⲥⲣⲓⲧ* (*VESO* 50, X.C.17).

In 1937 (*JEA*, XXIII, 196, n. 5) I pointed out, e.g., that Amarna *upūti* for *wpwtj*, "envoy," and Coptic *ⲉⲓⲟⲛⲉ* from *wpwt*, "mission, commission, task," pointed to the development **wāpūwāt* > **wāpūwē* > **wāpwē* > *yāpwē* > *yōpē* and **wāpūwātēy* > **ēwpūwtēy* (*upūti*) > **upēt*. With this clue it is easy to find similar cases, though perhaps hypothetical for the most part; I shall deal with some of the clearer examples in subsequent studies.

It follows that the accent in Egyptian, prior to the twelfth century B.C., could fall on the antepenult, and that accented short vowels in open syllables were not

¹³ For clarity I quote our forms according to the now partly obsolete Sethe theory of LE vocalic quantity; for the correct *nālē* < **nāčēr* see below.

necessarily (perhaps never) lengthened in this position until after ca. 1300 B.C.¹⁴ It also follows that Sethe's table (*op. cit.*, p. 202) requires slight modification. For example, since we know that the word for "god" in LE was *nūtē*, not *nātē*, and that the contemporary word for "goddess" was something like **ēntārē* (Old Coptic *ⲛⲧⲟⲣⲉ*), Sethe was certainly correct in reconstructing the original Egyptian forms (still with their basic accusative endings) as **nālara* (read **nāčārā*) and **natārata* (read **nāčārātā*), respectively. The only change is in recognizing the fact that the unaccented short vowel in an open syllable *before the tone* was syncopated *before the final disappearance of case-endings* in Proto-Egyptian: *ēntōrē* < **ēntārē(t)* < **nāčārātā*. Sethe's second example, *ⲙⲟⲩⲓ*, "lion," and *ⲙⲓⲛ*, "lioness," requires additional modification because of the discovery of the principle *ē* < *ū* subsequently: *māi* < **māšē* < **māšūa*; *ēmyē* < **ēmšēē* < **ēmšūē(t)* < **māšūātā*

¹⁴ It was still later that the Egyptians borrowed the word for "camel" (Coptic *ⲉⲙⲙⲟⲩⲁ*) from Phoenician (not from Hebrew, much less Arabic, as is shown by the further obscuration of the tone-long *ā* [as in Hebrew] to *ō*, which was regular in Phoenician). Coptic *ēāmūl* < Phoen. **gāmōl* < *gāmāl* < common Semitic *gāmāl*. It follows that the word for "camel" cannot have been borrowed by the Egyptians before about the eleventh century B.C., i.e., at the time of the general diffusion of the use of domesticated camels (see my discussion in *JBL*, LXIV, 287-88). At the time of borrowing, the corollary that long vowels in closed accented syllables were shortened, had ceased to be operative.

< **māšūātā*. With similar changes, generally minor, the other examples in his table and comparable forms elsewhere fall into the new picture of phonological evolution.

For want of space we must cut this sketch short and limit ourselves to formulating the necessary deductions. Unaccented short vowels were syncopated regularly before the tone, even in the earliest Egyptian which we can trace. Syncope of short vowels in open syllables after the tone was a much slower process, though it ultimately came to prevail. As a rule (perhaps always), accented short vowels in open syllables were not lengthened until after Semitic words were borrowed by LE and after the date of our cuneiform transcriptions, which coincides with the classical phase of syllabic orthography. In LE we thus have greater phonetic divergence from Coptic and closer approximation to older Egyptian than has hitherto been supposed. In particular we must be careful not to assume a long vowel in LE because there is a long vowel in the corresponding position in Coptic. Needless to say, these minor corrections in no way invalidate the magnificent work done by Steindorff and Sethe; they merely eliminate certain contradictions and make the structure more stable.

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POETIC STRUCTURE IN THE DIALOGUE OF JOB

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THE problem of "strophic" organization of Hebrew poetry and the story of scholarly wrestle with it call for no presentation here. Both have been ably discussed by Professor Kraft, whose study is an adequate refutation of assertions that such structure does not exist.¹ All that is required for our present purpose is to point out that only in relatively few cases are structural divisions indicated by objective formal features; in the Book of Job these do not function at all, but the one criterion of analysis is the logical separation of the contents. Terminology also has been an area of individual whim, leading to much confusion. We shall follow Kraft's system with implied indorsation of his reasons for it. Further, it is relevant to remark that the structure of the Book of Job has for long been an object of scholarly attention. Bickell divided the poem arbitrarily into couplets,² a course followed also by the most recent commentary, that of Hölscher.³ How far this is from doing justice to the subtle changes of its artistic form and the response of these to varying moods will become apparent, it is hoped, in the course of the present study.

For exploration of the structure of Hebrew poetry the Book of Job offers unique advantages, notably in the length of its successive unified poems. By contrast

with most of the prophetic utterances, which commonly comprise not more than two or three "strophes," and even of the Psalms, which in general are relatively short, the poems of the Book of Job are normally of more than twenty "verses" (in the modern division of the text) and frequently of two or three times that bulk. This provides opportunity to examine the feature which, because of its brevity, Kraft could find but seldom in the psalms he studied, viz., the existence of the "stanza." However, all is subject to the dependability of the received text. It is obvious that original forms can be determined only where the original text has been preserved in essential accuracy or where there exist indubitable resources for restoring it. But the difficulties of the text in the Book of Job are too well known to call for statement. At many points, then, the poetic structure will doubtless evade discovery; at others, results will be only conjectural. Happily, there is a sufficient body of unimpeachable text where definite findings are possible such that tentative views as to the form of the rest of the poem concerned may then be put forward.

A good point at which to begin is, not chapter 3, because of the obvious uncertainty of the text in verses 3-9, but rather chapter 19. A little examination reveals that the passage is in couplets. This becomes quite clear at verse 21; it is fully apparent that verses 21-22, 23-24, and 25-26 are each a self-contained and independent logical unit of thought. Observation will reveal that a comparable situation holds in regard to verses 13-20 and, though perhaps less apparent, in verses

¹ Charles F. Kraft, *The Strophic Structure of Hebrew Poetry as Illustrated in the First Book of the Psalter* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938).

I am indebted to Professor James Muilenburg for reading this study in manuscript and offering valuable suggestions.

² Gustav Bickell, *Das Buch Hiob nach Anleitung der Strophik und der Septuaginta auf seine ursprüngliche Form zurückgeführt* (Wien, 1894).

³ Gustav Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1937).

5-12 likewise. However, at two points the text of the chapter demands comment. Verses 26-29 are notoriously uncertain, although it seems at least reasonably tenable that verse 29 is a pietistic comment. Job has plenty to say in the way of personal rebuke and warning for the friends, but it is never appended at the end of a speech that has led his thought afar in more serious matters. The length of verse 27, taken in connection with its uncertain content (particularly in its latter part), would seem to indicate that it, too, has been subject to some expansion. Details of the text of verse 26 and of whatever may be retained of verse 27 do not concern us seriously at present, interested as we are primarily in units of thought and the space occupied in expressing them. At verses 4-5 also, doubts of genuineness arise. The emphatic confession of error in verse 4, diverse as it is from Job's characteristic mood; the repetition of *amnam* at the same point in the two contiguous verses; and, further, the incongruity of the thought of verse 4 in the immediate context indicate a spurious origin. Verses 2-3, it will be observed, repudiate the reasoning of the friends; verses 5-6 continue with their assumed superiority to Job, but between these is intruded a sophisticated comment on Job's own responsibility for the results of unstated errors.

But, in any case, the thought of the chapter advances by these steps and through these units: a retort to the friends' argument (vss. 2-3); the disgrace that they seek to prove is caused by the action of God (5-6), who has in violence fenced Job in (7-8); he dishonors and persecutes him (9-10); he rages against him as against an enemy (11-12a-b); Job's relatives have turned from him (13-14 and the first two words of 15); his servants, too, disregard him (15-16); he is repulsive

even to his wife and children (17-18) and to his associates also (19-20), since he is but a walking skeleton; then there is expressed a moving appeal for compassion (21-22) and a wish that an indelible record were made (23-24), for ultimately Job's vindicator will arise (25-26), and through him salvation will be realized (27-28).

But there is yet more of striking character to the structure of the chapter. Slight examination shows that major divisions of thought begin at verses 5, 13, and 21. Verses 2-3 are Job's retort to the friends; 5-12 describe the conduct of the divine adversary; 13-20 are a sad catalogue of Job's estrangements from his friends; and 21-28 present his sense of need and conviction of coming salvation. These divisions in mathematical terms amount to exactly one couplet plus 4, plus 4, plus 4; that is, a single introductory couplet followed by three sections each of four couplets. Such uniformity cannot be accidental. Here is deliberate and conscious formal structure. Here are the "stanzas" which, a little ago we pointed out, it is useless to seek in shorter poems. However, since this whole matter of Hebrew poetic structure is still in the stage of initial investigation, with few certain results demonstrated, it is important to note that, whether or not for adequate reasons, one verse (4) was not included in the analysis. We might take the view that the result attained is cogent evidence of the spuriousness of the verse, but, for the moment, it is better merely to note that, in the body of a chapter otherwise strikingly regular in its structure, there is one line that will not fit into the structural scheme.

Couplet structure is apparent in much of chapter 20 also; that is, it is clear as far as verse 25, and the prime difficulty in the remainder is due to uncertain text.

But enough is apparent to give high probability to the belief that the entire chapter was so constructed. It is probable also that stanzas existed, but their delineation is not so clear as in chapter 19. However, the chapter begins with an introductory couplet of stinging retort, just as in chapter 19; then there follow four couplets (vss. 4-11) in development of the announced theme of the transience of the wicked man's happiness. After this, four couplets (vss. 12-19) relate his misfortunes, under the figure of indigestion; but the remaining ten verses suggest five couplets, not four, as we should expect. The existence of tristichs enlarges the bulk still further. Although genuine tristichs certainly occur in Hebrew poetry, their sporadic occurrence, as here, is cogent indication of intrusion. Further, verse 28 looks highly suspicious. But the conclusion must not be forced. We content ourselves with noting the couplet structure of the chapter and the fact that two stanzas of four couplets each can be detected, but the remainder of the chapter in its present form does not lend itself to such organization.

So far, then, results would seem to substantiate the views of Bickell and Hölcher that the Dialogue was organized in couplets. But, to avoid such premature generalization, let us now essay the difficulties of the early chapters. We turn to chapter 3.

Verses 5-9, containing as they do three tristichs and two distichs, are commonly recognized to be expanded with spurious additions;⁴ however, as one moves on toward the end of the chapter, the organization reveals itself. Verses 24-26 are obviously a logical unit descriptive of Job's misery; 20-22 ask why the unhappy live, 17-19 describe the alleged attractiveness of She'ol. Then if we accept the well-

known suggestion that verse 16 has been displaced from an original position after 11, we see 11, 16, and 12 in similar mood asking why Job did not die at birth; and 13-15 tell the greater happiness that would in that case now be his. Triad structure is here indisputable; we are immediately delivered from the presupposition mentioned a moment ago. But once again a single line has been ignored, that is, verse 23. The strange way in which it is appended after two verses that separate it from its governing verb strengthen the conclusion suggested by the features of the structure. But, here again, we prefer for the moment merely to note the existence of a good poetic line that stands outside the evident structure of the poem.

No such organization can be discovered in verses 3-10, yet it will not suffice to conclude easily that this even number of verses consists of a series of couplets; no logical divisions such as would then be required are apparent. While assured results in this investigation can be built only on the traditional text or on such alterations of it as can commend themselves, one may yet venture a few suggestions here that indicate a line of solution of the problem of structure.

It is evident that an orthographic similarity exists between 5c and 8a; that this similarity at one time approached identity is implied by the LXX reading. It is highly probable, then, that we have here a dittograph that owes its present divergence to some process of corruption. Indeed, LXX adds further corroboration, for 5c-6a are lacking in Sinaiticus.⁵ But this equation of 5c with 8a implies that originally 5 was followed immediately by 8. Further, it will be seen that 5a-b duplicates the thought of 4 in a way that is scarcely consistent with the author's methods in poetic parallelism. Evidently

⁴ Cf. Driver and Gray *ad loc.*

⁵ So Swete *ad loc.*

one of them is a gloss, and the sequence of thought from 3 gives some measure of preference for verse 4, probably to be reduced to 4a, c. Now if we may thus regard verses 3, 4a, c, and 8 as the original first triad of the poem, then the next step will be easy. Verses 7, 9a, c, and 10 provide a second. The result has the happy, and perhaps corroborative, feature of balancing the curses on the day and on the night in the two strophes. However, no account is thus taken of the excellent distich, 6b and c, a situation which again it is best merely to note.

The chapter, then, contains five indisputable triads, and, if any value may be accorded the speculations just now offered, perhaps two more. But no stanza structure can be detected. These first alleged triads stand apart, but no such grouping into pairs among the remainder can be entertained. The situation would not be helped by a cordial acceptance of the view of Kraeling that verses 13-19 are "a separate inlay" of which "the material utilized was not composed with clear-cut attention to the specific case of our hero."⁶ This is the first of several cases where Kraeling unfortunately accepts too readily the deletions proposed by Baumgärtel,⁷ whose arguments often evidence no more than a captious mood that has refused to understand the legitimate scope of the thought in the poem and its development under the skillful hands of the great poet who composed it.

The first speech of Eliphaz (chaps. 4-5) is predominantly in couplets—this variation of couplet and triad is one of the delicate embellishments of the poet's style. But, as in practically every chapter of the Dialogue, analysis is confused through textual uncertainties. However,

⁶ Emil G. Kraeling, *The Book of the Ways of God* (New York: Scribner's, 1939), p. 36.

⁷ Friedrich Baumgärtel, *Der Hiobdialog* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933).

from 4:8 one goes on for some distance with confidence. Verses 8-9 tell platitudinously of the fate of those who plow and sow trouble; 10-11 repeat the moral in a metaphor of lions; 12-13 introduce a ghost story; 14-15 tell of the terror induced by the apparition; 16 relates its conduct (the brevity of the first stichos is not to be regarded as a mark of corruption but of the poet's art). But at this point the analysis runs into trouble. Verses 18 and 19 seem even closer related than 17 and 18, and, while these verses through 21 could be set up in the bulk of three couplets, still the Massoretic divisions deserve some consideration; besides, the division between the second and third such couplets would be one of measure rather than of logic. Two courses offer themselves, with indeed little balance of probability between them. We might take the position that at verse 16 the author has turned to triads, with 16-17 then giving the ghostly revelation, and 18-21 consisting perhaps originally of one triad that enforced the message with considerations of human frailty; or we could proceed with couplets: 17-18 presenting the content of the utterance and 19-21, of uncertain original bulk but perhaps not more than a single couplet, emphasizing man's weakness. It is unfortunate that we cannot safely go beyond these tentative suggestions, for then the structure might provide conclusive evidence as to the point at which the speech of the ghost terminated. But if we consider that the couplets continue to the end of the chapter, then apparently the logical division between 18 and 19 consists in a development of the contrast between angels and men.

The beginning of chapter 5 is clarified by acceptance of the suggestion to delete verse 1. It is an obvious interruption of the movement of thought. From the

rhetorical question of 4:17 and its development in verses 18-21, 5:2 replies, "Certainly not, for impatience kills the fool." Going on, then, with verse 2, the structure still is couplet: 2-3, the ruin of the fool; 4-5, the ruin of his sons; 6-7, the true source of man's trouble and toil. But at verse 8 occurs one of the major changes of thought of the chapter; and again we are compelled to pause and consider. For the material in 8-16 lends itself to couplet organization only by mechanical operation. Kraeling and Baumgärtel again advocate the easy course; they delete the entire section, as indeed much else in the speech. But this will not do. Baumgärtel's argument is in the large that, since Eliphaz has told Job his trouble is of his own making, it is inconsistent now to turn about and promise him divine favor. But surely this is superficial. It takes no account of the condition of such favor, which Eliphaz clearly states. Besides, the restoration of divine favor is precisely the concern of the friends in the first cycle, while they still retain hope that Job may be amenable to their advice. Both Bildad (in 8:4-7) and Zophar (in 11:13-19) express the same thought as Eliphaz does in this passage. There is no sound basis for doubt of a genuine nucleus in 5:8-16. But what is the nucleus, for the passage is of precisely the sort that has commonly invited spurious expansion? It is best to move on to the sequel in search of criteria. And there we discover triad structure. Verses 17-19 are a general statement about affliction and healing; 20-22 list the announced "six (or seven) afflictions" which a pious man can overcome; 24-26 are a statement of the happy course of a life of divine favor. And then verse 27 is a single line in conclusion of Eliphaz' argument. Verse 23 we have ignored, and by design; its patent repetition of the content of 22b, along with its omission by the

Coptic, indicates its origin in a glossator's activity.

Now to return: the abrupt introduction of verse 11 and its illogical sequence from 10 give ground for suspicion of its originality. This is strengthened to the point of conviction by its introduction of the idea of deliverance of the lowly, a concept that is remote from Eliphaz' thought in this speech. He has compared Job to a lion (4:10); he has spoken of him as a leader in the thought of his group (4:3-5); and the insinuated charge in his ghostly revelation (4:17-21) is that Job lacks humility, to all of which 5:11 implies a flat contradiction. We must regard the verse as spurious. The same considerations will dispose of 15-16 as but pious commentary by some devout reader. An interesting result now emerges. Verses 8-10 speak of the physical power of the God to whom Job is urged to make his submission, and 12-14 are equally unified and consistent in their account of the supremacy of the divine sagacity. Evidently at verse 8 the structure of the speech changes from couplet to triad.

The beginning of chapter 4 is difficult. It is of just the bulk of three couplets, but such logical division is not clear. A rather better result is obtained by division into triads. Presumably this is the situation. Eliphaz began in a mood responsive to Job's utterance, even adopting his poetic form. But presently, moving fully into his thought, he changed to the more suitable couplet. However, when he turned to pleading and pious exhortation, once more he chose the triad.

Job resumed in triads. There are few textual problems in chapter 6 that affect the poetic structure. The tristich in verse 10 is to be reduced by deletion of its third element, which patently is contradictory of the thought of the context. The proper treatment of 4 is not so apparent, but

some balance of probability favors *a* and *b*, as also LXX seems to indicate. Verse 27 is certainly spurious. Job at this point is in conciliatory mood, pleading with the friends to give him real help instead of the dubious advice that Eliphaz has offered; a harsh note such as contained in verse 27 has no place in the passage. Verse 18 is best transferred to follow 20, although it is matter of slight consequence for the structure; and verse 14 will call for consideration in a moment. Then we proceed: verses 2-4 are Job's defense of his complaining; 5-7 develop the thought with certain metaphors; 8-10 bring it to a climax in a longing for death. In 11-13 Job tells how his frailty is unequal to his suffering; in 15-17 he likens the friends to desert wadis, and in 19, 20, and 18 he describes the tragedy that attends the drying-up of these. This falsity of the friends is the more heinous because (21-23) Job has not asked from them money or legal intervention. He is ready to be shown his error, although his words are those of a desperate man (24-26), so will they not hear him without offense (28-30)?

The notable change of mood initiated with chapter 7 carries likewise a change of structure; the poet shifts to couplets. Verses 1-2 describe man's servile state; 3-4 apply the generalization to Job's experiences; 5-6 expand this with notes of his physical suffering which has induced despair. Verses 7-8 speak of his transience; 9-10 elevate this into a generalization. But 11-12 are less coherent logically, and we are reduced to accepting them as a couplet on the mere basis of measure, for 13 certainly belongs with 14 but not with 12. And so the movement of thought proceeds: 13-14 tell of Job's troubled nights; 15-16 of the resultant longing for death; 17-18 speak in the mood of Ps. 8:5 of the paltriness of man to be sub-

jected to such trying. In verse 20 it seems best to delete the first clause, as many critics urge; such confession of sin is quite out of keeping with Job's consistent protestation. However, this serves but to throw into relief the problem of verse 21*a*. If we take the course of deleting it on the same grounds, there remain three lines—20*b*, *c*, and 21*b*—to be organized into structure. But the latter one is not a summary standing by itself, such as we found 5:27 to be. It is attractive to retain 21*a* and have the chapter continue its couplet structure to the end. Indeed, a slight change of grammatical structure in 21 may be a valid clue to such a course; in verse 20, the word for Job's sin is a verb, but 21*a* has two nouns with suffixes, which then may be putative, not actual in the writer's thought, meaning thus, "the transgression (or, wrong) which *you impute* to me." The admittedly genuine remainder of verse 20 calls for some such interpretation. God, so verse 20 alleges, regards Job as a sort of target of his animosity; there is some reason for this, however baseless, the question implies. This, then, is the sequence of thought into 21: the alleged offense for which you are making me the object of your darts and blows—can you not overlook it, so that I may in peace lie down in death? Nonetheless, it is entirely possible that the correct course is to delete 21*a* along with 20*a* and accept the remains of these three final verses of the chapter as a triad.

The treatment of 6:14 now calls for comment. That it stands outside the structure is beyond question. But it is a great line, and its relevance to Job's predicament has made it famous. Yet the form of the poem is so clear that no reconsideration will find a place for the verse. It hangs loosely, though not quite irrelevantly, between verses 13 and 15, having no close affinities with either but rather

with some loose implication of both. In the end we can do nothing but once again note that an excellent line will not fit into the structural scheme.

The chapters reveal an organization into stanzas. The two triads, 6:2-4 and 5-7, protest that Job has good cause for his complaining; 8-10 and 11-13 welcome the prospect of death; 15-17 and 18-20 rebuke the friends for their false comfort; 21-23 and 24-26 protest the reasonableness of Job's position. Then the novel situation emerges that the section terminates with a single triad (28-30), which certainly is not to be organized with material in chapter 7, where the thought has taken a distinct step forward and also, we have seen, the structure changes to couplets. The interesting feature is that these couplets arrange themselves in groups of three, that is, with the same number of lines in a stanza as in chapter 6. Verses 1-6 tell of Job's "hired service"; 7-12, of his frailty in the face of his persecution; 13-18, of his desire for death in such frailty. Then, just as in chapter 6, the discussion terminates in an incomplete stanza. If we take the more conservative position discussed above in criticism of the text, we have two couplets, while the more severe course would yield just one triad. Since the stanzas in the two chapters are hitherto of equal bulk, and since two couplets are not equivalent to one triad, there emerges some probability, which is to be added to considerations surveyed above that verse 21a is spurious, and thus chapter 7, like chapter 6, closes with the single triad, verses 19, 20 (from *lamah* onward), and 21b.

The text of chapter 8 is badly preserved from verse 13 onward, especially verses 14-19. Since I have discussed the problem at length elsewhere,⁸ and will

⁸ *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1933, pp. 205-16.

here depend upon the results attained in that study, the chapter can be quickly disposed of. We find ourselves immediately in triads. Verses 2-4 argue that it is absurd to charge God with wrong when he has but requited Job his sons' deserts; 5-7 promise that restoration will come through Job's penitence; 8-10 deduce that he should, then, learn from ancient wisdom; verses 11-13 tell figuratively of the fate of the wicked. At this point, thought and structure change. The couplet 14-15 evidently described originally the righteous under the figure of a desert shrub; 16-17 tell how this grows green and hardy in the blighting glare of the sun; when eaten off without a trace, it grows again from its roots (18-19). Then 20-22 summarize and apply the teaching to Job's predicament.

Once again stanzas are to be recognized. Verses 2-7 in two triads reprove and advise Job; the next two, 8-13, relate ancient wisdom. Thus, there are two stanzas in the first part of the chapter. Then 14-19 are of the same bulk but consist of three couplets that deal with the desert plant. The chapter as a whole thus consists of three stanzas and a concluding triad. It is interesting to note how the poet shows a consistent tendency to equate bulk, that is, the number of lines, not the number of strophies; interesting, too, is the frequency with which he concludes discussions with an overhanging strophe, hitherto a triad.

Baumgärtel and Kraeling would delete chapter 10 entirely and all of chapter 9 except verses 1-3, 11-22 (or 23), and 32-33. That is simplifying matters with a vengeance! However, such criticism is right to the extent that there is spurious material in this third speech of Job—as also in every other chapter of the book! The amorphous catalogue of divine attributes in 9:4-10 is identically the sort of

passage which commonly bears marks of having suffered at the hands of pious commentators. And so here. This repetitious jumble of natural phenomena certainly did not originate with the able poet whose work we are examining. When we note that his initial emphasis is upon the "wisdom" of God and that, after only modestly relevant notions, the inscrutability of his works in nature is expressed in verse 10, we shall probably be on the right track. The chapter is in couplets. Verses 2-3 pose the problem: how can man prove himself just, when (4 and 10) God is of transcendent wisdom? His conduct is inscrutable (11-12); he rules over mythological monsters (13-14); how, then, can Job answer him, indifferent as he is to human cries (15-16)? He overwhelms Job with tempest and afflictions (17-18) and in his power overrides Job's rights (19-20); in desperation Job charges him with moral indifference (21-22); the divine government is a caricature of justice (23-24); hence, Job is in despair (25-26); his efforts to bear his affliction fail (27-28); for, whatever he may do, God will but hurl him down again (30-31), since there is no umpire to protect him (32-33); nonetheless, if God will but make it possible, Job will speak (34-35). Thus the conclusion that is apparent on other grounds receives strong corroboration from structural considerations: verse 29, which makes Job once more confess guilt, is spurious.

Similar must be our judgment of 10:1, for the immediate and direct sequel of 9:35 is 10:2. From having declared in the former that he would speak, in 10:2 he proceeds, "I would say . . ."; verse 1 certainly did not originate with the author of the Dialogue but gives the impression of consisting of a series of allusive comments in part corrupt.

So we proceed: he would boldly ques-

tion God's conduct toward him (vss. 2-3); God is more than human (4-5); then (6-7), why does he seek to establish false charges of Job's guilt? He would destroy his own creature (8-9), whom he had formed through a biological process (10-11); he had given him life and care (12-13), thus revealing after all his own true character. Still, God does not overlook sin (14-15b-c), and even in his righteousness Job is sated with humiliations; God persecutes him (16-17) so that he again turns to his longing for death (18-19), and demands to be let alone before he goes soon to the "land of no-return" (20-21).

Suspensions of the character of verse 22 as a commentator's gloss are thus fully corroborated by the structure of the poem. A still more important contribution is exegetical. An acute problem of interpretation of the chapter has been the direction of thought in verse 13. Does the pronoun *'elleh* look onward and refer to God's stern treatment mentioned in verses 14-17, or does it refer to the goodness of God which Job has just conceded to have been the significant fact of his life? Either interpretation is syntactically possible, and decision between them has remained largely a matter of personal predilection. But a recognition of the poetic structure of the chapter lifts the matter beyond caprice; the writer has made clear, when we understand his methods, that he meant here to indicate the great change in Job's attitude. To this point Job has slowly sunk ever lower in his despair and resentment, until he has charged God with indifference to moral considerations and even the brutality of irresponsible might. But Job experienced the cathartic effect of self-expression; he seems almost shocked at the extremity of his own utterances and in recoil admits that God's goodness has been the golden thread through his life; further, faithful

kindness and care have been in God's heart: they have been his true nature, and even in the present days of suffering they still are not lacking. True to his skill, the poet represents Job, desperately sick in body and mind, as falling back immediately into his black mood of hopeless complaining. Nonetheless, here is the great turning-point in Job's experience from which he moves on, not steadily but in the intermittent and uncertain fashion characteristic of his disordered condition, to the affirmation of faith and hope that is expressed notably in chapter 23.

Stanza structure is less apparent than in preceding chapters. Through considerable of the speech, groupings of three couplets can be observed. But in 9:11-28 it is obscure, probably the worst situation being that the couplet, 23-24, would then be included with 25-28, whereas its relationship is apparently with its preceding context; in other words, there is a logical break after 24. It is best to avoid forcing the matter.

Zophar's speech begins in triads. The division is clear: 2-4, 5-6 (considering 6c as a remnant of a full line), 7-9, and 10-12. The exegesis of verse 12 is uncertain, but, whether we invoke slight textual emendation in 11b or accept the passage as it is, a division between 12 and 13 is beyond question. But the rest is not easy. It has been well suggested that 19a is to be deleted as a gloss on 18b. In that case, verses 13-20 would organize acceptably in four couplets; and such change of structure would correspond to the major break in the thought of the chapter. But we must admit the logical division between the alleged couplets is not so clear as we have found elsewhere. However, if this course is correct, then the chapter consists of four triads and four couplets.

Job's reply, chapters 12-14, is, for our present purpose, one of the most interest-

ing sections of the entire Dialogue. Recognition of the structure, however, is beset with grave difficulties. For it is apparent that chapter 12 contains a large measure of secondary material, and the line between genuine and spurious cannot be drawn with confidence. The other two chapters present problems also, although by comparison these seem minor. The situation is such that one begins best with chapter 14, where it is soon apparent that we deal with triads—or, at least, the units, verses 7-9 and 10-12, are clear. Forward and backward there lie serious difficulties, but acceptance of two familiar suggestions will immediately clarify the problem in part. It has long been recognized that verse 4 is an intrusive comment. Many critics also advocate the removal of 13:28 to follow 14:2. Then excellent triads emerge: 1, 2, 13:28; 3, 5a, b, 6.

At verse 13 one runs again into difficulties. Certainly the triad structure does not continue through 14-17, although it is clear again in 18 ff. except only that 19 lacks one stichos. This deficiency would be met through the expedient advocated by Dhorme (though not for this reason) of transferring 14a to follow 19; but the hiatus then left destroys the cogency of the proposal. We must let verse 19 stand as it is, accepting any theory of its brevity that seems suitable, and then undertake the difficulties of 13-17 with what resources they offer. First we must consider whether the Massoretes were not right in dividing the material of 13-14 into two tristich lines; taken so, they constitute a reasonably good couplet, whereas, if we ignore this division and set them up in distichs, as Beer did,⁹ it is apparent that 14a is no parallel of 13c. Yet the Massoretes' course runs foul of the facts that a logical separation is evident between 15

⁹ Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica* (1st ed.).

and 16 and that 16 and 17 certainly belong together. That is, if we regard 13 and 14 as constituting a couplet, then verse 15 is left isolated. And while we have met a number of such lines already in this study, still one must exhaust every other possibility before concluding that such is actually the situation. The patent relevance of the line in this case, with not a shred of duplication such as might support a theory of glossing, is strong basis for believing in its originality. Beer's course in maintaining distich lines through the passage may be on the right line. Already we have met in the Dialogue some cases of slight displacement of material such as are generally recognized.¹⁰ If a similar theory may be entertained here, the situation will become clear. Excellent parallelism and couplets are secured by reading the passage in this sequence: 13, 14c; 14a-b, 15; 16, 17. This falls into three couplets which, as we have had occasion to remark before, are just the bulk of two triads. It would seem that the author sought to throw into relief and emphasis the high point of his thought in the chapter by a sudden change of structure.

A similar situation reveals itself in chapter 13. The prevalent structure is triad: 1-3; 4-6; 7-9; 10-12 (although 12 is a summary, still its immediate relevance to 10-11 is close enough for it to combine into a good triad). Then, just as in chapter 14, at the crucial point of his thought, the writer changes to couplets, but in this case there are only two: 13-14 and 15-16. Then the triad structure resumes: 17-19; 20-22; 23-25; 26-27, the latter verse a tristich instead of two distichs as the structure would require; in other words, this triad also lacks one stichos.

There would be little value in delaying over a close examination of chapter 12. The corruption of the text in verses 4-5, the sudden shift of subject at verse 13, the irrelevance of much of the chapter to Job's thought—all testify to a secondary origin. But the beginning is thoroughly suitable; we may concede readily that the chapter contains a genuine nucleus. Verse 2 is entirely acceptable; the repetition of 3b in 13:2b is suspicious, still the original line may be preserved, though imperfectly, in 12:3a and c. Verse 9a also is attractive. But, beyond that, identification of original elements is in danger of subjectivity. Since the speech is predominantly in triads, it is probable that in verses 2, 3, and 9 we have one of these nearly complete. However, one further line of evidence can be brought to bear on the problem.

Stanza structure of two triads each, except where otherwise noted, can be detected in chapters 13 and 14, thus: 13:1-6, Job's denunciation of the friends; 7-12, the absurdity of their arguing for God; but then in two couplets, 13-16, Job's desperation and faith; again triads, 17-22, his stipulations for his case; 23-27, the argument he would present direct to God; 14:1-6 (with 13:28 as noted), man's miserable estate; 7-12, man's hoplessness; 13-17 (three couplets), Job's hope and despair; 18-22, man's final annihilation.

The implication, then, is that chapter 12 contained one stanza of two triads; the nature and bulk of the material preclude their having been more. It would seem that, in addition to the one triad which can be detected almost complete, there was one other, the content of which is indicated by the confused material now contained in the chapter. Apparently after reproving the friends in the fashion apparent in verses 2-3 and 9, Job gave a sample of traditional piety just to show

¹⁰ Not the wholesale shifting of blocks of material from chapter to chapter, as advocated by some, but 3:16 to follow vs. 11, and 6:18 to follow vs. 20, etc.

his familiarity with such thinking and appropriately, in 13:1, summarized that he knew all that. Apparently, it was the actual presence of such pious comments in Job's speech that encouraged commentators to expand the text into its present form.

There is occasion to remark also on the peculiar feature that in 13:13-16 the author has given a stanza of just the *number* of couplets which he had been using of triads, instead of employing the same *bulk*, that is, three couplets, as he has commonly done elsewhere.

Complete analysis of chapter 15 is impossible because of its corrupt condition. From verse 22 onward the text is so confused that at some points anything more than the general nature of the original thought is uncertain. Fortunately, however, the chapter begins well, and we can proceed for a distance with confidence. Couplets are clearly evident: 2-3, a generalization on Job's utterances; 4-5, a more specific reply; 7-8, Job's egregious arrogance; 9-10, the friends' equality with him. Then the structure slips into triads: 11-13, Job's stubborn impiety; 14-16, his exceptional fallibility; 17-19, his need of learning from the ancient sages. Apparently from this point onward Eliphaz' speech is entirely a citation of ancient wisdom. And, marking the change, the structure seems to shift once more back to couplets. Evidently we may recognize these: 20-21, the terrors haunting the wicked man; 22-23, his ruin; 24-25 and 26-27, the onslaught of the dark day. There is no profit in going further, except only that 34-35 is a summarizing couplet. For the rest, it may be that already we have presumed too far on the uncertain text of 22-27. Under the circumstances, it is idle to search for stanza structure. We should note, however, that once more we have attained our results by ignoring

a line (vs. 6) which otherwise might be considered acceptable.

Chapters 16-17 confront our investigation with the most serious obstacles of any speech in the entire Dialogue, until at chapter 24 it runs off into uncertain fragments and secondary expansions. The text is notoriously bad in much of chapter 17; but even chapter 16 is less dependable than its ordered form might suggest. The sudden introduction of Job's persecutor in verse 7 and the poor sequence from 5 into 6 indicate cogently that something has fallen out before 7; perhaps, too, material has been intruded still earlier. On the background of the clear results attained in much of what we have surveyed hitherto, the extreme difficulty of structural analysis is further evidence of more than ordinary corruption of this speech. There is little use attempting any analysis of verses 2-5. This is not to suggest that they are completely corrupt but only that the genuine elements in them, whatever their limits, have apparently been both expanded and defectively preserved so that the original structure cannot be detected. Even when we begin, say, at verse 9, troubles are by no means at an end. Logical divisions occur at verses 12, 15, and 18. But the intervening sections are not of equal bulk. Further, 9, 10, 12, and 13 are tristich lines, but, as distinct from many such phenomena elsewhere, the pairing of the lines here precludes their being dubbed sporadic. Also their content is appropriate to the context. The facts seem to indicate a structural unit such as we have not hitherto encountered and for which parallels are certainly rare. Apparently we are to regard verses 9, 10, and 11 as a triad, even though the two first lines are tristichs and the third a distich. It is certainly an odd construction. The same thing is evident in 12-14, but 15-17 is of orthodox triad form.

At verse 18 the structure changes to couplets: 18-19 plead that, because the witness is in heaven ready to argue, the earth should not cover Job's blood from crying out; 20-21 describe the activity of the *melitz*. In the deep corruption of 17:1 two words stand out as evidently indicating the original theme; they are *yamay* and *qvarim*. We shall presumably be not far wrong if we conclude that the line spoke of Job's fleeting days and the grave that awaited him. Powerful corroboration of this lies in 16:22; for it becomes evident that here, in 16:22 and 17:1, we have the next unit in the couplet structure we are following. Support is provided also by verses 11-16, which are in couplets and also maintain the theme with which the chapter has apparently opened. It is doubtful that, of the remainder of the chapter, more is genuine than verses 2-3 and 5-6.

Chapter 18 begins in a couplet and ends in a series of them. The intervening material is more uncertain. It is clear that textual confusion has occurred, and this may have gone further than is commonly supposed. However, as matters stand, the clearest course is to consider the tristich in verse 4 the remnant of a couplet; and then it is easiest to set up 5-13 in triads, thus: 5-7; 8-10; 11-13. The double change of structure in a chapter as short as this is somewhat perplexing. But there is nothing to do about it.

We pass to chapter 21, but in reality delay is not rewarding, for the chapter again is of the nature that has invited and doubtless received expansion. That it begins with a couplet is apparent. If we may delete verse 5, as seems required by the obvious connection of 4 and 6, another good couplet emerges. This process, however, is typical of the chapter as a whole; only by considerable deletions could structural analysis be carried through,

and the result would be too problematical to interest us greatly. We move on again.

Chapter 22 is in couplets; stanza organization also is clear. Beginning with an introductory couplet, 2-3, we move into a stanza of four couplets describing Job's alleged immorality: 4-5, 6-7, 8-9, and 10-11. A similar stanza dilates on his impiety: 13-14, 15-16, 17-18, and 19-20; and yet another stanza of four couplets exhorts him to a penitence that will lead to restoration: 21-22, 23-24, 25-26, and 27-28. There remain the two verses, 29-30, which *may* constitute a concluding couplet, but their nondescript character indicates rather that they are either a pious addition or a series of glosses.

However, Job's reply in chapters 23 and 24 is more difficult. The abrupt beginning in 23:2, the evidence of the Coptic that 8-9 are not original, and the similar hint of LXX as to 14 possess some cogency indicative of considerable textual corruption. Then practically all of chapter 24 must be spurious, a suggestion strongly indicated by the irrelevance of its contents. What we are to do with chapter 23, however, is uncertain. The deletions suggested above would give quite good triads, save for some uneasiness as to the first one: 2-4; 5-7; 10-12; 13, 15-16; with verse 17 thus unaccounted for. Perhaps it was originally combined with the opening verses of chapter 24. However, results at this point are not impressive.

Chapters 25 and 26 are so fragmentary and 27 so confused (as evidenced by the common view that it conceals a considerable part of Zophar's third speech) that no important end can be served by surveying them now. And with that the Dialogue comes to an end. There can be no doubt that not alone chapter 28, freely admitted to be spurious, but also 29, 30, and 31 are completely diverse from the work of the

great poet, one aspect of whose work we have been studying.

Results call for a few comments in summary. Admitting freely the uncertainty of analysis at many points, the existence of couplet or triad structure through much of the Dialogue is an incontrovertible fact. Further, the evidence cannot be evaded that in general the strophes organize themselves into stanzas. As in most Hebrew poetry, the couplet is predominant, but the frequency of the triad is, nonetheless, to be noted. In general, the lines are distichs. The majority of the tristichs are intrinsically suspect, yet several of them provide no better ground for drastic treatment than a priori theory. In cases where they occur in some regular pattern the possibility of their originality must be seriously entertained. A cogent case is 16:9-14, in which the structure appears to reveal the unusual feature of a triad formed of two tristichs and a distich. The phenomenon, however, is not so striking as might appear, for deficient strophes are not uncommon, both in the Dialogue and elsewhere. We have met a number of cases in this study where only one stichos exists of what we should like to believe was originally a complete line but where in reality the situation may reveal the stylistic freedom of the author. A perplexing feature of the poem is the existence of a considerable number of isolated lines of excellent poetic form and not inappropriate content. It has been pointed out that their inclusion in the structure is quite impossible—the logical divisions are clear and the lines patently stand by themselves. Some of these reveal slight features that can be invoked in support of a theory of spurious origin; others are so designated only with grave misgivings. Our knowledge of the structure of Hebrew poetry is

still elemental, even though it is more than a century since Köster drew the attention of scholars to the existence of "strophes."¹¹ We must then leave the matter just where we have scrupulously left it through this study: the isolated line is a phenomenon from which conclusions cannot yet be deduced with any safety. It may be that this unorganized material reveals an activity by commentators who themselves were excellent poets and, at the same time, discerning students of the Book of Job. But the view may not be lightly disregarded that some, at least, of these extra lines are an original feature of the style of the author—a sort of artistic release from the regularity of his structure.

The stanzas are of pure form; that is, they consist entirely of either couplets or triads with the change from one to the other always coinciding with the separation of stanzas. A favorite form is the stanza of two strophes, especially when these are triads; but two of the speeches manifest an organization of four couplets to the stanza. Deserving of comment is the equation of three couplets in the stanza structure with two triads, but we must not overlook the notable exception in chapter 13, in which the stanzas throughout are consistently of two strophes, although in one case, verses 13-16, these are couplets in an otherwise triad context.

Both couplets and triads are frequently employed in the same speech, the author moving from one to the other, and sometimes back again, in a fashion that contributes greatly to the charm of the poem. The change, it would appear, is sometimes invoked for no other reason than the pleasing effect of variety; that is, it is purely stylistic. At other times, however,

¹¹ F. B. Köster, "Die Strophe, oder der Parallelismus der Verse der Hebräischen Poesie," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, IV (1831), 40-114.

the author seems to fit his structure to the changing mood of the discussion, the heavier, slower triad being better fitted to the expression of melancholy or of a solemn moment in the thought. But also a change of structure serves as a device of emphasis, skilfully setting off in stylistic isolation the high point of certain great speeches.

Notwithstanding uncertainties inherent in the analysis, whether due to textual confusion or to our present meager knowledge of this feature of Hebrew literary art, it is apparent that there exists in the structure of Old Testament poetry an important asset for the textual critic; for the notable feature which emerges from our study, next after the basic fact of the existence of structure, is the astonishing uniformity of that structure. The author of the Dialogue of Job manifests a sense of balance and regularity of form that commonly is mathematical in its exactitude; and there is no apparent reason why this should have been uniquely his characteristic, denied to all other Hebrew poets. It is devoutly to be hoped that the

situation will not give rise to an orgy of textual reconstruction such as resulted from the study of Hebrew meter; but, sanely and cautiously applied, there is here an asset that the textual critic may not ignore. It has value, too, for the expositor; mathematical measure can sometimes show the relationship of thoughts when otherwise their connection, backward or forward, is not apparent from the context. We came upon one illustration of this in 10:13, where the author's main point has been obscured because this crucial line has commonly been supposed to look onward, whereas, as the structure demonstrates beyond question, it summarizes the admissions in previous verses. However, the consistent value to be secured from an understanding of the structural form of Old Testament poetry is artistic. In the Dialogue of Job there is apparent a rich variety and interplay of features, and the poem reveals itself as possessing a symmetry and grace that enhance our admiration for the skill of the profound thinker who was its author.

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STRAY PIECES OF EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITING

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THE principle followed by Professor A. T. Olmstead in his use of sources might be expressed in these words: "Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost." His many books and articles attest the penetration and skill with which this principle was applied. He had an unusual gift for looking at ancient records which many other scholars had studied for decades with as fresh and unprejudiced an approach as though they had been discovered only yesterday; and frequently he was able to fit into its proper place in history the unnoticed interpolation, the poetic allusion, the record which men had passed over as a second-rate source or a mere romance. Scholars may differ regarding this or that judgment which he expressed, but he undoubtedly made many discoveries which will stand the test of time, and this sturdily independent study of primary materials will always be the mark of great historiography.

Of all the periods of Christian history, the most obscure is perhaps the century which begins with the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. Its most important sources are well known to everyone: the later books of the New Testament, the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, and the fragments and traditions preserved by Eusebius and Irenaeus. But there exist also a number of pieces of Christian writing which, with greater or less likelihood, can be assigned to this period, and the purpose of this paper is to "gather up the fragments that remain." Many of these fragments are well known and have been utilized to some extent, especially in the attempt to trace the origins of Christianity; but one may ques-

tion whether they have been sufficiently employed to tell the story of Christianity as it developed after the year 70.

Though the following list cannot claim to be exhaustive, and is somewhat arbitrarily chosen, it includes most of these minor remains with the exception of sources which are avowedly Gnostic or Marcionite.¹ Naturally, several of the pieces are, by later standards, of questionable orthodoxy.

I. SOURCES PURPORTING TO DEAL WITH THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF JESUS

The Gospel according to the Egyptians (Ev. Egypt.)
 The Gospel according to the Hebrews (HE)
 The Gospel according to the Ebionites (EE)
 The "Nazarene Gospel" (NE)
 The Gospel of Peter
 The Book of James ("Protevangelium")
 The Epistle of the Apostles
 The new gospel fragment (P. Egerton 2)
 The "Traditions of Matthias"
 Apocalypse of Peter
 The longer ending of Mark (16:9-20)
 The Freer logion
 The Pericope Adulterae
 "Agrapha"
 The Oxyrhynchus sayings
 Variant readings in the canonical Gospels

II. SOURCES PURPORTING TO DEAL WITH THE APOSTLES

The Preaching of Peter
 Acts of John
 Acts of Paul, including III Corinthians
 Acts of Peter
 The Epistle of the Apostles
 Variant readings in the canonical Acts
 Probable interpolations in the Pauline epistles
 Anti-Marcionite prologues

¹ The more eccentric second-century remains, and also some less-known works of the "orthodox," will be included by R. M. Grant in his forthcoming *Second-Century Christianity*.

III. OLD TESTAMENT PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

Ascension of Isaiah

IV Ezra 1-2 ("V Ezra")

Interpolations in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs

IV. OTHERWISE UNCLASSIFIED
CHRISTIAN WRITINGS

Sibylline Oracles, Books i-ii

Odes of Solomon

V. WRITINGS WHICH MAY NOT BE CHRISTIAN BUT
WHICH FURNISH AID TO THE HISTORIAN

Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch

Sibylline Oracles, Book iv

Even from a purely literary point of view, this list is interesting as showing the extent and variety of early Christian writing. Not only are new gospels written but the older ones are edited and interpolated, and sayings and stories of a gospel type are collected. The epistle form is well established, and there are two kinds of apocalypses. The Christian type is in the form of a revelation from Christ, either during his earthly ministry or after the resurrection. Apocalypses of the Jewish type are not usually created *de novo*; instead, Christians use, read, interpolate, and expand books written in the name of ancient worthies (or of the Sibyl), and in some circles this custom was undoubtedly widespread. Just as the textual history of the Four Gospels and the Acts is marked by a second-century efflorescence of variant readings, so the whole literary field bursts with uncontrolled activity. This has definite consequences for doctrine and life, for almost any contemporaneous teaching can be given authority by making it a secret revelation to an ancient prophet, or a deliverance of the risen Christ to his apostles, privately uttered in the first instance but now made known to the Christian world in a gospel, epistle, apocalypse, or book of acts.

Our Acts of the Apostles, though rela-

tively restrained, had already begun to paint the deeds of primitive leaders in bright colors (see especially 5:1-11; 5:15; 8:39; 13:11; 19:12). The second-century acts of John, Paul, and Peter complete the pattern for later *acta sanctorum*. Not only do we read of revelations in dreams, visions, and epiphanies, miraculous rescues, wonders to prove the faith or the truth of an apostle's word, miraculous destruction of heathen temples, punitive miracles, healings and raisings of the dead; but the apostles also have a special value of their own: the martyred Paul appears to Nero; apostles have miraculous knowledge, and their slightest predictions will come to pass;² Thecla rolls herself on the spot where Paul had taught while he was in prison.³ That the stories are Christian in character is not always apparent: when Fortunatus dies after John's curse, the latter says, "You have your child, O devil" (Acts of John 84). The most diverting story is the bedbug miracle (Acts of John 60-61).⁴ •

We are, in fact, in the realm of historical romance, and perhaps some of the ancients took it as such. It is not the kind of fiction which, like the books of Sholem Asch, attempts to re-create an older thought-world or to make an ancient figure appear as he actually was. The

² Acts of John 46, in M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), p. 238; E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* (2d ed.; Tübingen, 1924), p. 180; Acts of Peter 28 (James, p. 328; Hennecke, p. 244).

³ James, p. 276; Hennecke, p. 201.

⁴ From the apocryphal acts we learn something of early Christian exorcism. In prayers to God and adjurations, the Acts of John regularly recite certain attributes of God; e.g., "whom every ruler fears, and every creature and every power," etc. (chap. 23 [James p. 231]); cf. chap. 79 (James, p. 248), "unto whom all authority bows: before whom all pride falls down and keeps silence: whom devils hearing of tremble: whom all creation perceiving keeps its bounds." It is almost the binding of a spell. A kind of exorcism is spoken by the dying John (Acts of John 114 [James, pp. 269-70]). In the Acts of Peter (XIX [James, pp. 320-21]), Marcellus, after the departure of Simon, takes water, calls on the name of Jesus, and sprinkles his whole house.

apostle's doctrine is wholly that of the writer. None of the apostles has a distinctive personality; all are cut from the same cloth, and all, like Apollonius of Tyana, talk down to their listeners. The Acts of Paul attempt verisimilitude by the use of materials from the Pastoral Epistles, by a possibly traditional description of Paul's person, and by introducing the historical Queen Tryphaena. Perhaps, as Professor Olmstead and Sir William Ramsay thought, there is an older source imbedded in these Acts. But for the most part these books are simply thrillers. Thecla is the typical heroine of a "western" or of the newspaper strips miscalled "comics." She wears men's attire; every pagan's heart is carried away by her; her relationship to Paul is "in the Lord" but is told in the most romantic way possible; the story of her dangers in the arena might have been out of the old Pearl White movie, *The House of Hate*; her very baptism smacks of Barnum and Bailey. The pathos of illnesses and deaths is heightened (cf. the death of Cleopatra in the Acts of John with canonical Acts 9:39). And how the small boys must have relished the revenge of the slaves on Simon Magus, and the talking dog (Acts of Peter 11-14 [James, pp. 314-16]), not to mention Paul's courteous baptized lion!⁵

These writings give us practically no genuine information about the events with which they purport to deal, viz., the life of Jesus and the apostolic age. There are a very few possible exceptions: (1) such sayings as "Be ye approved money changers,"⁶ "No man that is not tempted shall obtain the kingdom of heaven," and the couplet which Dibelius accepts as genuine, "A prophet is not acceptable in his

own country,/Nor does a physician cure those who know him";⁷ (2) a few interpretations from Jerome's "Nazarene Gospel," e.g., *mahar* for *ἐπιούσιος* in the Lord's Prayer and "son of their teacher" for "Barabbas";⁸ and (3) the tradition in the Preaching of Peter that the apostles left Judaea twelve years after the Crucifixion.⁹

Their value thus consists in whatever they can tell us about the times for which they are written. Even so, they do not tell us many things which we would like to know. We can glean from them almost nothing about the institutional development of Christianity. Though they do show that supreme value is attached to baptism and that the eucharist is increasingly important in church life, practically nothing is said about the origin of the ministry. To be sure, the unique importance of the apostles is continually emphasized, but we would have known this from other sources. What these writings tell about the relations of Christians to the outside world has often been noted by historians. The attitude of the second-century faithful is determined by persecution and missionary interest; they take no particular interest in the life of the outside world and have no understanding of its social forces but seek only to defend themselves and their religion and to rescue individuals out of the world for salvation in the heavenly kingdom.¹⁰

The principal value of these bits of

⁵ P. Oxy. 1, logion 6; B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London, 1898), p. 3; Preuschen, p. 23.

⁶ Jerome *Comm. in Matt.* 6:11; 27:16 (Preuschen, pp. 5 and 7).

⁷ Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 5. 43 (James, p. 17; Preuschen, p. 90); cf. J. N. Reagan, *The Preaching of Peter: The Beginning of Christian Apologetic* (Chicago, 1923).

⁸ Peter (Acts of Peter 36 [Hennecke, p. 247; James, p. 334]) bids the Christians not to be bitter against the prefect Agrippa, who is to put him to death. On the other hand, the Acts of Paul, said to have been written by a presbyter of Asia, where Christians were perhaps less pro-imperial, speaks of the Christian as a soldier of Jesus Christ who overthrows all kingdoms (Martyrdom, chap. 2 [Hennecke, p. 210; James, p. 294]).

⁹ C. Schmidt and W. Schubart, *Praxis Pauli: Acta Pauli* (Glückstadt and Hamburg, 1936), pp. 22-44.

¹⁰ Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 28. 177 (James, p. 35); E. Preuschen, *Antilegomena* (2d ed.; Giessen, 1905), pp. 27-28.

writing is that they exhibit the thinking of Christians on a humbler level than that of the Apologists or of the Apostolic Fathers (with the exception of Hermas). They indicate the content of popular preaching and teaching. The questions which they answer are such as children and humble people have asked in every generation after having heard the story of Jesus' life or read his teachings.

I

Primary among these questions were those which dealt with Jesus' birth. Matthew and Luke told simple miracle stories of the wondrous birth in a way reminiscent of the Old Testament. The second century, however, also had the incarnation doctrine which had come down from Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and which found classic expression in the Fourth Gospel, and it was necessary to harmonize the two. Some of the early explanations had little to do with the older gospels. The Gospel according to the Hebrews (HE), as quoted by both Origen and Jerome, speaks of the Holy Spirit as the mother of Jesus—quite naturally, since in the Semitic languages the word for "spirit" is feminine—and one purported quotation from the gospel¹¹ says that, when Christ willed to come to earth, the Father God chose a mighty power named Michael and committed Christ to his care. The power came into the world, and it was named Mary, and Christ was seven months in its body.¹² The Epistle of the

Apostles depends more closely on our canonical Gospels, but its myth is similar. The risen Christ reveals to the apostles that, when he came to earth, he put on the wisdom of the Father and the power of his might. "I was in heaven, and I passed by the archangels and the angels in their likeness, like as if I were one of them, among the principedoms and powers." He then took the form of the angel Gabriel and entered into Mary's body.¹³ This may be a simplification of the doctrine in the Ascension of Isaiah,¹⁴ according to which the Lord descends to the sixth heaven and is worshipped there, but in the successive heavens changes his form to that of the angels of each heaven, gives the password, and so passes to earth unrecognized.¹⁵ From this point on, the Ascension of Isaiah bases its story largely on Matthew, though with some significant differences: it is Mary, not Joseph, who is descended from David; the angel of the Spirit bids Joseph wed her; the parturition was painless, with Mary in a trance; "in Nazareth he sucked the breast as a babe and as is customary in order that he might not be recognized," and so escaped all the princes and gods of the world (cf. Ignatius Eph. 19:1). This in turn reminds one of the nineteenth Ode of Solomon, according to which the Son is brought forth pain-

¹¹ Chap. 13 (James, p. 439); C. Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung* ("Texte und Untersuchungen," Vol. XLIII [Leipzig, 1919]).

¹² R. H. Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah* (London, 1900). It is not certain what date we should assign to Part IV of the Ascension of Isaiah (Isaiah's vision, 6:1—11:43), which may be later than the rest of the book. It reminds one of the Mandaeen writings because it contains such abstractions as the Great Glory, and it knows of gatekeepers who guard the gates of the several heavens (cf. Col. 2:15, 18; however, in Asc. Isa. 7:21 the angels repudiate the thought that Isaiah should worship them, though he may worship the angels who represent the Trinity). In my opinion, this writing belongs to the second century.

¹³ Cf. the Naassene hymn in Hippolytus *Philosophoumena* v. 10; Tertullian *De An.* 34; Epiphanius *Panarion* xxi. 2. 4; I Cor. 2:8; J. Weiss, *The History of Primitive Christianity* (New York, 1937), pp. 758–59.

¹¹ James, p. 8; Hennecke, p. 54, and the literature cited there.

¹² Scholars are by no means agreed on the relationship between the oldest apocryphal gospels. H. Waitz in Hennecke, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–17, distinguishes between the NE (an orthodox Nazarene gospel, to which he assigns most of the citations in Jerome), the EE (the heretical Ebionite gospel of Epiphanius *Panarion* xxx), and the HE (an unorthodox Greek gospel according to the Hebrews, related to the Oxyrhynchus sayings). Schmidtke includes the HE in his EE; Lagrange thinks that the Alexandrian HE is part of the NE.

lessly by a virgin.¹⁶ Perhaps one might dismiss this material as Gnostic or at least Docetic, but it is not clear that its authors stand outside the great church. These writings probably come from a time when quasi-Docetic ideas are still very influential among the common people of the Christian movement.

The so-called Protevangelium of James is more familiar.¹⁷ Though he draws on the Samuel story and other parts of the Old Testament in order to give a Jewish flavor to his narrative, the author has no real knowledge of first-century Judaism; it is absurd, for example, to suppose that the Jewish priests would expect Joseph to enter into a "spiritual marriage" with Mary; and what is "the great day of the Lord" (1:2)? One purpose of the book is to exalt Mary and her virginity; another is to fill up the gaps left by the current gospels. The stories of the conception and annunciation are based on Matthew and Luke; the weaving-together of one or more gospels is one of the most familiar phenomena of second-century writing. The author attempts to explain why Mary did not tell Joseph of her miraculous conception, why the story of the virgin birth was not generally known among the Jews, and how John the Baptist came to be spared when the innocents were murdered. He apparently has an old tradition that Jesus was born in a cave and, in order to harmonize it with Luke, postpones the manger episode until the time of the slaughter of the children. This treatment

of the gospels is very like that which we find in the Epistle of the Apostles and the Didache—writings which attempt to give the authority of the entire band of the Twelve to their explanations of gospel material. The latter, of course, does not deal with the events of Christ's life, only his teaching; but the former has a brief dogmatic statement linking the virgin birth and the Incarnation (chap. 3). Its only boyhood legend is the alpha and beta story (chap. 4).

The other events of Jesus' life most frequently dealt with in this literature are the Baptism, Cross, and Resurrection.¹⁸ To the early church these divine-human occurrences were of the highest importance, and their difficulties had to be explained. It is probably the NE which contained Jesus' saying, "In what have I sinned, that I should go and be baptized by him? Unless perchance this very thing which I have said is [a sin of] ignorance." The same gospel probably had the story of the voice at his baptism saying, "My son, in all the prophets I waited for thee." Two Old Latin codices add after Matt. 3:17 that, as Jesus was baptized, a great light shone from the water. This characteristic touch is also found in the birth narrative of the Gospel of James (19:2; cf. the star in 21:2 and also Ignatius Eph. 19:2). The EE, on the other hand, makes the baptism the moment when Jesus was adopted as Messiah: the Holy Spirit came in the likeness of a dove and (as in Mark) entered into him.

Several touches are added to the Passion story, such as the strengthening angel and the bloody sweat of Luke 22:43-44 (Codd. N, D, Θ, etc.) and the words from the Cross: "Father, forgive them" (Luke

¹⁶ J. R. Harris and A. Mingana, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon* (Manchester, 1920). The emphasis on the virgin birth in such a document is significant, for the strict Docetist found no place for the doctrine, and it was necessary for Ignatius (Eph. 7:18-20) to insist that Jesus was really born. It has been remarked that Marcion's Jesus was neither born nor did he need to grow (Tert. *Adv. Marc.* i. 15, 19; iv. 7; iii. 11; iv. 21; Hippolytus *Philos.* vii. 31; W. Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* [Tübingen, 1909], p. 34).

¹⁷ On the birth of Jesus see Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-87.

¹⁸ The Epistle of the Apostles, to be sure, summarizes several miracles and thus serves as a brief compendium of the Four Gospels, but it is an exception. When a miracle story is told, as in P. Egerton 2, the Lord does not stretch forth his hand to touch the leper; his word or will suffices (Bauer, *op. cit.*, 360-68).

23:34) and "Today thou shalt be with me in paradise" (23:43; cf. also the reading of D). These last two are based on the doctrine of the unrecognized divine redeemer who at death returns to the heavenly sphere. Justin Martyr's tradition (if it is a tradition and not just inaccurate memory) includes the mocking cry, "He who raised the dead, let him raise himself" (*Apol.* i. 38), and the statement that all his acquaintances denied him (i. 50). According to the NE, a lintel of the Temple fell at the time of the Crucifixion; in almost every one of these documents which we examine, the miraculous element is heightened. The Gospel of Peter weaves together Matthew and Luke, increases the pathos of Jesus' sufferings, gives the centurion the name Petronius, and fastens the guilt on the Jewish people even more definitely than Matthew had done. One of its bitter verses (7:25) has crept into the Old Latin Codex g¹ after Luke 23:48.¹⁹

Pious fancy has been actively at work in the Resurrection story, particularly in Luke 24. The exact content of Marcion's gospel at this point is uncertain, but it is briefer than the narrative which we now have. On the other hand, it contains several verses which Dr. F. C. Grant has shown to be probable glosses derived from the Fourth Gospel.²⁰ Two of the most interesting non-Johannine additions are "and of a honeycomb" (24:42) and "and was carried up into heaven" (24:51). The latter was probably added when Luke and Acts were separated, in order to round the gospel off with an ascension story. The Resurrection story in Jerome, which ap-

parently comes from NE, but may ultimately derive from HE,²¹ has an interesting function. Its author intends to harmonize the gospels with I Cor. 15:6, to show that James was already a believer and had been present at the Last Supper. The pericope probably depends upon Mark 14:25 = Matt. 26:29 = Luke 22:16, and the Fourth Gospel (for the linen cloth is given to the servant of the priest). It is interesting that Jesus says the *Son of Man* has risen from among those who sleep. Ignatius Smyrn. 3:7-8 further develops the saying in Luke 24:39, and the NE has his phrase, "a bodiless demon." Whereas none of the older gospels dares to portray the actual moment of the Resurrection, the Gospel of Peter pictures Christ rising from the tomb, accompanied by two men of divinely tall stature, with himself still taller, and going into heaven with his Cross. According to the Ascension of Isaiah, Gabriel and Michael will open the sepulcher on the third day, and the Beloved, seated on their shoulders, will come forth and send out his twelve disciples (3:16-17). These touches are so pictorial that one would almost expect them to be found in Christian art. So far as I know, no early representation of a similar scene has yet been discovered, though in the Christian church at Dura-Europos there is a wall painting of the women coming to the sarcophagus bearing myrrh.²²

II

An examination of the way in which these writings treat our Four Gospels shows that gospel materials are still in the making in the second century. The first point to be noted is the overwhelming

¹⁹ The cry from the Cross ("My power, my power, why hast thou forsaken me?") is Docetic; otherwise the document differs little from what one might find in more "orthodox" circles. On the words from the Cross see Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-26. Cf. also the addition of names for the thieves in Codex c of Matt. 27:38 and Mark 15:27 and in Codex l of Luke 23:32.

²⁰ Cf. F. C. Grant, "Was the Author of John Dependent upon the Gospel of Luke?" *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LVI (1937), 300-303.

²¹ M. H. Shepherd, Jr., "Paul and the Double Resurrection Tradition," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXIV (1945), 239-40.

²² P. V. C. Baur in *Christian Church at Dura-Europos* (New Haven, 1934), pp. 34-39 (reprinted from *Preliminary Report of Fifth Season of Work, October, 1931-March, 1932*, pp. 270-75).

popularity of Matthew, which has left its mark on practically every one of these sources, some of which were probably written before the collection of a canon of gospels.²³ The next point is that conflation of the gospels is the rule. The Epistle of the Apostles, which, like the Didache, attempts to claim an authority equal or superior to that of Paul or of any single gospel, gives a careful list of eleven apostles in an unusual order, but it achieves this only by drawing on Luke-Acts, John, and the Pauline letters. The EE, basically Matthaean, borrows from Mark, Luke, and possibly John; the NE may occasionally use John; P. Egerton 2 contains a simplified re-writing of the controversial parts of John 5, 7-10, a story of a leper based on the Synoptics, and a controversy over the paying of tribute.²⁴ Most of the gospel citations in II Clement can be explained from Matthew or from Matthew and Luke. The longer ending of Mark (16:9-20), which attempts to systematize the Resurrection appearances, weaves Matthew, Luke-Acts, and John together and apparently echoes the Western reading of I Cor. 15:5 ("eleven").²⁵ D Φ it sy^c contain after Matt. 20:28 a logion embodying the substance of Luke 14:8-10. This tendency toward harmonization culminates in Tatian's Diatessaron.

The most striking phenomenon is the desire to explain hard sayings in the gospels. The pericope in II Clem. 5:2-4 pictures Peter as saying, "If then the wolves tear the lambs in pieces?"²⁶ Peter's doubt

when he was bidden to walk on the waters causes Simon Magus to reproach him (Acts of Peter 10), and this difficulty must be dealt with. To the ordinary Christian of the second century the Parable of the Talents does not seem sufficiently moral; hence another slave, who wasted the money with harlots and flute girls, is added to the story.²⁷ The *Clementine Homilies* (iii. 5; cf. *Rec.* ii. 3; iii. 1, 7) attempt to explain the saying about pearls before swine. In the tribute-money controversy of P. Egerton 2, Jesus, instead of giving a straight answer, uses the words of Luke 6:46 and Matt. 15:7-9 (= Mark 7:6-7), thus apparently rejecting any homage to kings as a "tradition of men."

There are occasional "corrections" and contradictions. The NE has "Zacharias son of Joiada," not "Barachias,"²⁸ and, in EE, John does not eat locusts (*ἀκρίδες*) but "wild honey, of which the taste is the taste of manna, as a cake (*ἔγκρις*) dipped in oil."²⁹ When the Epistle of the Apostles is written, Jesus' prohibition of the titles "father" and "teacher" is giving difficulty, hence the risen Christ must supplement his earthly teaching by explaining in what sense the apostles can legitimately be called fathers, servants, and teachers. (In the Martyrdom of Polycarp, Polycarp is likewise the "father" of the Christians.) Sometimes the existing gospel teaching is not changed in meaning, only expounded and re-written.³⁰

What is most fascinating is that new stories are occasionally composed or, at least, come to light. The Pericope Adulterae (John 7:53-8:11 in the TR),³¹ so

²³ None of the purported quotations from Ev. Egypt. has any contact with Matthew.

²⁴ H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri* (London, 1935).

²⁵ Nearly everyone tacitly assumed that Paul and all the other apostles were in complete agreement; hence the author of the spurious III Corinthians saw nothing strange in including in his work a goodly amount of synoptic teaching.

²⁶ Cf. Matt. 10:16, 28; Luke 10:3; 12:4-5; James, p. 35; Hennecke, pp. 59, 591; Preuschen, pp. 32-33.

²⁷ Hennecke, p. 31; Eusebius *Theoph.* (Preuschen, p. 7).

²⁸ Jerome in Matt. 23:35 (Hennecke, p. 31; James, p. 5; Preuschen, p. 7).

²⁹ James, p. 9; Hennecke, p. 44; Preuschen, pp. 10-11; Epiph. *Panarion* xxx. 13.

³⁰ As in II Clem. 4:5 (cf. Matt. 7:22-23; Luke 13:25 ff.); Justin *Dial.* 47.

³¹ Waitz in Hennecke, pp. 30-31, assigns it to the NE. Its textual history is interesting, as a glance at the

synoptic in style and flavor that Montefiore thought it a section detached from Mark, can be regarded as a dramatization of "Judge not, that you be not judged." It is remarkable that such a story should be current in the second century, and certainly the church would have found its doctrine dangerous, for the woman does not even express her repentance. If, as Eusebius indicates, it sometimes circulated as the story of "a woman falsely accused of many sins," and in this form appeared in the HE, someone must have toned it down to make of it an incident in which Jesus merely defends the innocent. An Oxyrhynchus fragment³² tells of a controversy between Jesus and a high priest, a Pharisee(!), named Levi. The question is, who is unclean—the Pharisee who takes ablutions in dirty water and scours his skin as harlots and flute girls do, or Jesus and his disciples, who are washed in living water? This is simply anti-Judaism.³³ It is unusual to find an interpolation with as much penetration as that which is disclosed in the story of the man working on the Sabbath, which D has in place of Luke 6:5. This has been claimed to be pure Paulinism. It may be a logical extension of Paul's teaching, though Paul would not have said just this; on the other hand, it is not the anti-Judaism of the later church.

Teaching materials are created in rich profusion. A man is responsible if his neighbor sins, because he has not set a better example (Traditions of Matthias in Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. 13. 82). The principle of admonishing one's brother (Matt. 18:15-17) is developed to such a point

that a poor man must rebuke even his wealthy benefactor if he sees him sin (Ep. of App. 47). It is among the greatest of sins to grieve the spirit of one's brother (NE; Jerome in *Ezek.* 18:7). "Never be joyful except when you behold your brother in love" (Jerome in *Eph.* 5:4). No doubt Christian brothers are primarily in mind here and in the addition to the story of the rich man (Pseudo-Origen in *Matt.* [James, p. 6]), according to which the rich man has not kept the Law and the Prophets if his brothers, sons of Abraham, are clad in filth. This makes Jesus' heroic teaching part of the Law and the Prophets and obviates the difficulty raised by Matthew's distinction between ordinary morality and perfection. Other new logia, probably of Egyptian origin, reflect the current trend toward asceticism and celibacy (Traditions of Matthias, Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. 4. 26, and most of the sayings in Ev. Aegypt.) and speculations about the soul and its growth and redemption. We are farther away from the central stream of Christianity when we come to P. Oxy. 654 (Part IV, 1904, pp. 3-9): One who hears Jesus' words will not taste death. The stages of Christian perfection are seeking, finding, marveling, reigning, and rest. The Kingdom is within one, and all things on earth draw one to the Kingdom. A much older saying of Jesus (Mark 4:22) is turned in a Gnostic direction; and fasting and the Sabbath are reinterpreted. Jesus is ever present and yearns for the blind of the world. The "I-style," already prominent in Matthew and John, and which appears here, is found in other logia also, e.g., P. Oxy. 1; Origen in *Jer. hom.* 3:3 (Latin); Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 10. 63; Acts of Philip 34. In the Odes of Solomon, the Odist is the speaker, for the most part, but frequently and without warning there is a shift, and it is the Son of God who speaks. One of the most characteristic

apparatus in Nestle will show. Cf. D. O. Voss, "The Sins of Each One of Them," *Anglican Theological Review*, XV (1933), 321-23.

³² P. Oxy. 840 (Part V, 1908), pp. 6-7; Hennecke, p. 31; James, pp. 29-30.

³³ Cf. Epiph. *Panarion* xxx. 16 (Preuschen, p. 12) (EE?): "I am come to destroy the sacrifices, and if you will not cease sacrificing, the wrath of God will not cease from you."

notes of early Christian preaching is that through it the Divine Redeemer calls on mankind to accept salvation out of this world of darkness and evil.³⁴ Some of these teachings no doubt purport to be uttered by Jesus before the Crucifixion. If one adds to them the numerous revelations to the apostles from the Risen Christ (e.g., Mark 16:18 and most of the Epistle of the Apostles), the amount of alleged gospel material is staggering.

When stories are not created *de novo*, legendary details are frequently added to older narratives to heighten the human interest. In the Epistle of the Apostles, the calling of the Twelve in HE, and the Gospel of Peter, the story is told in the first person. The latter document gives the centurion a name and introduces more conversation between Herod and Pilate. In one of the older apocryphal gospels (NE?) the rich man called to follow Jesus scratches his head. The man with the withered hand was a mason.³⁵ The leper says in P. Egerton 2, "Teacher Jesus, journeying with lepers and eating with them in the inn, I also became unclean."

As we might expect, the teaching of Jesus from the older gospels is sometimes "spiritualized" or allegorized. For example, P. Oxy. 655 reads: "... who can add to your stature? He shall give you your clothing. His disciples say to him, When will you be manifest to us and when shall we see you? When you have put off your clothing and are not ashamed." In the Epistle of the Apostles, the five loaves of the miraculous feeding are a symbol of faith in the Father, Christ, the Holy

Spirit, the Holy Church, and the remission of sins; i.e., the current creed (chap. 5). The five wise and the five foolish virgins are explained as being various virtues (chap. 43); but Knowledge, Understanding, Obedience, Patience, and Compassion "slumbered in those who have believed and confessed me but have not fulfilled my commandments." It is probably poor homiletics rather than Gnosticism when the author goes on to say that these foolish ones will remain outside the Kingdom, though, like the others, they are daughters of God the Father.³⁶

The new gospel material reflects an active, rather than a contemplative, church life. When theories are spun out, they usually have a direct relation to the plan of salvation and to the questions which ordinary people ask about it. Of theology for theology's sake there is none. The Christian groups live in a world where lambs move in the midst of wolves and are torn to pieces, where the teacher engages in controversy with Jews and pagans. The church has its internal problems; occasionally, a slave of Christ converts deposited money to his own use, and always there are penitents to be forgiven. As in the canonical Gospels, one gets a glimpse here and there of a warm and intimate church fellowship, a society of compassion in which each man feels a responsibility for his neighbor and there is joy in the welfare of one's brother. The modern student must not let his distaste for the ascetic tendencies of second-century writers, and their hankering after the miraculous, blind him to the other side of the picture.

Obviously, the churches exercise little hierarchical control over the writing of

³⁴ See, e.g., C. Bonner, *The Homily of the Passion by Melito Bishop of Sardis* (London, 1940), pp. 160-67, 180. The doctrine of redemption is set forth in almost classic form in Ep. of App. 28: Jesus has redeemed the apostles, the children of light, from all evil and from the authority of the archontes, and also everyone who believes on him by their means. He will take all believers into heaven and to the place which the Father has prepared for the elect.

³⁵ Jerome in Matt. 12:13 (James, pp. 4-5; Hennecke, p. 30; Preuschen, pp. 5-6).

³⁶ One sees excellent examples of homiletics here and there. In the Acts of John 26-29 (Hennecke, pp. 176-77; James, pp. 232-34), Lycomedes has a portrait of John painted; John disapproves of it and says that a man should paint a portrait of himself for Jesus, using such colors as "faith in God, knowledge, godly fear, friendship, communion," etc.

books.³⁷ This is worth emphasis, for most of these scattered bits which we are considering are (like the Shepherd of Hermas) of the people, in contrast to such writings as the letters of Ignatius and the Apologies.

III

How great the freedom was, and how wide the variety, can be seen in the Christology of these writings. A study of this should begin with the Odes of Solomon, which are among the earliest items on our list and the most highly individual. The Odes are a collection of hymns which reflect personal devotion rather than liturgical worship. The author is not unmindful of the Body of Christ, but what counts supremely is that *he* is one of the Savior's members. For him redemption is an accomplished fact, more a blissful present possession than a future hope. Harris and Mingana point out that he has no slight theological knowledge and that the terms which he uses are, by later standards, mostly correct. The Odes belong to a period of transition from the Wisdom to the closely related Logos Christology, and with this is connected the virgin-birth doctrine (19:6-9).³⁸ The Odist even attempts to explain the relative parts played by Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in the divine generation. The Messiah is pre-existent (41:15) and is the only-begotten of the Father, unlike other men (28:16). The purpose of the Incarnation, as the later orthodox fathers never ceased to emphasize, was the redemption of believers and the revelation of divine truth:

He became like me, that I might receive Him.
In similitude was He reckoned like me, that I
might put Him on

³⁷ Tertullian says (*de Bapt.* 17) that the Asian presbyter who composed the Acts of Paul was convicted of having perpetrated a forgery and degraded from his office (cf. Hennecke, pp. 195-96). Such actions may mark an incipient attempt to exercise more control over Christian writing or at least to restrain irresponsible publication.

³⁸ Harris and Mingana, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 78.

Like my nature He became, that I might learn
Him [7:4, 6].

The author knows of Jesus' rejection (17:6) and makes his prayers in cruciform posture (27; 42:1-2), and the Resurrection is a cardinal article of his faith. At the same time there are peculiarities. The Spirit brought the Son forth before the face of the Lord (36:3), i.e., she is in a sense his mother. The Spirit is also subordinate to the Messiah (24:1), and the Baptism is portrayed with such theophanic features that it might easily be thought as important as the birth. For the Odist the great moment of redemption is the harrowing of Sheol, pictured in the most vivid fashion (42:11-20), and the believer's own redemption is connected with this.³⁹ A number of metaphors, new and old, are used to describe the Son (e.g., 13:1). Finally, there is practically no connection with the gospel tradition. The redeemer is called the Beloved (as in Ephesians and in Mark 1:11 and parallels), the Messiah, our Lord, and the Son, but the name Jesus is never used. The Odist proclaims the great Christian message of redemption through the mighty acts of God in the Incarnation and Resurrection; he has also a *didachē* of morality and brotherly love, but it is not the teaching of the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels.⁴⁰

Most of the Christian interpolations in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are undatable, but those which are inexact or dangerous from the viewpoint of later theology may be regarded as belong-

³⁹ Ep. of App. 27 (James, p. 494) gives a classic formulation of the later developed doctrine of the *descensus ad inferos*.

⁴⁰ The Ascension of Isaiah adds little to our knowledge of early Christology. It is like the Odes of Solomon in speaking of the "Beloved" and the plundering of the angel of death (9:16), though the influence of Ephesians and of Christian tradition generally is sufficient to explain these motifs. The main lines of the myth, as predicted by Isaiah, are the descent of the Beloved from the seventh heaven, his return thither, and those events of his earthly life which are usually mentioned in such brief compendia. The author's dependence on Matthew is clear.

ing to the second century. I would include T. Sim. 6:7; T. Levi 4:1; 16:3; T. Dan 5:13; T. Jos. 19:8, 11; T. Benj. 7:8; 10:7. Charles remarks that T. Levi 4:1 was written by a Patripassianist,⁴¹ but I prefer to think of inexact, unofficial speculation. As for many second-century Christians, Jesus is God *tout court*.⁴² God takes a body, eats with men, saves them; he appears on earth *ἐν μορφῇ ἀνθρώπου*; a man who makes a new law in the power of the Most High is called a deceiver and crucified; his lowliness and meekness are portrayed in words that remind one of Paul; he is several times called the Lamb of God, and in T. Jos. 19:8 an old prophecy of a *μόσχος* changed into an *ἀνός* is transformed into the birth of a virgin of the tribe of Judah and her bearing of a blameless *ἀνός*. Influence of the Book of Revelation is no doubt to be seen here.

Hermas' parable of the vineyard and its explanation (Sim. v. 2-6) has sometimes been cited as reflecting a kind of adoptionism,⁴³ but what is more instructive is the hopeless way in which Hermas becomes entangled when he attempts to explain the origin and nature of Christ. Christological peculiarities in a second-century writing should not surprise anyone. A more self-conscious and systematic Docetism may be found in Gospel of Peter 5:19 and especially Acts of John 89, 90, 96-105. But other writings indicate how a more unin-

tentional and naïve Docetism crept into orthodox circles; for, after all, what *would* it mean for God to become incarnate as man? Would not his attributes and powers be at least such as pagans ascribed to Apollonius of Tyana?⁴⁴ So great a figure as the anti-Docetic Ignatius could write of "one Physician, who is both flesh and spirit, born and yet not born, who is God in man, true life in death, both of Mary and of God, first passible and then impassible, Jesus Christ our Lord" (Eph. 7:2). It is therefore not surprising that the Acts of Peter 20 say, "He ate and drank for our sakes, himself being neither hungry nor thirsty . . . this God who is great and small, fair and foul, young and old, seen in time and to eternity invisible," or that in Ep. of App. 21 Christ is made to say, "I who am unbegotten and yet begotten of mankind, who am without flesh and yet have borne flesh."⁴⁵ This is not mere reasoning in a vacuum; it is an attempt to express in symbolic form the universal availability of the Savior.

IV

Whereas the Christology is chaotic, the main lines of second-century eschatology are clear. The Freer logion is typical (Cod. W after Mark 16:14; a briefer form in Jerome): The world is still under the control of Satan, hence the truth of God is not apprehended. The apostles, impatient, ask Jesus to demonstrate his righteousness. The usual answer is given, viz., that the power of Satan is nearing its end but that meanwhile other terrible things draw near. Matthew had already laid down the foundation of this eschatology. The present evil estate of the church and the world (Matt. 24:5, 10-11, and especially 24:12) calls for divine action. The Ascension of Isaiah goes into some detail: the dis-

⁴¹ R. H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford, 1908), p. xlviii. On the other hand, H. Lietzmann, *The Founding of the Church Universal* (New York, 1938), p. 155, finds adoptionism in T. Judah 24:1-2; T. Zebulun 9:8.

⁴² John 20:28; Acts of John 77; Acts of Peter 5, where prayers are addressed to Jesus. Melito's *Homily on the Passion* exhibits the Monarchian tendency: Jesus the Christ is both Father and Son (pp. 90-91, 169, Bonner); yet "the man became God" (pp. 88-89, 168) and "I will show you the Father" (pp. 164-65, 180). As President Colwell has pointed out to me, one can observe here, in the writings of a great apologist, the same lack of dogmatic precision which characterizes the minor second-century writings. Cf. also Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-53.

⁴³ Kirsopp Lake, *Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity* (London, 1920), pp. 110-15.

⁴⁴ Philostratus *Vita Apollon.* iv. 44; viii. 5.

⁴⁵ Cf. Acts of John 89, where the appearance of Jesus changes continually; apparently the Docetists took the Transfiguration story as the starting-point of some of their theories.

ciples will forsake their former faith (3:21), contentions will arise (3:22), foolish men will love office (cf. James 3:1), shepherds will ravage the flock (cf. John 10:10), there will be partiality, covetousness, slander, and vainglory, and men will speak in accordance with their own ideas (3:23-31). An Antichrist, apparently a pseudo-Nero, who will claim to be the only God, will convert the majority of Christians to himself (4:9). He will rule for three years, seven months, and twenty-one days (the 1,335 days of Dan. 12:12). After this, of course, come the Parousia, the end of the world, and the last judgment, with the prince of this world and all his retinue consigned to Gehenna.⁴⁶ Apparently the Epistle of the Apostles is also written in a time of tension, for the teaching about Christ's return comes shortly after the warning against Simon and Cerinthus. The time of writing is probably shortly before what the author thinks will be the end of the world, i.e., about 120 years after the farewell discourse (= A.D. 150? chap. 17; the Ethiopic says "after 150 years"). We have seen that, according to second-century ideas, the Cross had gone into heaven with Jesus; it is to go before him at his return (Ep. of App. 16; Ethiopic text of the Apocalypse of Peter). Thus the ancients explained Matthew's "sign of the son of man in heaven" (Matt. 24:30; Didache 16:6). The Apocalypse of Peter gives no special signs of the end, only the most obvious and conventional ones.

In the Ascension of Isaiah, Pauline teaching about the future life has modified the older eschatology somewhat, for, when the saints return with the Lord, they wear their garments which are now stored up in heaven. The faithful on earth leave their bodies behind but wear their (new)

garments in the ascent to heaven. But elsewhere apparently no one raises the question of how the faithful departed subsist. The how of the Resurrection itself obviously perplexes the author of the Epistle of the Apostles, for the apostles ask Christ so many questions that once he becomes impatient and says, "How long will you inquire and doubt?" (chap. 22). The answer is that Christians will rise, just as Christ did, *in their flesh*, in a vesture that will not decay; the flesh will rise with the soul and the spirit in it. This is basically the teaching of Irenaeus. But in the Acts of Paul 5, those who have the fear of God *will become angels*.

Heaven, or the future age of bliss, and Gehenna or Hades, are pictured in the most sensuous terms. Papias' logion, quoted in Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* v. 33. 3 as a tradition of the "elders," has often been cited. What is more important than its content is the probability that Papias got it from some teachers who came from Jerusalem, and their source was no doubt the document which we know as the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch. The pertinent part of this book was written at the very height of the siege of Jerusalem, when famine made men yearn for a Messiah who would bring miraculous plenty.⁴⁷ Its author was a Jew, not a Christian—unless perhaps some few Christians remained behind; however, it was soon taken over and made into a saying of Jesus. By contrast, the heaven of the Apocalypse of Peter is Hellenistic; the righteous brethren are glorified and beautiful in form and are surrounded by flowers and sweet odors. Hell is pictured in more detail; somehow it gives more scope to the imagination. As in the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*, the wicked are tortured, and so far as possible "the punishment fits the crime." The most serious sins are reviling the faith, persecuting

⁴⁶ This is so patently built up out of earlier literary materials that one cannot use it to date the document. It may have been written in any time of hardship in the second century.

⁴⁷ S. E. Johnson, "Notes and Comments," *Anglican Theological Review*, XXI (1939), 205-6.

the faithful, and sexual crimes (with abortion especially prominent), but lack of pity on the poor is also mentioned.

The most interesting eschatological piece—if it is Christian—belongs to the first century. Professor Olmstead was no doubt right in dating the fourth book of the Sibylline Oracles just before the appearance of the second pseudo-Nero, in A.D. 80, or more probably 81.⁴⁸ Furthermore, like a few earlier scholars, he believed it to be a Christian work. The evidence does not seem to me to be absolutely conclusive, but it is good enough to be worth stating. (1) The members of some religious group are praised in verses 24–33. They pray to the great God, offer blessings before eating and drinking, and are guiltless of the sins of murder, “selling stolen things for gain,” and adultery. They reject all temples and altars,

worthless images of dumb stones,
Defiled with the blood of living things and
sacrifices
Of four-footed beasts.

This language might, of course, be used by Hellenistic Jews or Essenes, or, for that matter, by Neo-Pythagoreans, but the sweeping rejection of animal sacrifice would seem to include the Jerusalem cultus. The later Pharisees, while they did not propose to rebuild the Temple, faithfully carried on traditions regarding sacrifice just because it was the law of God; and, although the Essenes did not offer

animal sacrifices, they apparently sent gifts to the Temple.⁴⁹ This sounds more like the doctrine of Acts 7:42–53; John 4:21–23; IV Ezra 1:6; Hebrews; and the Epistle of Barnabas. (2) Verses 115–18 read:

The awful storm of war shall come to the
Solymaeans⁵⁰ also
From Italy, it shall destroy the great Temple of
God,

Whenever, trusting in senselessness,
They shall cast away piety and do abominable
murders before the Temple.

To be sure, Josephus attributed the national calamity to the murders in the Temple (*Ant.* xx. 8. 5), but this is also the point of view of Christians. (3) Two passages predict the end of the age. Verses 40–48 deal with a judgment upon good and bad alike, to occur in the “tenth generation.” Verses 173 ff. are much more explicit: there will be a universal conflagration (cf. vss. 160–61), a sign consisting of a sword and a trumpet (cf. I Cor. 15:52; Matt. 24:31; Isa. 27:13), and

God Himself shall form the ashes and bones
once more into men,
He shall raise mortals up again as they were
before,

And then shall be the judgment.

Apparently Jewish apocalyptic has coalesced with the Stoic doctrine that the world would end in fire (cf. II Pet. 3:10 and perhaps James 3:6). Though this passage may be Jewish, it reads well as Christian apocalyptic. (4) Finally, the poet offers to mankind a program of salvation which, during this interim period, they may accept. They must abandon their sins and be baptized:

Wash your whole bodies in the ever-flowing
rivers,

⁴⁸ Josephus *Ant.* xviii. 1. 5 § 19.

⁴⁹ J. Geffcken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (Leipzig 1902). The important passage is vss. 140–51. Immediately after the appearance of pseudo-Nero, there are oracles referring to Antioch, Cyprus, Asia, and “the citadels of the Carians.” It is just here that the prophecies become vague. The writer expects Artabanus V to put pseudo-Nero on the Roman throne as his vassal, and the wealth taken from the province of Asia is to be restored. This man does not share the Asian enthusiasm for the Roman government; instead he observes the cost of administration, and he feels sorry for the Asians, whom he considers to have been exploited. Antioch, as one of the strongholds of Roman administration, is to be destroyed. Cf. N. C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago, 1938), p. 214; A. T. Olmstead, “Intertestamental Studies,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LVI (1936), 257.

⁵⁰ The Hellenized form of the city name, Hierosolyma, is given a false derivation (“sacred Solyma”). The true Solyma is a mountain in Lydia (Strabo xiv. 666; xiii. 630; Homer *Il.* vi. 184; *Od.* v. 282; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*, 2. Reihe, V, 938–89). Nowhere else in Jewish or Christian literature, so far as I know, are Jerusalemites referred to as “Solymaeans.”

And, lifting hands to the clear sky, ask pardon
For your former sins, and with blessings
Expiate your cruel impieties; God will give re-
pentance,
Nor will he destroy [vss. 165-69].

Nothing is said about circumcision or adoption of the Jewish Law. Lake and Jackson⁵¹ cite this as evidence for a Hellenistic Jewish proselyte baptism but give no other examples. The words might be written by Christians or by followers of John the Baptist.

As we have said, Christian authorship cannot be proved. But if a Christian should set out to compose Sibylline oracles in the year 81, denouncing temples and sacrifices and the imperial system, proclaiming the Resurrection and the last judgment, explaining why Jerusalem was destroyed, and calling men meanwhile to repent and be baptized, he might possibly write in these terms, avoiding Messiah and the Cross, lest the origin of the poem should be detected. If the oracles are not Christian, they at least form part of the immediate background of the other eschatological writings which we have considered.

V

The Christian life was thought of as a way of renunciation: one can only flee from a world like this and make good one's heritage in heaven. Virgins, widows, and celibates are continually praised. The devil enmeshed the first man in concupiscence (Acts of Peter 8). When, in the Acts of Paul, the apostle gives beatitudes, they are based on those in Matthew and on teachings in the genuine epistles, but add much more. "Blessed are the pure in heart" is expanded into five blessings on continence,⁵² and it is not those who

mourn who are comforted but those who tremble at the oracles of God. Both here and in the Acts of John the earlier teaching of I Cor. 7 is reversed: it is a meritorious act to break up engagements and marriages. A modern man cannot but feel some sympathy for Thecla's fiancé Thamyris!

While the Acts of John are encratite, they stand on a somewhat higher intellectual plane than do the other books. Not only do they draw on popular Greek philosophy⁵³ but they exhibit a high ethical sense and are sometimes the result of mature Christian reflection. The man who mutilated himself is told that the evil is not in the place of sin but in the thought which produced the sin.

Wealth is considered dangerous.⁵⁴ A saint, like Peter, lives in holy poverty. Yet wealth is to be used and given to the poor, not destroyed (Acts of John Lat. XVI [James, pp. 257-58]). It is not wrong to receive money for alms even from a woman of bad reputation (Acts of Peter 30), and it is quite a matter of course that Thecla should bribe the prison guards. The authors of the Acts of Paul and the Acts of Peter take some pleasure in recounting the high social connections of Christian believers and hearers (Thecla, Queen Tryphaena, Marcellus, Nicostratus, Chryse the rich matron).

The ancient teachings of fasting, prayer, and repentance are, of course, continued.⁵⁵ Occasionally, the reader is thrilled by a passage such as that in the Acts of Peter 29, where the man raised

wise, except ye continue chaste, and defile not the flesh but keep it pure" (Acts of Paul 12). Cf. also Acts of John (James, pp. 266 and 269).

⁵¹ Indifference to externals (chap. 69 [James, p. 334]); conscience, law, and nature all avenge the crime of adultery (chap. 35 [James, p. 235]).

⁵² The word "mammon," no longer understood, has become the name of a devil (Acts of John Lat. XVI [James, p. 259]).

⁵³ It was entirely natural that the words "and fasting" should be added in Mark 9:29 to the story of the epileptic boy.

⁵¹ K. Lake and F. J. Foakes Jackson, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I, Vol. I (London, 1920), p. 342.

⁵² Cf. the stories, in the Acts of Peter, of Peter's virgin daughter, of the gardener's daughter who died because of Peter's prayer, and of the four concubines of the prefect Agrippa. "Ye have no resurrection other-

from the dead says that he offers himself "from this day on as a speaking sacrifice to God" (cf. Rom. 12:1).

Faith, baptism, and martyrdom are the great religious interests of the Acts of Paul. There is no particular preaching of the Cross; rather the message is the risen Christ who will return as judge. The Eucharist is not emphasized. Baptism may be performed in extraordinary circumstances (Thecla in a tank; Peter goes down a rope to baptize Theon). The Eucharist comes into its own in the Acts of Peter (chap. 5 [James, pp. 307-8]; "bread and water for the sacrifice," chap. 1 [James, p. 304]), and the Acts of John include the sacraments in a kind of creed: "We possess . . . the gate of the church and the fount of sanctification, and the forgiveness of sins and the sharing in the altar, and the eating of the body and drinking of the blood of Christ, and the anointing of the chrism . . ." (Acts of John Lat. XVI [James, p. 260]).

This mention of the church is particularly to be noted. From the time when Ephesians was written, Christians had increasingly become aware of the importance of the church for salvation. Hermas pictures the church as a white-haired virgin lady, adorned as a bride, who admonishes him (Vis. iv. 2). The church is a virgin in Od. Sol. 33:5. Asc. Isa. 3:15 predicts that the angel of the Christian church will be summoned in the last days. But the most significant phenomenon of all is the appearance of "Mother Church" in IV Ezra 2:15-32. Plumpe, who, in a brilliant monograph, has investigated the origins of this concept, finds it necessary to date the passage in a later century, following the judgment of Labourt.⁵⁶ But it

still seems to me possible to give it a second-century date. The hypostasis of Mother Church can arise whenever there is a coalescence between the idea of the heavenly Jerusalem of Gal. 4:26 and Hermas' figure of the church. Rev. 12 and perhaps even John 19:26-27 may approach it closely. Here, in a writing of great eloquence and rich biblical allusion, the church is addressed as "Mother" and assured of succor in time of persecution. She is bidden to keep the young and old within her walls (2:22), to commit the departed to the grave (2:23), and to remember her children who sleep (2:24). The Parousia is near (2:34), and one must flee the shadow of this world (2:36). For martyrs there is a rich reward (2:42-47). It is generally agreed that this fragment was written in Rome. Here, in the second century, the church is already conscious of her dignity and glory and the constant help of her Lord. She has prepared for her twelve trees laden with various kinds of fruits (cf. Rev. 22:2). As always in the second century, the twelve apostles are appealed to as the guarantors of the church and its doctrine.

We have now considered, not the great literary productions of the second century, but a number of pieces of the *Kleinliteratur*, and from them we see something of the vitality of second-century Christianity. The tiny root leaves which had begun to sprout in the apostolic age have grown into vigorous plants in the post-apostolic period. Sometimes the growth is unpruned and fantastic, but it is the product of a living religion, and no one who observes it can doubt its power.

EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

⁵⁶ J. C. Plumpe, *Mater Ecclesia* (Washington, 1943), esp. pp. 33-34; M. J. Labourt, "Le cinquième Livre d'Esdras," *Revue biblique*, VI (new ser., 1909), 412-34. D. de Bruyne, "Fragments d'une Apocalypse perdue," *Revue Benedictine*, XXXIII (1921), 108-9, does not suggest any definite date but tends to reject the second century because, he says, the fragment does

not exhibit "the freedom of inspiration or the naïveté of language" of Hermas or the Apocalypse of Peter. The author's mentality is much more that of a cleric. H. Weinel in Hennecke, pp. 390-91, thinks it unnecessary to date "V Ezra" after the second century. Cf. O. Stählin, *Die altchristliche griechische Literatur* (6th ed.; Munich, 1924), pp. 1217-18.

TITULI ASIAE MINORIS, II, 522 AND THE DATING OF
GREEK INSCRIPTIONS BY ROMAN NAMES

J. A. O. LARSEN

THE inscription, *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, II, 522, is one of two inscriptions from a tomb at Pinara in Lycia. This note is not so much concerned with the interpretation of the inscription as with the following statement by Benndorf quoted by Kalinka in his commentary:

Maiorem titulum [No. 522] primo p. Chr. n. saeculo assignandum esse aut, si multa concedis, initio secundi et Claudiorum nomina probant et C. Licinii Hermacopae [sic],¹ quo perpetuatur memoria C. Licinii Crassi Muciani legati pro praetore provinciae Lyciae sub Nerone.

This statement, implying as it does that the names cited make it impossible to date the inscription later than the beginning of the second century, is entirely misleading. When Roman names were assumed by Lycians, they were commonly transmitted to later generations and survived so long that such names cannot be used for fixing a *terminus ante quem*. An exceptional situation is sometimes presented by long lists of names. Thus, if a list contains many Iulii, Claudii, and Flavii but no Ulpii or Aelii, the date can be fixed approximately (cf. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* [hereafter cited as *IGR*], IV, 1132), but it is fixed not so much by the presence of the earlier names as by the absence of later names. On the other hand, when a short inscription, such as ours, mentions two Claudii and one Licinius, it might just as well, as far as the names are concerned, belong to the late second or even early third century as to the late first century. This point will be obvious to anyone who spends much time with Lycian inscriptions and observes the names.

¹ Kalinka restores Ἑρμακόπ[η]ου.

Benndorf's statement was probably written in 1881, when he examined the inscription, and may have been natural at that time. Its inclusion by Kalinka without criticism can best be explained as a slip. In fact, Kalinka himself was one of the editors of many of the inscriptions to be cited below. Yet, if such a slip could be made by so competent an editor, a note on the subject may not be out of place.

The purpose of the present note, therefore, is not to supply an exhaustive study of Roman names in Lycia—which would be a major undertaking—but merely to cite enough evidence to show that Roman names, once taken over, frequently were handed on and preserved generation after generation. In citing personal names from inscriptions, those of non-Romans will be transliterated in the Greek form, those of Roman citizens will be Latinized but with such peculiarities of spelling as the use of *ei* for *i*, the double nu in Licinnius, and the omission of nu in Clemes indicated. To give an example, Mousaios indicates a noncitizen, but, when the same man acquires Roman citizenship, his cognomen is given as Musaeus. In names ending in *-illa*, the spelling in the inscriptions varies between alpha and eta in the last syllable. This fluctuation will not be indicated.

Excellent evidence for the late survival of the names Claudius and Licinius is supplied by a long genealogical inscription from Oenoanda (*IGR*, III, 500). In many ways the older edition by Heberdey and Kalinka² is easier to use. Here there is a

² Rudolf Heberdey and Ernst Kalinka, "Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien" (*Denkschriften der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Classe*, Vol. XLV, Abh., I [Wien, 1897]) pp. 41 ff., No. 60.

1. TROKONDAS III

2. THOAS

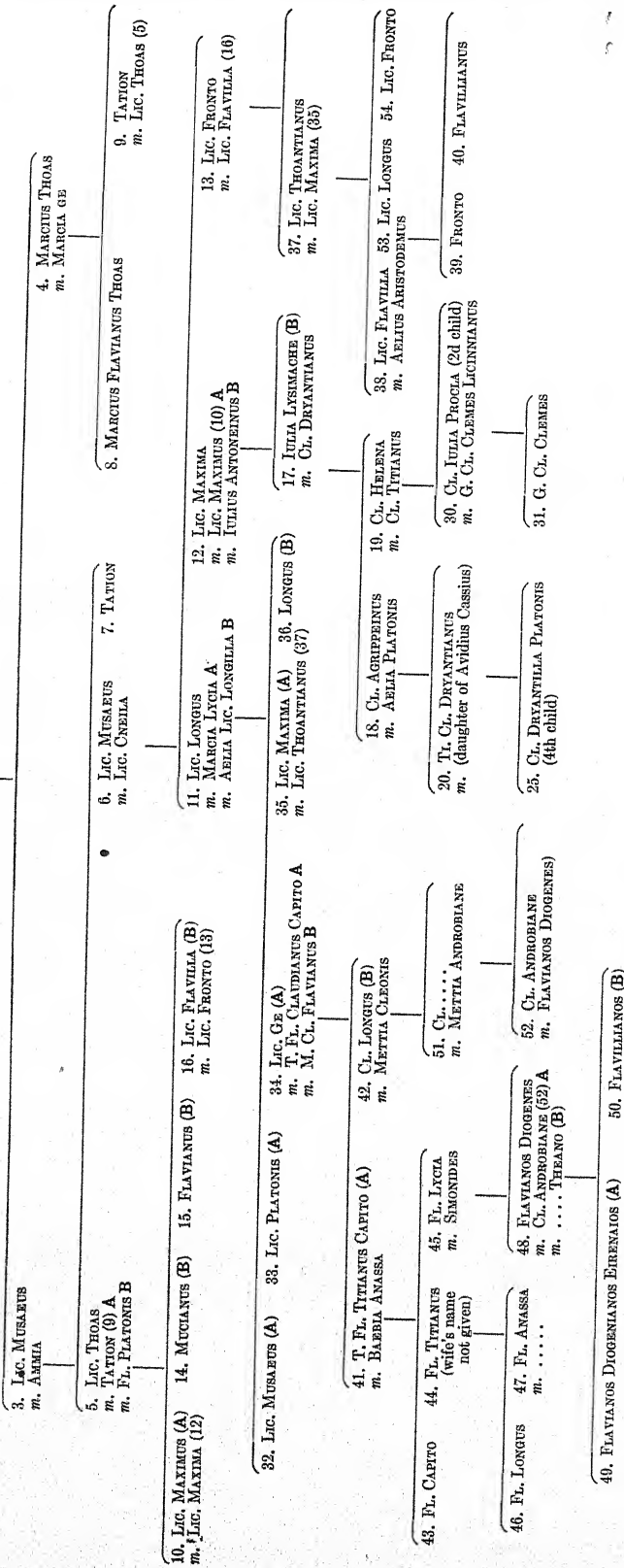


Fig. 1.—Stemma of some of the descendants of Trokondas III listed in *IGR*, III, 500

stemma with the names numbered. These numbers are shown in the margin opposite the passages in the text referring to the persons so indicated. In the version in *IGR* a number of emendations—first suggested by Wilhelm—have been introduced in column i, but these do not affect the details of the genealogy proper. A stemma, with some omissions, is given in Figure 1. The numbers used there and cited in the text after names are the same as those of the fuller stemma of Heberdey and Kalinka. These are based on the order of the first appearances of the names in the inscription. Only names found in the inscription are given, and so *praenomina* known only from other sources are not included. The few *praenomina* found are abbreviated in the usual manner though given in full in the text. Also Cl(audius), Fl(avius), and Lic(innius) are abbreviated, the same abbreviations being used as well for the corresponding feminine names. Signs of omission indicate that a name engraved on the stone has been lost. Thus, in the case of No. 51, the *nomen*, Claudius, has been preserved; the *cognomen* was recorded but has been lost. In the case of persons married twice, A and B are placed after the names to indicate, respectively, the first and the second spouse. If the husband or wife is listed in another place in the stemma, the number is placed in parentheses after the name. The absence of such a number indicates someone not in the direct line of descent.

The inscription is from a tomb erected by Licinnia Flavilla (38) for her parents and ancestors. Flavilla lived in the second half of the second century. Column i, which has not yet been satisfactorily restored or explained, may contain a reference to the year A.D. 151. Whatever this applies to, it does not give the date for the lower limit of the genealogy, which may not even have been inscribed in the days

of Flavilla. At any rate, if she was alive at the time, she must have been very old. This is shown by the heading describing it as the genealogy of Flavilla and her kinsman Flavianos Diogenes (48).³ The latter was a descendant in the fourth generation of Flavilla's maternal grandfather, Licinnius Longus (11), who was first prominent at about A.D. 115 and served as Lyciarch about 130 (*Class. Phil.*, XL [1945], 86, n. 105). If, for argument's sake, we assume that his third child, Licinnia Ge (34), the great-grandmother of Diogenes, was born as early as 100, and if we allow only twenty years for a generation, then Diogenes cannot have been born before 160. This date is almost certainly too early. At the time the genealogy was composed, he had already served as Lyciarch. Since most Lyciarchs were relatively mature men, this can hardly have been before 200. This fits well with the fact that Mettius Androbios, the grandfather of his first wife, served as high priest of the Lycian League in A.D. 150 (*IGR*, III, 737, xii. 8-17). As will be seen, other entries take us down into the early third century.

To begin at the beginning of the preserved part of the genealogy, Trokondas III—the numeral means that his father and grandfather bore the same name—had a son, Thoas, and he, in turn, two sons, Mousaios and Thoas. These two brothers were granted the Roman citizenship and assumed the names Gaius Licinnius Musaeus (3) and Marcius Thoas (4), respectively.⁴ Both served as Lyciarchs. Un-

³ In Heberdey and Kalinka's line drawing the name is given as ΦΛΑΥΙΑΝΟΥΔΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ. In their text—and also that of *IGR*—the first name is omitted and the iota of the second is not bracketed. The commentary in *IGR* gives "[Flavianus] Diogenes," the "restoration" being based on col. iv. 11.

⁴ This seems to be the meaning of ὃν ὁ μὲν ἐχομάρτισεν Λικίννιος Μουσαῖος, ὁ δὲ ἐτ[έ]ρος Μάρκιος Θό[α]ς (*IGR*, III, 500, ii. 3-6). For a related but not identical use of the verb, see Dittenberger, *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 3, 1150. The *praenomen* of Licinnius Musaeus is given in *IGR*, III, 493.

doubtedly, G. Licinnius Musaeus was named after C. Licinius Mucianus, who was governor under Nero, probably as early as A.D. 57.⁵ This would fit approximately the time assigned to him on the basis of his position in the genealogy.⁶ Similarly, Marcus Thoas—as well as the family of his wife, Marcia Ge, daughter of Marcus Molebouloubasis—must have derived his name from Sextus Marcus Priscus, who was governor under Vespasian.⁷ The acquisition of citizenship under a Flavian emperor is suggested also by the *cognomen* of his son, Marcus Flavianus Thoas (8). On the analogy of the Licinnii it is natural to suppose that both father and son bore the *praenomen* Sextus, but there is no evidence. It may be noted, however, that there seems to have been a family at Xanthus in which the name Sextus Marcus was employed (*TAM*, II, 291). Another possible—but less likely—*praenomen* is Titus (cf. below, n. 14). Flavianus died childless. His sister, Tation (9) or Licinnia Tation (*LGR*, III, 496), married her cousin, Gaius Licinnius Thoas (5). They had one son, Gaius Licinnius Maximus (10) (*praenomen* in *IGR*, III, 494), who seems to have died childless. With them, it appears, this branch of the family became extinct. Otherwise the descendants of Marcus Thoas undoubt-

edly would have perpetuated the name of Marcus as the descendants of his brother did that of Licinnius.

This elimination of the Marcii means that the rest of the genealogy is devoted to the Licinnii, including also husbands and descendants of daughters. In this inscription *praenomina* are seldom given, but many of the Licinnii are commemorated in other inscriptions, which frequently give the *praenomen* as Gaius. This may well have been borne regularly by the men of the family. The frequency with which a *praenomen* of the same person is omitted in one inscription and given in another proves that the failure to find a *praenomen* in a particular document does not mean that the person in question lacked one. The omitted *praenomen* will normally be the same as that of the father. "The Greeks often indeed seem to have combined the Greek system of nomenclature with the Roman; i.e., to an inherited *praenomen* and *nomen*, which served as an indication of Roman citizenship, they appended Greek *cognomina* which served as the real distinguishing name."⁸ This observation certainly seems to hold good for Lycia so far as the inherited *praenomen* and *cognomen* are concerned. The *praenomen*, it is true, is treated somewhat casually and frequently omitted—probably because it is taken for granted—while the *cognomen* is the most distinctive element in the combination. In the expression of filiation, at times only the *cognomen* of the father is actually given (Gaius L. Fronto, the son of Secundinus, in *IGR*, III, 704. iii B; Gaius Licinnius Fronto, the son of Phileinus, in *TAM*, II, 448). In such cases, undoubtedly, the father's *praenomen* and *nomen* were the same as those of his son. The *cognomen*, however,

⁵ *P(rosopographia) I(mperii) R(omani)*, II, 280 ff., No. 147; Kappelmacher in P.-W., XIII, 436-43, s.v., "Licinius" (116 a). He is mentioned in an inscription from Oenoanda (*IGR*, III, 486) and one from Attaleia in Pamphylia (*L'Année épigraphique*, 1915, No. 48). In both, *Likinios* is spelled with single nu, while the name of the Lycian Licinnii usually is spelled with double nu. Exceptions are *IGR*, III, 494 and 496. "Crassus," included by Benndorf in the name of Mucianus, apparently does not belong there (*PIR*, II, 280).

⁶ The Lyciarchate of the two brothers has been placed under Claudius or Nero (*JGR*, III, 493, n. 4; 500, commentary on ii. 4-7). This seems to place the upper limit too early. Of course, they may possibly have served as Lyciarchs before they acquired Roman citizenship.

⁷ *T(ituli) A(siae) M(inoris)*, II, 131, 270, 275, 396, 461; *PIR*, II, 338-39, No. 174; Fluss in P.-W., XIV, 1580, s.v., "Marcus" (84).

⁸ Ainsworth O'Brien-Moore, "M. Tullius Cratippus, Priest of Rome," *Yale Classical Studies*, VIII (1942), 23-49 at 35. Several of the illustrations cited (*ibid.*, n. 46) are from Lycia.

was not always Greek, not even in the sense of being non-Latin. Among the *cognomina* to be found below are Capito, Clemens, Fronto, Longus, and Maximus.

The first Gaius Licinnius Musaeus had two sons, Gaius Licinnius Thoas (5) (*praenomen* in *IGR*, III, 495) and Gaius Licinnius Musaeus (6) (*praenomen* in *IGR*, III, 493), and a daughter, Tation (7). Of these, Licinnius Thoas married as his first wife his cousin, Tation (9), who already has been mentioned, and as his second wife Flavia Platonis. By her he had two sons, Mucianus (14) and Flavianus (15), and a daughter, Licinnia Flavilla (16). In the record of their births, only the *cognomina* are given. Nothing more is heard of the sons except that Flavianus probably is the Licinnius Flavianus whose name occurs at the very end of the preserved part of the genealogy and whose descendants obviously were listed immediately below. The daughter married her cousin, Gaius Licinnius Fronto (13), and became the grandmother of the Licinnia Flavilla who erected the tomb.

The younger Gaius Licinnius Musaeus had three children, Licinnius Longus (11), the Lyciarch of about A.D. 130, Licinnia Maxima (12), and Gaius Licinnius Fronto (13) (*praenomen* in *IGR*, III, 495 and 493, where his name is given as Gaius Licinnius Marcius Thoantianus Fronto). In 493 it is recorded that Fronto served at his own expense as ambassador of the Lycian League to Trajan. This may seem surprising, since he appears to have been the youngest of the three children. The explanation must be that he undertook the embassy as a relatively young man. This and other benefactions indicate ambition. He was partly successful and became *archiphylax* and secretary of the League but not Lyciarch. In this case the failure to give him the title in the genealogy can be consid-

ered conclusive proof, for he was the paternal grandfather of the Licinnia Flavilla, and the inscription places great emphasis on the rank of his brother and her maternal grandfather, Longus.

Licinnius Longus, the Lyciarch, was married twice and had five children, and all, of course, bore the *nomen* Licinnius (Licinnia), though for one son the name is not actually attested. There is no record of descendants of his two sons, Licinnius Musaeus (32) and Longus (36). His daughter, Licinnia Ge (34), was married twice, her first husband being Titus Flavius Claudianus Capito. The latter, undoubtedly, inherited his *praenomen* and *nomen* from an ancestor who had received the citizenship under a Flavian emperor. A great-grandson of theirs was the Flavianos Diogenes already discussed. The latter's first *cognomen* was derived from the *nomen* of his mother, Flavia Lycia (45), just as the *cognomen* of the first Licinnia Flavilla (16) and her brother, Flavianus (15), was derived from the *nomen* of their mother, Flavia Platonis. The descendants of Capito in the direct male line, of course, bore the *nomen*, Flavius. The last such descendants to be mentioned in the genealogy are Flavius Longus (46) and Flavia Anassa (47), cousins of Flavianos Diogenes. Thus, there is evidence here for the late preservation of another name. Flavianos Diogenes himself, son of Simonides and grandson of Diogenes III, cannot have been a Roman citizen. Though he bore a typical *cognomen* formed from the name of his mother, and though his two sons bore similar *cognomina*, this certainly is no proof of citizenship. It is noticeable that no *nomen* is recorded for any of the three. One of the sons, Flavillianos (50), a son by his second wife, was old enough by the time the genealogy was recorded to have been crowned for victories in the pancratium. This can hardly have been

before the first part of the third century. A sister of Licinnia Ge, Licinnia Maxima (35), married her cousin, Gaius Licinnius Thoantianus (37) (*praenomen* in *IGR*, III, 495), the only son of Gaius Licinnius Fronto. Their three children were Licinnia Flavilla (38), the lady who constructed the tomb, Licinnius Longus (53), and Licinnius Fronto (54). These three represent the fifth generation of Licinnii in the genealogy. Two sons of Flavilla are listed, but no descendants of her two brothers. However, where the preserved part of the genealogy breaks off, the descendants of Licinnii are being listed. Had the rest of the inscription been preserved, we might have had two or three more generations of them.⁹

Nor is this all. There were other families which bore the name. This is suggested by some of the brides listed in the genealogy. Thus Licinnia Cneila, daughter of Licinnius Alexippus of Choma, the wife of the second Licinnius Musaeus (6), shows that there were Licinnii in this community. Then, in A.D. 145 Gaius Licinnius Fronto, the son of Secundeinus, sponsored a Lycian decree, which he himself bore to Rome as ambassador (*IGR*, III, 704. iii B and D). Another Gaius Licinnius Fronto, the son of Phileinus, served as federal high priest at an unknown date, probably in the second century (*TAM*, II, 448). In both cases the father's name shows that the two men are not identical with each other or with any of the bearers of the name mentioned in the genealogical inscription from Oenoanda. Thus it is unlikely that they were descendants of our first Licinnius Musaeus. They were probably rather descended from another Lycian—or other Lycians—granted citizenship by C. Licinius Mucianus. Still another family seems to be represented on a monument at Xanthus by Gaius Licinnius

Iason, his son Licinnius Cratippus, and his grandson Gaius Licinnius Flavianus Iason (*TAM*, II, 381). The latter must have been a bit of an egoist; on a monument to his grandfather he placed his own name first. References in the Opramoas inscription (*IGR*, III, 739) place Licinnius Popellius and Licinnius Stasithemis in the middle of the second century.

When we turn to the Claudii, the case is even clearer so far as the preservation of the name is concerned, and the material is so abundant that the chief problem is one of selection. Again it will be convenient to start with the genealogical inscription from Oenoanda. In several cases the husbands and descendants of daughters of the Licinnii are listed, and this serves as an introduction to other families. The second husband of Licinnia Maxima (12), the sister of Licinnius Longus, the Lyciarch, and of Licinnius Fronto, was [Gaius?] Iulius Antoneinus, the son of Gaius Iulius Demosthenes, who after a military career had been procurator of Sicily and, later, Lyciarch (*IGR*, III, 487 and 500. ii. 40–60), and thus probably was one of the earliest Lycians with a relatively important equestrian career. It was not, however, unique; a contemporary with an equally interesting career is mentioned in the genealogy. Iulius Antoneinus served in the army, but does not seem to have reached a rank higher than that of military tribune (*IGR*, III, 500. ii. 47–52).¹⁰ The daughter of Licinnia Maxima and Iulius Antoneinus, Iulia Lysimache (17), married Claudius Dryantianus of Patara. Their son, Tiberius Claudius Agrippeinus (18), was *consul suffectus* under Antoninus Pius but after A.D. 151 (*PIR*², II, No. 776 with stemma

⁹ The following biographies by Stein in P.-W., XIII, s.v., "Licinius" may be noted: [C.] Licinnius Fronto (86), C. Licinnius Thoantianus (170 a), Licinnia Flavilla (194), Licinnia Maxima (199).

¹⁰ Both father and son are discussed by Arthur Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand* ("Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte," Vol. X [1927]) (see Index II); cf. Stein in P.-W., X, s.v., "Iulius" (71 and 206). Approximately contemporary with the two were Marcus Titianus, mentioned below, and his son, T. Marcius Delotorianus.

of the family; cf. *Class. Phil.*, XL [1945], 95-96). His son, Tiberius Claudius Dryantianus Antoneinus (20), was a senator who married the daughter of Avidius Cassius and was involved in the revolt of the latter in A.D. 175 (*PIR*², II, No. 859). Of his four children, at least three bore the name Claudius (Claudia). One of them, Claudia Dryantilla Platonis (25), took part as a matron in the Secular Games of 204 (*CIL*, VI, 32329. 26; cf. H. Dessau, "Die Familie der Kaiserin Sulpicia Dryantilla," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XXII [1900], 199-205). In the genealogy she is described as a consular, while the husbands of the matrons taking part in the Secular Games appear to have ranked no higher than knights (Dessau, *op. cit.*, p. 203, n. 1). In that case her consular rank was acquired after 204. To go back again a couple of generations, Claudia Helena (19) (*PIR*², II, No. 1097), the sister of Tiberius Claudius Agrippaeus, married Claudius Titianus (*ibid.*, No. 1043). Their daughter, Claudia Iulia Procla (30) (*ibid.*, No. 1098), married Gaius Claudius Clemes Licinnianus (*ibid.*, No. 837, with the spelling C. Claudius Clemens Licinianus), who served as *consul suffectus*, probably under Commodus. Their son was another Gaius Claudius Clemes (31) (*ibid.*, No. 836).¹¹ To the same generation belongs Claudia Androbiane (52), great-granddaughter of Licinnia Ge (34) and her second husband, Marcus Claudius Flavianus. Thus the name of Claudius certainly maintained itself into the third century.

This is clear also for at least one other Lycian family. A common name in inscriptions of various periods is Tiberius Claudius Telemachus. One bearer of the name, who attained consular rank, was active during the reign of Commodus.¹² Among his descendants were a son, Tibe-

rius Claudius Stasithemis, and a grandson, Tiberius Claudius Aurelius Telemachus. Among the many other Claudii of Lycia was a second Tiberius Claudius Agrippaeus—probably a relative of the consul and mentioned in *PIR*², II, No. 776, in the biography of the latter—who had an important equestrian career and later became high priest of the Lycian League.¹³

It may be noted that the relatively few inscriptions from Pinara, the site to which *TAM*, II, 522, belongs, contain other examples of the two names discussed. An altar was erected by Ti. Claudius Diogenes with a prayer for his *trophimos*, L. Claudius Apollinarius (*TAM*, II, 503). Then there is a monument to Licinnius Musaeus erected after his death by the bailiff or collector of rents on his estates (*ἐκφορία* [σ]τής), Zosimos (*TAM*, II, 532). The names of his parents show that Licinnius Musaeus was the son of Licinnius Longus, the Lyciarch discussed

¹² *PIR*², II, No. 1037, with tentative stemma of the family and cross-references to the biographies of other members.

¹³ The suggested relationship is based on more than mere guess from the identity of the names. The consul was the son of Claudius Dryantianus of Patara (*IGR*, III, 500. ii. 63-72). The other Tiberius Claudius Agrippaeus, the son of Tiberius Claudius Iason, is twice described as *Παρασία καὶ Μυρία* (*TAM*, II, 422 and 423) and once as *Ρωμαίων καὶ Παρασία καὶ Σάνθιον καὶ Μυρία* (*TAM*, II, 495, honors bestowed by the *boule* and *demos* of Xanthus). Since Patara always comes first when his local citizenships are listed, it is likely that he belonged to the same family of Patara as his namesake. The inscriptions honoring him are interesting also from another point of view. In Nos. 422 and 423 his equestrian career is described; in Nos. 425 and 495 there is no reference to this career. It is (at least from the point of view of the moment) as if his services to Rome were as nothing compared with his services in Lycia. No. 495 is particularly interesting, since it not only emphasizes the honors bestowed by Lycia, the Hellenes of Asia, and the cities of Pamphylia but also states that he is descended from *strategoi* and *nauarchoi*. (Of. also for the Licinnii of Oenoanda *IGR*, III, 495.) This, in turn, suggests that the men first given Roman citizenship belonged to families which had been prominent during the period of independence. On the other hand, in the genealogical inscription from Oenoanda, where there is considerable emphasis on rank, a person seems to be described as *synkletikos* or *hypatikos* whenever possible.

¹¹ Here the stemma of Heberdey and Kalinka (No. 31) gives *Φλ. Κλ. Κλήμης*, but their text reads *Γάιος Κλαύδιος Κλήμης* (so also *IGR*, III, 500. iii. 23-24). This is much more likely to be correct.

above. Hence the inscription must belong to the middle of the second century. There may be also another record of one of the individuals mentioned in *TAM*, II, 522. The latter is from a tomb erected by Claudius Hermas exclusively for himself and his wife. In the inscription he mentions—apparently as a great honor—that he is the foster-father (τροφεύς) of Claudia Platonis and speaks as if this guardianship has been acquired recently (καὴν κυρεῖαν) through a favor or concession on the part of his predecessor. Obviously, Claudia Platonis was a lady of prominence and wealth. Hence, when another carefully prepared tomb (“sepulcrum eleganter erupe excisum”) is marked as the tomb of Symphoros, the *oikonomos* of Claudia Platonis (*TAM*, II, 518), it is natural to conclude that we have a record of a member of the establishment of the same lady. It is true that Platonis was a rather common *cognomen*, but the combination is not so common, and it is unlikely that there should be two independently wealthy ladies in the same community with precisely this name.

In the case of the many Claudii it is not easy to determine exactly when their ancestors acquired Roman citizenship and the name. It has been noted that, in all likelihood, the Gaii Licinnii derived their name from C. Licinius Mucianus, who was governor under Nero, and that Marcius Thoas and his father-in-law derived theirs from Sextus Marcius Priscus, who was governor under Vespasian. Another example from our inscription is suggested by Marcius Titianus,¹⁴ father-in-law of

Licinnius Longus, the Lyciarch of ca. A.D. 130. Also a governor of Claudius—probably the very first—Quintus Veranius (*PIR*, III, 399, No. 266) had his name preserved to a relatively late date. Four bearers of the name served as high priests or Lyciarchs of the Lycian League.¹⁵ Quintus Veranius Tlepolemus was high priest in 149 (*IGR*, III, 705; cf. 739. xviii. 45 and *TAM*, II, 288). His father, Quintus Veranius Eudemus, had served in the same capacity at an unknown date (*TAM*, II, 288). Between the two came Veranius Priscianus (*IGR*, II, 704. i. 14). The date of Quintus Veranius Iason, the son of

was after her father had retired from the army and returned to Lycia. Since we do not know his age at the time, it is impossible to say whether it was Marcius Titianus himself or his father who received the citizenship from Sextus Marcius Priscus. In any case, the career of Titianus—and particularly his service as *primipilus bis*—is remarkable for a man of Eastern origin at so early a date (Stein, *Ritterstand*, p. 151). His *praenomen* probably was Titus, though there is absolute proof only for his son, T. Marcius Delotorianus (*IGR*, III, 472), but, as has been noted above, both *praenomen* and *nomen* were commonly handed down from father to son. Thus, in this case, it seems that only the *nomen* was derived from that of the governor making the grant, while the *praenomen* was that of members of the imperial family.

¹⁴ Stein in P.-W., XIV, 1596, s.v., “Marcius” (105). Marcius Titianus, described in the genealogy as a former *primipitarius* who later served as Lyciarch, had been prefect of a cohort, legionary tribune, and *primipilus bis*. This can hardly have been later than the reign of Trajan. According to the latest reconstruction of the career of Licinnius Longus (*Class. Phil.*, XL, 86, n. 105), the latter was married by A.D. 115, when his wife served with him as priestess in the local cult of the *Sebastoi* at Oenoanda (*IGR*, III, 500. iii. 24–42; cf. No. 492). It is natural to believe that this

¹⁵ For the identity of high priest and Lyciarch see *Class. Phil.*, XL (1945), 85 and n. 103. It may be noted, however, that on this old controversial question complete agreement has hardly been reached. In this paper the two titles have been used indiscriminately depending on the usage of the inscriptions cited. The many Lyciarchs mentioned who were Roman citizens may have created the impression that, after the loss of the freedom of the League, all Lyciarchs were Roman citizens, or even that Roman citizenship was a necessary qualification for the office. In the list of high priests given by Rudolf Heberdey (*Opramoas* [Wien, 1897], pp. 69–71) the following appear to have been non-Roman: Apollonios III, Attalos, Iason Demetrios, Killortas, Opramoas, Sarpedon, another Iason, Polycharmos, Antichares II, Aristandros II. The list does not contain all known high priests. There were others, both Roman and non-Roman. It has already been mentioned that Flavianos Diogenes, who served as Lyciarch at a relatively late date, was not a Roman citizen. Undoubtedly there were enough Roman citizens, at least in the second century and later, to supply the Lyciarchs regularly. There must have been others like the Gaius Licinnius Fronto mentioned above, who was obviously ambitious but who failed to be elected Lyciarch. His son, Gaius Licinnius Thoantianus, though highly honored for his munificence (*IGR*, III, 495), seems to have been no more successful. The emphasis upon the Lyciarchate of Licinnius Longus implies that this dis-

Quintus Veranius Ptolemaeus, (*TAM*, II, 198) is not known.¹⁶ This points to the reigns of Claudius and Nero for the grant of citizenship to Claudii. Extensive grants under Tiberius are unlikely. Derivation from earlier Claudii may be possible in other provinces but hardly in Lycia. A list of fifty-six donors at Tlos (*TAM*, II, 550-51), probably from the reign of Augustus (*Class. Phil.*, XL [1945], 94), contains only one Roman name, and that is Gaius Iulius Iucundus. Moreover, the prevalence of the combination Tiberius Claudius suggests derivation from the Claudian emperors. Probably many will continue to share the opinion of Groag (in *P.-W.*, III, 2667, *s.v.*, "Claudius") that the names of the many Claudii of the eastern provinces are due chiefly to Nero. This gains support from the relatively numerous grants of the Neronian governor, C. Licinius Mucianus. Nevertheless, the grants by Quintus Veranius suggest that some of the Claudii owed their citizenship to Claudius. What bearing this may have on the general policy of the latter cannot be discussed here.¹⁷

tion was unusual among the Licinii of Oenoanda, who were not so successful in politics or so distinguished as the Claudii with whom they intermarried. Obviously the voters chose certain non-Romans in preference to certain Romans. In the middle of the second century a non-Roman, the Lyciarch Iason son of Nicostratos, could be described in a decree as being both by birth and in his own personality second to no one in the province (*IGR*, III, 704. iii B). Though the municipal magistracies seem to have been regarded as a burden (*Class. Phil.*, XL [1945], 84, n. 99), federal offices seem to have been prized and to have been the object of considerable rivalry. This may have made municipal offices easier to fill, for few could hope to be elected to federal office unless they did their duty by their home community.

¹⁶ H. Dessau (*Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, II, Part II [Berlin, 1930], 607) remarks that Roman citizenship was diffused rather rapidly in Lycia and believes that the three governors mentioned above must have been largely responsible for this.

¹⁷ For some recent discussions of the policy of Claudius in granting citizenship see V. M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius* (Cambridge: Harvard Univer-

sity Press, 1940), chap. vii; A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), chap. viii and cf. pp. 241-44 for Lycia; cf. also C. S. Walton, "Oriental Senators in the Service of Rome," *Journal of Roman Studies*, XIX [1929], 38-66.

In all likelihood further investigation would reveal similar conditions in other provinces. Thus, in the Index of *IGR*, III, the volume from which most of the illustrations have been taken, *Κλαυδία* and *Κλαύδιος* cover slightly over two pages (pp. 535-37); in *IGR*, IV, a little more than three pages (pp. 593-96). The familiarity of the name is shown by the frequency with which it is abbreviated. In both volumes Tiberius Claudius is common. Checking a few names in *IGR*, IV, at random, I found two entries under Tiberius Claudius Menogenes. The one (No. 559) is from the reign of Claudius; the father's name, Nannas (cf. No. 582), suggests a newly created citizen. The other (No. 261) is from the reign of Marcus Aurelius. To go farther afield, it is amusing to find the two names which have been the chief object of study in this investigation borne by T. Licinius Hierocles, *praeses* of Mauretania Caesariensis in A.D. 227, and his wife, Claudia Nerviana (Stein in *P.-W.*, XIII, 370-71, *s.v.*, "Licinius" [90]). Their four children were Licinius Hierocles, Licinia Hieroclia, Licinia Paulina, and Licinia Axia. Nothing seems known about the family except what can be deduced from a few Latin inscriptions, but the *cognomen*, Hierocles, suggests an eastern origin. Whatever may be the value of this last illustration, the general conclusion to be drawn from the material presented is clear. In dating Greek inscriptions, it is necessary to be extremely cautious in using Roman names for fixing a *terminus ante quem*.

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THE ASYNDETON CLAUSE IN THE CODE OF HAMMURABI

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FOR the historian nothing is so important as the correct understanding of the text of his source material, and for the correct understanding of the text nothing is so important as the correct understanding of the syntax.¹ It is appropriate, accordingly, that an article dedicated to the memory of a great historian of the Near East, Albert Ten Eyck Olmstead, should have to do with syntax, and it is appropriate, too, that it should be in the cuneiform field, in which Professor Olmstead found so much of his source material. Because the article had to be written on comparatively short notice, it is confined to one particular topic: the use of the asyndeton clause, in a very restricted area, the laws of the Code of Hammurabi, excluding both the Prologue and the Epilogue. What holds here, however, is likely to hold throughout the whole of Old Babylonian literature.

By way of introduction to our topic it is necessary to say a word about *šum-ma*, which appears so frequently in the Code. This was a problem that Arthur Ungnad did not quite solve in his brilliant essay on the syntax of the Code.² He said that "it is apparently a permansive formation from the root 𒀭𒌦 in the intensive stem, perhaps the third feminine plural in

the sense of our neuter."³ As I have shown elsewhere,⁴ it is hardly the third feminine plural but rather the third masculine singular, the impersonal permansive plus the particle *-ma*, which cannot be conjunctive here but must be explicative, meaning "namely," corresponding exactly to a frequent use of *wāw* in Hebrew.⁵ Literally translated, the phrase is accordingly "it is determined, namely," which is the equivalent of "it is determined that" or "it being determined that," and this in turn is the equivalent of "if," the usual translation. That is, the clause which follows *šumma* in the simpler sections of the Code is grammatically co-ordinate to it; but logically it is the subject of the verb *šum*,⁶ and the particle *-ma* is explicative. Following this comes another co-ordinate clause without any connecting particle preceding it, which in the English translation constitutes the apodosis; and to this clause the *šumma* clause at the beginning is logically circumstantial, and that is why the verb is permansive, corresponding to the use of the participle in Hebrew.⁷ The scheme used

¹ ZA, XVII (1903), 362-63.

² JBL, LXIV (1945), 6. In the present article I venture to introduce a new system of marking long vowels in Akkadian: I use the macron (ˉ) over the vowel to indicate original (i.e., Proto-Semitic) and simple length; the circumflex (ˆ) to indicate compensative lengthening, by which I mean length which arises from the assimilation of a consonant to a vowel; and the tilde (˜) to indicate length which arises from the contraction of two vowels as a result of the syncope of a consonant between them.

³ See, e.g., T. J. Meek, JAOS, LVIII (1938), 123-24.

⁴ A. Ungnad, ZA, Vol. XVIII (1904), claims that a clause in Babylonian cannot be nominative, but as I have shown elsewhere (e.g., JBL, LXIV [1945], 4 ff.), a clause can be used in any case in which a noun is used: nominative, genitive, or accusative.

⁵ See, e.g., T. J. Meek, JBL, LXIV (1945), 4. When I say here that the circumstantial clause in

¹ A good example is Lev. 18:7, usually translated, "The nakedness of thy father and the nakedness of thy mother thou shalt not uncover; she is thy mother; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness." With the correct understanding of the syntax it reads literally as follows: "The nakedness belonging to your father, namely, the nakedness of your mother, you must not uncover; since she is your mother, you must not uncover her nakedness," or in better English, "You must not have intercourse with her who belongs to your father, namely, your mother; since she is your mother, you must not have intercourse with her" (see T. J. Meek, JAOS, LVIII [1938], 124).

² ZA, XVII, (1903), 353-78; *ibid.*, XVIII (1904), 1-67.

throughout the simpler sections of the Code runs accordingly as follows: "It being determined that so-and-so happened or has happened,"⁸ (under these circumstances) so-and-so shall be done." This explains why the verb of the clause which is the subject of *šumma* does not have the subordinating suffix *-u*; it also explains why the verb of this clause is regularly in the preterite when other languages would more likely use the present. In the Code the present is used only in these clauses to express the desiderative⁹ or to indicate a state in the past or present.¹⁰ Another way of indicating the stative in these clauses is, of course, by the use of

the permansive¹¹ or, closely akin to that, the use of a nominal clause with its predicate noun or adjective in the indeterminate state.¹²

A striking, but hitherto unnoticed, phenomenon in the Code is the unusually large number of asyndeton clauses that appear there. It is true that asyndeton clauses are more frequent in the East Semitic languages than they are in the West. Because the end of a line also marked the end of a word, and also because of the script, it was easier to divide words and clauses in cuneiform, and so there was not the same necessity of using connecting particles to mark them off.¹³ On the other hand, the unusually large number of asyndeton clauses in the Code of Hammurabi is not something that we should expect; and being unusual, it needs to be explained. It is the contention of this paper that most of these asyndeton clauses are to be interpreted as circumstantial.

First, let us examine the clauses immediately following the *šumma* clause. In the simpler sections of the Code there will be a single clause here as the logical subject of *šumma* or a group of two or more clauses, in both cases followed immediately by what in the English translation is the apodosis. Rather frequently, however, there will be one or more clauses intervening between *šumma* and the clause or group that constitutes its logical subject. These are asyndeton clauses because they do not belong to *šumma* and have no connecting particle after them. Usually they appear as individual clauses, but sometimes another is joined to the single clause by the enclitic *-ma* without

Hebrew (by which I mean classical Hebrew prose) has its verb regularly as participle, I do not mean, of course, that this is always the case but simply the rule. Sometimes the verb will be imperfect and occasionally perfect, when, for example, the clause to which it is circumstantial expresses completed action in the past (e.g., Gen. 44:12; 48:14). Also I use "circumstantial" here in its very restricted sense, which means that the action of the circumstantial clause must be contemporaneous with that of the other. If it antedates it, the clause becomes temporal; if the one clause expresses the manner of carrying out the action of the other, it is adverbial; if it expresses the result (physical), it is a result clause; if it expresses the consequence (psychological), it is a consequential clause. The circumstantial clause answers the question "Under what circumstances"; the temporal clause, "When, at what time"; the adverbial clause, "How"; the result clause, "With what result in the physical realm"; and the consequential clause, "With what consequence in the psychological realm." In syntax, as in every other field of research, one cannot be too meticulous or too precise.

⁸ The primary form of the verb and the *t*-form, respectively, on which see A. Goetze, *JAOS*, LVI (1936), 297-334. Akkadian has two different kinds of preterite: (1) the primary form to indicate the remote past which from the present looks like a point and has no dimension in time and (2) the *t*-form to indicate the recent past in which something has happened and at the time of statement still influences the present.

⁹ Viz., *iz-za-kar* in § 18; *i-na-ad-di-in* in § 122; *u-ba-la-aq* in § 129; *i-iz-zi-ib* in § 138; *i-ig-ga-ar* in § 274.

¹⁰ Viz., *i-ir-ri-iš* in § 30; *i-na-ad-di-in* in § 71; *im-ta-gar* in § 149; *u-sa-ab-ha-mu-ši* in § 172; *i-ba-aš-ši* in §§ 32 (three times), 48, 133, 134, 135, 139, and 151 (twice); *i-šu* in §§ 8, 51, 71, 89, 96 (twice), 113, 114, 115, 142, and 176a (but in some or all of these places the verb may be taken as preterite); *i-li-i* in §§ 28, 29, 54, and 256 (but again the verb may also be taken as preterite).

¹¹ In §§ 29, 126, 142, 143 (twice). The permansives in §§ 112 and 264, which others would list here, belong to circumstantial clauses, as we shall show later.

¹² In §§ 3, 8, 24, 62, 63, 140, 207, 208, 216, 217, 222, 223, 251, 252, 280, 281.

¹³ In the West Semitic languages many of the connecting particles are simply determinative (see T. J. Meek, *JBL*, LXIV [1945], 2 ff.).

any connecting particle following it, making the two together an asyndeton group.¹⁴ Occasionally the asyndeton group consists of three clauses.¹⁵ With the exception of the asyndeton clauses following *šūmma* in §§ 5 and 34, which will be discussed later in this paper, it is our contention that all these asyndeton clauses or groups of clauses are to be interpreted as circumstantial to the clause immediately following, logically subordinate, but grammatically co-ordinate. It is to be noted at once that two of these have their verbs in the permansive,¹⁶ which is the tense that often appears in the circumstantial clause and is the tense which we found in the circumstantial clause *šūmma*. On the other hand, it is to be noted that all the others have their verbs in the preterite,¹⁷ but a further examination shows that all the clauses to which they are circumstantial have likewise their verbs in the preterite. Furthermore, it is to be noted that, when the clause that is the logical subject of the *šūmma* clause has its verb in the primary form, the clause that is logically circumstantial to it also has its verb in the primary form, and when the one has its verb in the *t*-form, the other likewise has its verb in the *t*-form, and this is exactly the agreement that we should have if the one clause is circumstantial to the other. When the asyndeton takes the form of a group instead of a single clause, the form of the verb in the final clause is always that of the clause to which the group is logically circumstantial; that is, there may be sequence within the group,¹⁸ but the form of the verb in the concluding clause is always that of the clause to which

the group is circumstantial, and that again helps to confirm our thesis. Another point in favor of our interpretation is the fact that the subject of *šūmma* (the protasis of the English translation) is not the clause immediately following it but the clause following that, making the other circumstantial. A typical example is found in § 150: "If, when a seignior¹⁹ presented a field, orchard, house, or goods to his wife, he left a sealed document with her, her children may not lay claim against her after (the death of) her husband." The condition out of which the law develops here is the fact that the husband left a sealed document with his wife and not that he gave her certain property, since this constitutes the circumstances under which the document was given; that is, the scheme in the more complicated sections of the Code (those at present under discussion) runs as follows: "It being determined that under such-and-such circumstances so-and-so happened, so-and-so shall be done."

Another factor favoring our interpretation of the clauses in question is the fact that Goetze's explanation of the *t*-form in Old Babylonian,²⁰ which I believe to be correct, works much better with our interpretation than with the generally accepted one, because in the latter case it breaks down at a number of points. According to Goetze, the *t*-form regularly concludes a series of successive verbal clauses in the preterite, and, whenever the sentence following *šūmma* contains two verbs, the first is regularly in the primary form but the second in the *t*-form;²¹ and by the same reasoning, in the case of more than two verbs, only the last one

¹⁴ In §§ 49, 107, 136, 148, 194, 237.

¹⁵ In §§ 66, 112, 144, 146.

¹⁶ § 112 (*wa-ši-ib*); § 264 (*ma-ši-ir*).

¹⁷ §§ 9, 49, 55, 60, 66, 107, 108, 112, 136, 144, 146, 148, 150, 151, 160, 161, 162, 165, 166, 168, 182, 183, 186, 194, 237.

¹⁸ So in §§ 107, 136, 148, and 194 in groups of two clauses; in §§ 144 and 146 in groups of three clauses.

¹⁹ For *awēlum* I use the translation "seignior" because it is a feudal term and hence reflects the feudalism of Hammurabi's time, which was manifestly very similar to that of the Middle Ages in Europe.

²⁰ *JAOS*, LVI (1936), 297-334.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 302 and 304.

should be in the *t*-form. To this, however, there are a goodly number of exceptions, as follows (I use Goetze's scheme of notation): 1 - 1 (§§ 150, 165, 166, 182, 186); 1 - 1 - 1 (§§ 60, 183); 1-*ma* 1 - 1 (§ 49); 1-*ma* 1-*ma* 1 1-*ma* 1 (§ 66); 1-*ma* 2 - 2 (§§ 107, 148, 194); 1-*ma* 1-*ma* 2 - 2 (§ 146); 1-*ma* 2 - 2 - 2-*ma* 2 (§ 136); 1 - 2 - 2 \bar{u} 2 - 2 \bar{u} 2 (§ 9). On the other hand, with our interpretation of the asyndeton clause or group of clauses following *šumma* as circumstantial, Goetze's thesis holds in every single instance except one, and this is in § 66, where we have the primary verbal form *iq-bi-šum* instead of the expected *t*-form, but this is undoubtedly a simple scribal error for *iq-ta-bi-šum*, just as *iš-bi-ir* in § 248 is a scribal error for *iš-te-bi-ir*.²²

It would seem to follow accordingly that the asyndeton clauses in question are definitely to be interpreted as circumstantial. It is only thus that one can explain why they are asyndeton.²³ In one instance (§ 183) there is a second asyndeton clause following the first which is manifestly circumstantial to it: "If a father, upon presenting a dowry to his daughter, a *šugitum*, when he gave her to a husband, wrote a sealed document for her, after the father has gone to (his) fate, she may not have any share in the goods of the father's estate."

Among the asyndeton clauses immediately following *šumma* there are four in-

stances of groups of two that differ slightly from those already discussed. They run as follows: 1-*ma* 1 - 2 (§§ 163 and 167); 1-*ma* 1 - 2-*ma* 2 (§ 135); 1 \bar{u} 1 - 2 (§ 170). It is to be noted here that the clause to which the asyndeton group (1-*ma* 1 and 1 \bar{u} 1) is logically subordinate has its verb in the *t*-form while the asyndeton group has its verbs in the primary form. That means that sequence appears here, and the asyndeton group must accordingly be interpreted as temporal instead of circumstantial; but, after all, there is only a slight difference between the two, and in many of our translations of clauses that are strictly circumstantial in meaning we have to use the conjunction "when" in English, where it can be either temporal or circumstantial. The temporal idea can be brought out in the translation by the use of "then," as, for example, in § 135: "If, when a seignior was taken captive and there was nothing to eat in his house, his wife has then entered the house of another before his return and has borne children." This construction is simply a variant of what we have, for example, in § 103, where a prepositional phrase with temporal force takes the place of the asyndeton clause: "If, when he went on the road, an enemy has made him give up whatever he was carrying."

Also closely related to the circumstantial clause, and differing less from it than the temporal clause, is the concessive clause. So far as I have been able to discover, there is only one example of this in the Code, but that is a very clear case. It appears in § 142: "If a woman hated her husband so much that she has declared,²⁴ 'You may not have me,' her past shall be investigated at her city council,"²⁵

²² *Ibid.*, p. 305, n. 41. Goetze (*ibid.*, p. 318) would explain *iq-bi-šum* in § 66 as due to the presence of the dative suffix *-šum*, which, he believes, causes the expected *t*-form to be replaced by the primary form, but in all the examples that he cites in support of this the primary forms are quite regular if the thesis advanced in this paper is accepted. In two of his examples, *id-di-iš-ši-im* (§ 172) and *iš-ru-uq-ši-im* (§ 180), it seems to me that it is the primary form, and not the *t*-form, that is to be expected, no matter whether the thesis of this paper is followed or not. I would accordingly delete the whole of Section A, IV, in Goetze's paper as being no longer necessary if our thesis is accepted.

²³ As is well known, the logically circumstantial clause is frequently asyndetical in all the Semitic languages.

²⁴ A result clause, to be discussed later in this paper. Note the sequence, 1-*ma* 2.

²⁵ This would seem to be the best translation of *bābūm*, a feminine formation from *bādum*. Its use here is identical with that of *ša'ar* in Ruth 3:11; 4:10.

and if she has been careful and has been without reproach, even though her husband has been going out and disparaging her greatly, that woman, without incurring any blame at all,²⁵ may take her dowry and go off²⁷ to her father's home." The clause is introduced by the emphatic conjunction *u*, which is more emphatic here than conjunctive and has the meaning of "even," corresponding to a frequent use of *wāw* in Hebrew. It is to be noted that the two verbs of the clause agree exactly in tense and form with those of the two clauses to which it is logically subordinate and that its first verb is permissive, both of which facts support our contention that the clause is concessive. Furthermore, the interpretation hitherto followed makes the woman eligible to get her dowry back only if her husband has been going out and disparaging her, whereas our interpretation gives what surely must have been the intention of the law-maker: the woman is to get her dowry back, despite her husband's disparagement of her, because she has been a dutiful wife.

All the asyndeton clauses so far considered appear before the clauses to which they are logically circumstantial. Besides these, there are many others which appear after the clauses to which they are logically circumstantial. These are found toward the end of what in the English translation is the apodosis. A typical example is found in § 37: "If a seignior has purchased the field, orchard, or house belonging to a soldier, an officer, or a feudatory, his contract-tablet shall be broken and he shall also forfeit his money, with the field, orchard, or house reverting to its owner." Another example is to be found in § 162: "If, when a seignior ac-

quired a wife, she bore him children and then that woman has gone to (her) fate, her father may not lay claim to her dowry, since her dowry belongs to her children." Still another example appears at the end of § 32: "If there is not sufficient to ransom him in the estate of his city god, the state shall ransom him, since his own field, orchard, and house may not be given up for his ransom."²⁸ In only one instance does the clause appear before the clause to which it is logically circumstantial and that is in § 142: "that woman, without incurring any blame at all, may take her dowry and go off to her father's home." In five instances (§§ 9, 96, 148, 150, 171) two asyndeton clauses appear together, the first one logically circumstantial to the preceding clause and the second logically circumstantial to it; as, for example, in § 171: "she shall have the usufruct of (it) as long as she lives, without ever selling (it), since her heritage belongs to her children." In two instances (§§ 177 and 178) we have a run of three such clauses.²⁹ In all these many clauses, as in the case of the logically circumstantial clause previously discussed, it is to be noted that the verbs are in the same tense and form as those of the clauses to which they are logically circumstantial. The decided improvement in sense likewise supports our interpretation.

Up to this point we have dealt with the asyndeton clauses that appear at the beginning and at the end of the individual laws. We have now to consider those that appear within the body of the law. A number of these³⁰ have all the characteristics

²⁵ Similar examples to these three are found in §§ 2, 10, 26, 32, 37, 40, 60, 64, 71 (twice), 104, 117, 118, 125, 130, 134, 135, 141 (twice), 144, 145, 162, 163, 170, 171, 176, 176a, 179, 180, 181, 182, 191.

²⁶ In § 178 the two clauses immediately preceding the last one are alternative clauses and are counted here as one; their connection with each other is discussed later in this paper.

²⁷ In §§ 2, 9, 49, 57, 159, 171 (twice), 178, 184, 235, 253.

²⁸ This clause is logically circumstantial, as we shall note later.

²⁹ The separative use of the *i*-form (see Goetze, *op. cit.*, pp. 324 ff.).

of the first group already discussed and so are manifestly circumstantial in meaning to the clause immediately following. In two of these occurrences (in §§ 159 and 178) the asyndeton occurs within a relative clause, and in one instance (in § 49) the verb of the asyndeton clause is imperative, in agreement with the verb of the clause to which it is logically circumstantial. In § 58 the asyndeton clause occurs after a temporal clause with *ištu*: "after the sheep have gone up from the meadow, with the whole flock³¹ shut up within the city-gate."³²

A number of other asyndeton clauses within the body of the law have the construction that we should normally expect of a circumstantial clause. In § 264 we have a clause with its verb *ma-ḫi-ir* in the permansive, and in §§ 7, 9, 10, 11, and 13 we have a construction practically identical with that—the use of a predicate noun or adjective in the indeterminate state in place of the permansive. All these are clearly circumstantial in meaning and should be so translated into English. Hence *šar-ra-aq* in §§ 7, 9, and 10 should be translated "since he is a thief," and *sà-ar* in §§ 11 and 13 should be translated "since he is a cheat."

There are a few asyndeton clauses which manifestly are to be interpreted as in the adverbial accusative of manner.³³ They are the concluding clause in § 96, "without making any objections," and in § 133, "by not entering the house of another," and the second clause from the end in § 11, "in spreading a false report,"

³¹ Literally, "the flock of the totality." The word *kannū* is plural construct here and manifestly means "flock."

³² The reference to the city gate evidently reflects the Near Eastern custom in both ancient and modern times of bringing the sheep into the shelter of the town or village at night.

³³ For this kind of clause see T. J. Meek, *JAOs*, XLIX (1929), 156 ff.; LVIII (1938), 125-26; *AJSsL*, XLVII (1930), 51 ff.

and in § 118: "If a male or female slave has been bound over³⁴ to service, the merchant may transfer (him) by selling (him) without any penalty at all being incurred"; in other words, "the merchant may resell (him)."

There are also a few asyndeton clauses which are in the accusative case as the direct object of a verb. Most of these are found in direct narration, namely, in §§ 49, 126, 142, 159, 160, 161, 168, 192, 206, 227, and 282, and three times in § 9 with the suffix *-mi* attached to the first word or phrase as the mark of direct narration. In § 177 an asyndeton clause appears in the accusative in apposition to the noun *tuppam*, itself the object of a verb: "they shall have them deposit a tablet to the effect that they will look after the estate." Ungnad contends that in all object clauses the verb takes the subordinating suffix *-u*,³⁵ but that is not so. The verbal form *am-ḫa-zu* in § 206, which he cites, has, of course, developed out of *amḫaššu*, and the only other verbal form that he cites and the only one of its kind to appear in the Code or anywhere else, so far as I know, is *ú-gal-li-bu* in § 227, which must surely be a scribal error for *ú-gal-li-ib*. Asyndeton clauses in the accusative, like the co-ordinate clauses in the nominative, do not have their verbs with the subordinating suffix *-u*, because they are not grammatically subordinate; but all clauses in the genitive case do,³⁶ because they are grammatically subordinate.

Among the remaining asyndeton clauses it is to be noted that some reject the connecting particle because they begin with some form of *warkum*: *warka* (an ad-

³⁴ Goetze (*op. cit.*, p. 322) lists *ti-la-an-di-in* here as a present form, but I have always taken it as IV, 2, preterite, and this I have recently discovered is also the conclusion of A. Poebel, *Studies in Akkadian Grammar* (1938), p. 44.

³⁵ *RA*, XVII (1903), 361-62.

³⁶ See Ungnad, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-65.

verb) in §§ 19, 45, and 191: *warkānum* in § 167; *ina warka* in § 135; *warkazu* in § 18; *warkišu* in § 30; and *warkiša* in § 167. This is because *warka* as a preposition³⁷ so frequently introduces a subordinate clause that any word derived from the same root, appearing at the beginning of a clause, was regarded as sufficiently conjunctive without the addition of the usual connecting particle.

Further, it is to be noted that there are a few asyndeton clauses which have the enclitic *-ma* attached to the first word or phrase as follows: *warkānumma* (§§ 5 and 176); *bēl hulqima* (§ 10); *errēsuma* (§ 47); *še'amma* (§ 89); *šū warkānumma* (§ 155). The enclitic here is emphatic, but it has the effect of making the clause adversative, thus making a connecting particle unnecessary at the end of the preceding clause.

This leaves comparatively few clauses that are really asyndeton, and most of these appear at the beginning of what in the English translation is the apodosis. In the West Semitic languages the apodosis after a conditional clause, or what is logically conditional, is regularly introduced by a connecting particle, and it is only occasionally that it begins without one. In the East Semitic languages, on the other hand, as in English, the rule is just the opposite, and a connecting particle is rarely present. In the Code there seems to be only one instance in which it is present, namely, at the end of § 129: "If the husband of the woman would save his wife, then the king, too, may save his subject." The reason for the introduction of the connecting particle *ū* here is to add emphasis, as I have indicated in the translation.

All these considerations leave very few asyndeton clauses that are both gram-

matically and logically co-ordinate. In every such instance the two or more clauses that stand together asyndetically have the same verbal forms (sometimes primary, sometimes *t*-form); that is, there is no sequence of acts or ideas, no result or consequence. Identical or practically identical ideas are expressed in different words, or the following clause is explicative, giving a more precise statement of what has already been said in the preceding clause. A typical example is in § 5: "If a judge pronounced a judgment, rendered a decision, deposited a sealed document." Another example, where we have five such clauses with all their verbs in the *t*-form, is in § 34: "If either a sergeant or a captain has appropriated the household goods of a soldier, has wronged a soldier, has let a soldier for hire, has abandoned a soldier to a superior in a lawsuit, has appropriated the fief which the king gave to a soldier."³⁸ Sometimes the asyndeton clause is a positive statement explicative of a negative clause preceding it, as in the apodosis in §§ 30, 48, 66, 146, 171, and 191. Occasionally the asyndeton clause expresses an alternative idea, as in §§ 178, 248, and 251, making the usage here identical with that often followed in the case of the noun.³⁹

Among the asyndeton clauses that are left there are two which seem to express purpose. These appear in § 18, "in order that his record may be investigated," and in § 122, "in order that he may arrange the contracts." It is to be observed, however, that the first of these begins with *warkazu*, and we have already noted that this is sufficient reason for the omission of a connecting particle. In the second example it is possible to interpret the

³⁸ Other similar examples appear in § 9 (in direct narration), 43, 44, 253.

³⁹ For §§ 178 and 251 cf. *wardum amium* in §§ 278-80 (contrast § 281 with *ū lū*); for § 248 cf. *eqlum kirām ū bitum* in § 36 and similar combinations elsewhere.

³⁷ I prefer to call this a preposition rather than a conjunction (see *JBL*, LXIV [1945], 5).

clause preceding it as circumstantial, "upon showing to witnesses whatever he wishes to give, he shall arrange the contracts." The construction that we should expect for the purpose clause would be the enclitic *-ma* followed by the present tense, corresponding to the Hebrew simple *wāw* with the imperfect,⁴⁰ and this is manifestly what we have in § 29, "in order that his mother may rear him"; in § 137, "in order that she may rear her children"; in § 141, "in order that she may engage in business"; and in §§ 137, 156, and 172, "in order that the man who chooses her⁴¹ may marry her."

Finally, we come to a small group of asyndeton clauses that are manifestly consequential in meaning. They are as follows: in § 126, "thus deceiving his city council"; twice in §§ 141 and 143, "thus neglecting her house to the humiliation of her husband"; in § 145, "thus bringing her into his house"; in § 161, "so that his (prospective) father-in-law has said to the claimant for the wife"; in § 170, "thus counting them with the children of his first wife"; in § 172, "so that woman need never leave her husband's house"; in § 176, "thus acquiring goods"; and twice in § 264, "to his satisfaction" (literally, "his heart is satisfied") and "thus lessening the birth rate." The more usual form of

the consequential clause is one preceded by the enclitic *-ma*, corresponding to the *wāw* consecutive in Hebrew, and this is what we have elsewhere throughout the Code.⁴² In all these clauses, whether asyndeton or not, it is noteworthy that in each case the clause has a verbal form identical with that of the clause with which it goes, precisely as it should if the clause is consequential. On the other hand, a result clause (logically subordinate, but grammatically co-ordinate) should have its verb in the *t*-form following one in the primary form, and this is exactly what we have in every instance.⁴³ The difference between the two kinds of clauses is well brought out by § 193, where both appear: "If the (adopted) son of a chamberlain or the (adopted) son of a *zikrum* discovered his parentage and consequently took an aversion to the father who reared him and the mother who reared him with the result that he has gone off to his real father's home, they shall pluck out his eye."

The application of the thesis presented in this paper produces a translation that is little short of revolutionary, but it is a translation that brings out the thought of the original as no previous translation has done,⁴⁴ and that ought to count in its favor if there is any truth in the old adage:

⁴⁰ Namely in §§ 2, 29, 39, 53 (second clause after *šumma*), 105, 108, 119, 125, 166, 178 (twice), 191, 193, 227, 281.

⁴¹ Namely in §§ 44, 53 (third and fourth clauses after *šumma*), 55, 65, 142, 193, 229 (where we have a pair, with the second only in the *t*-form), 235, 236, 237, 249, 250, 251, 255, 265, 267. All of these clauses are preceded by the enclitic *-ma*.

⁴² The latest translation into English is that by D. D. Luckenbill and Edward Chiera in J. M. P. Smith, *The Origin and History of Hebrew Law* (1931), but it is far inferior to the German translation by Wilhelm Eilers, published in the same year in *Der Alte Orient*, Vol. XXXI, Heft 3/4, nor does it compare with the Latin translation of A. Deimel, *Code Hammurabi* (1930). The latest French translation, by Pierre Chruveillier, *Commentaire du Code d'Hammourabi* (1938), is shockingly antiquated for such a recent work. The present writer is planning to publish a new translation in line with the thesis advanced in this paper.

⁴³ See T. J. Meek, *JBL*, LXIV (1945), 3-4.

⁴⁴ Literally, "her man of heart." Syntactically there are two things to note here: (1) in the case of a compound expression in the Semitic languages the suffix is attached to the second element but belongs to the compound as a whole; hence *ša-at-tam iš-ti-at-ma* in § 31; *be-el hu-bu-ul-li-šu*, "his creditors (plural)" in §§ 48 and 151; *ši-bi mu-di hu-ul-qi-ia-mi* in § 9; *ši-pi-ir qā-ti-šu*, "his handicraft," not "the craft of his hand," in § 188; *ili āli-šu*, "his city god," not "the god of his city," in § 32; *igi-3-gal aplūti-šu* in § 191, "his one-third patrimony" (cf. § 29, according to which a son evidently got one-third of the father's estate), not "one-third of his patrimony," as hitherto translated; (2) the suffix *-ša* in *libbiša* is objective and not subjective, as hitherto translated; it was scarcely possible that a woman in ancient Mesopotamia was allowed to choose her husband!

"The proof of the pudding is the eating of it." A complicated law like that in § 9 according to our thesis will run quite simply as follows: "When a seignior, something belonging to whom was lost, has found whatever of his was lost in the possession of a(nother) seignior, if the seignior in whose possession the lost property was found has declared, 'A seller sold (it) to me; I made the purchase in the presence of witnesses, and the owner of the lost property in turn has declared, 'I will produce witnesses acquainted with my lost property'; the purchaser having then produced the seller who made the sale to him and the witnesses in whose presence he made the purchase, and the owner of the lost property having also produced witnesses acquainted with his lost property, the judges shall consider their evidence, and the witnesses in whose presence the purchase was made, along with the witnesses acquainted with the lost property, shall declare what they know in the presence of god, and since the seller was the thief, he shall be put to death, while the owner of the lost property shall take his lost property, with the purchaser obtaining from the estate of the seller the money that he paid out." Another difficult law like that in § 171 will run thus: "However, if the father during his lifetime has never said 'My children!' to the children whom

the female slave bore to him, after the father has gone to (his) fate, the children of the female slave may not share in the goods of the father's estate along with the children of the first wife; freedom for the female slave and her children shall be effected, with the children of the first wife having no claim at all against the children of the female slave for service; the first wife shall receive her dowry and the marriage-gift which her husband, upon giving (it) to her, wrote down on a tablet for her, and living in the home of her husband, she shall have the usufruct of (it) as long as she lives, without ever selling (it), since her heritage belongs to her children." A final illustration is § 141: "If the wife of a seignior, who is living in the house of the seignior, has made up her mind to leave in order that she may engage in business, thus neglecting her house to the humiliation of her husband, they shall prosecute her, and if her husband has then demanded her divorce, he may divorce her, with no alimony at all to be given to her for her running expenses;⁴⁵ if her husband has not demanded her divorce, her husband may marry another woman, with the former woman living in the house of her husband like a maid-servant."

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⁴⁵ Literally, "for her journey," an adverbial accusative of manner.

A COMPOSITE INSCRIPTION FROM THE CHURCH OF ST. SIMEON THE STYLITE

JULIAN OBERMANN

PROBLEM OF COMPOSITION

OUT of the ruins of the renowned pilgrimage church of St. Simeon the Stylite, which to this day presents an imposing landmark in the vicinity of Aleppo, in northern Syria, an epigraphic record was brought to light in recent years that deserves the attention of scholars both for its own sake and for the bearing it has on sanctuary inscriptions in general. The discovery was made in the spring of 1938 by Daniel Krencker during his excavations in Qal'at Sim'an (that is, "Citadel of Simeon"), the precinct having been transformed into a fortress in Moslem times. So far, the inscription has been treated by two scholars: by H. Lietzmann, whose reading and translation of the text is given in Krencker's report of the campaign;¹ and by B. Meissner, in a separate article.² Although it involves a field of endeavor for which he can claim little competence, the present writer may be allowed to re-examine the inscription and to consider one or two questions concerning its general import.

As is well known, the church of St. Simeon consisted of four basilicas extending from an octagonal center in the direction of the four cardinal points of the compass, in the manner of the four arms of a Greek cross. It has long been held by scholars that the basilica facing east had served as the church proper of the convent, the three other basilicas as well as

the octagon having been given to the use of pilgrims and processions. In point of fact, when in younger times the church was expanded to include a new monastery, the latter was made to adjoin the eastern basilica. It is in this basilica, at any rate, that the new inscription was discovered, which deals mainly with the building of a new monastery during the tenth century, the principal church having been founded shortly after the death of St. Simeon in 459.³

The inscription, executed in black-on-white mosaic, was set up on the marble floor of the basilica, across the central nave, and was made to cover nearly the entire width of the floor. Arranged in two parallel lines of text, it presented itself to the reader as being very much larger in width (7.84 meters) than in height (31 centimeters). In script and language the inscription was divided into two uneven parts, all of the first line and about one-third of the second line having been written in Greek, while the remainder of the second line was written in Syriac (Fig. 1).

We would thus seem to have before us a record of the type which in modern epigraphy is termed "bilingual." Indeed, our inscription has been so termed, without reservation, by Meissner, who refers to it in the title of his article as "eine griechisch-syrische Bilingue." Beforehand, then, one might be led to assume that the two parts of the text marked off by the change in language were designed to commemorate one and the same event

¹ Daniel Krencker, "Die Wallfahrtskirche des Simeon Stylites in Kal'at Sim'an [sic]," in *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1938) (Phil.-hist. Kl., No. 4). For Lietzmann's reading and rendering of the text see *ibid.*, p. 27.

² Bruno Meissner, "Eine griechisch-syrische Bilingue aus Qal'at Sim'an." *ZDMG*, XLIX (1940), 372 ff.

³ For a general description of the ruins see H. C. Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts* (New York, 1903), pp. 184 ff.; also Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria* (1912), pp. 382 ff.

or at least one and the same set of events, as is usual in "bilingual" inscriptions; and that, while they might differ in wording or in regard to details, which is also usual in such inscriptions, they would naturally relate to a single date in point of time. In reality, nothing could be more gratuitous than such an assumption in the instance before us. For, as we shall see presently, the Greek part of our inscription, on the one hand, and the Syriac part, on the other, refer not only to totally different building operations but to operations which in the nature of things can have taken place only at successive points of time.

Accordingly, although the inscription is literally bilingual, it is nevertheless misleading to refer to it thus. For what characterizes it is not the fact of its being bilingual but rather that of its being composite. In attempting to appraise the inscription as a whole, we shall find ourselves faced primarily with the problem of the nature and significance of its composition. In itself it is quite conceivable that two sets of works, two different votive projects accomplished at different times but concerning one and the same sanctuary, were commemorated summarily, and their completion recorded together, in a single inscription. But, if this was the case, why should one of the achievements have been recorded in Greek and the other in Syriac? If, however, the two sets of works were not only accomplished but also recorded at different times, so that a younger Syriac record was merely added to an older Greek legend, how may we account for the two texts combining so admirably into a single whole on the mosaic monument? Is it at all likely that a Greek inscription of such large dimensions would be arranged in the asymmetrical shape of one and one-third lines? And was it mere chance that what was left on

the second line was the precise amount of space needed at a later date for the Syriac legend? It will be convenient to consider these questions more fully after an analysis of the two legends under discussion.

THE GREEK LEGEND

Following the script as far as it is preserved (including the sporadic writing of *O* for *Ω*) and allowing only such restorations as he apparently thought were self-evident, Lietzmann obtained the following reading of the Greek text:

LINE 1

Ἐκτίσθη τὸ μοναστήριον τοῦτο
καὶ ἀνενοῶθη τὰς ἐκ[κ]λησί[as . . .]
σις Θεοδ[ώρου] πατ[ριάρχων]
καὶ Βασιλείου καὶ Κονσ[ταντίνου] τῶν βασιλέων

LINE 2

[. . . .] τοῦ ἡγουμένου ἔτους κατὰ Χ[ν] Δοθ[].

Judging by *kai aneneōthē*, the text can have begun only with a verb; specifically, with a verb in the passive voice. Hence, *ektisthē* is an altogether plausible restoration in itself. There would seem, however, to be more room within the frame of the inscription (see Fig. 1) than would have been required for a word of seven letters; perhaps, then, the text began with some such word as *oikodomēthē* or even *kate-skeuasthē*.⁴

It would be difficult to account for *touto* in an inscription that was placed not in the monastery to which it refers but on the floor of the adjoining church.⁵ Espe-

⁴ Remarkably enough, this inscription pattern (the text beginning with an aorist passive and followed, as a rule, by the grammatical subject) is quite frequent in Christian votive records in Greek; possibly we have here to do with Semitic influence (see below in this article). Cf. *CIG*, IV, 8606-8952, *passim*, and mark especially *ektisthē* (8623 B; 8689, with *hupo*; 8742, with *hupo*), also *anektisthē* (8773); *aneneōthē* (8661; 8683, with *epi*; 8688, with *epi*); *anekainisthē* (8700, with *epi*; 8734, with *epi*; 8783); *oikodomēthē* (8717, with *hupo*); *etelēōthē* (8736); also *egeneto* (8663, with *epi*), and the like.

⁵ On the use of the demonstrative pronoun to introduce the consecrated object see my article, "Votive Inscriptions from Ras Shamra," *JAOS*, LXI (1941), 45.

<p> : OMONACTHPIONTOY TOK ^{ΑΠΟ} ΜΗΝΕΝΟΦΗΤΑΚΗ ΟΥΗΤΟΥ ΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ^{ΑΠΟ} ΜΗΝΕΝΟΦΗΤΑΚΗ </p>	<p> ΤΡΙΑΥΧΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΛΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΝΗ </p>	<p> ΤΟΝ ΒΑΛΑΝΟΝ </p>
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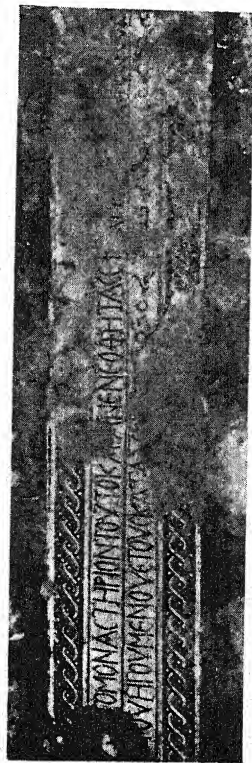


Fig. 1

cially striking, too, is *tas ekklēśias*. The plural may plainly enough indicate that the renovation included not only the eastern but the other basilicas as well. But why the singular verb? And why the accusative? The difficulty has led Lietzmann to assume that *aneneōthē* must have its grammatical subject in the preceding *monastērion* and to translate accordingly "und erneuert in Bezug auf seine Kirchen," which yields an extremely awkward construction and no less awkward a context. It is indeed hard to see how the monastery could have been both *gegründet* and *erneuert* at the same time. Nevertheless, Meissner all but follows the above interpretation, suggesting only that the accusative was conditioned by a preposition that had been omitted by scribal error, so that he translates "erneuert (nebst) den Kirchen."⁶

We notice that on the assumption that *aneneōthē* refers to what follows, rather than to what precedes, we would have a difficulty of syntax, to be sure, but an admirably fitting context. Our text would then be doubly at variance with normative Greek usage, which would have (a) agreement in number and (b) the nominative of the following noun; that is, *aneneōthē hē ekklēśia* or else *aneneothēsan hai ekklēśiai*. As is well known, however, neither of these requirements is binding in Semitic, where (a) a singular verb may be followed by an agent in the plural or by a plurality of agents and (b) the logical object of a passive verb may be made to form its grammatical object as well and, accordingly, be placed in the accusative case.⁷ In

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 372-73 ("Sonderbar und unerklärlich ist der Akkusativ . . . und Lietzmann's Uebersetzung . . . wird kaum das Richtige treffen").

⁷ Because of the loss of the case endings in NWS, the oblique case of a noun can be ascertained only by other morphological means, such as prepositions or, in Hebrew, the so-called *nota accusativa*, or else by disagreement in number (but the construction in question may, of course, have been intended even in instances in which these means happen to be absent);

point of fact, one or the other of these syntactic peculiarities may be observed in the Syriac part of the inscription before us. What is more, we shall find it to be highly probable that, at least in the arrangement in which the inscription was discovered, the Syriac scribe was responsible for the Greek legend as well. If he, then, had written *aneneōthē tas ekklēśias* in lieu, and in the sense, of *aneneothēsan hai ekklēśiai*, this contamination would merely have amounted to the scribe's lapse into a syntactical pattern most familiar to him.

The gap between *ekklēsi[as]* and *pat[ri]archōn*—more properly *pal[tri]archōn*—can be restored only in so far as its general contents is concerned. Taking as a guide the paleography of the inscription, we discern, first, the remnant of a letter that might have been A or Σ, followed by that of a letter that might have been I, P, or T; next we discern the lower tips of four or five letters, of which the first two might have been E or Σ, and the last two O or Θ, each; finally, we notice the left-hand end of a base of a letter that might have been B or Δ. There is thus no epigraphic evidence in support of either *siss* or *Theod[ōrou]* suggested by Lietzmann.

This much, however, does appear to be certain: that the missing passage contained at least two proper names, those of the "patriarchs," plus the conjunction; that is: *A kai B*. These as well as the following names and titles, down to *hēgoumenou* in line 2, can have referred only to the various persons under whose leader-

thus the phrase in Exod. 10:8, "And Moses and Aaron were brought again unto Pharaoh" (with the verb in the singular and the *nota accusativa* preceding both "Moses" and "Aaron"), should, when taken literally, be rendered *kai apestraphē ton Mousēn kai Aaron*, and not *kai apestraphēsan Mouses kai Aaron*; similarly, a Syriac phrase like *ekklēśiā laqtābā hānā*, "this book was written," when rendered literally, would read *egraphē tēn graphēn tautēn*, and not *hē graphē tautē*. For other instances (the number and variety of which could, however, be greatly increased) see Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, II, 126-28; see below, n. 9.

ship, by whose combined permission and authority, the building and renovation project was accomplished. Again, the whole series of names and titles must have been introduced, at least, by a preposition governing a genitive, such as *hupo*. We may thus understand that the passage could not have contained less than *ekklēsias hupo A kai B tōn pa[triarchōn]*;³ that it could not very well have contained much more, we must infer from the space covered by the lacuna. By the same token, the passage missing at the beginning of line 2 could have contained only a proper name, namely, that of the *hēgoumenos*, preceded by the conjunction, that is: *kai C*.

There might be a question as to the nature of the *hēgoumenos* referred to in our legend, since in Byzantine Greek this title would point either to the holder of an office of state, such as "prefect, governor," or to that of an ecclesiastic office, specifically an abbot or prior of a monastery. The fact, however, that the *hēgoumenos* is mentioned here following "the emperors," rather than "the patriarchs," would seem to indicate that he was a person of secular authority, possibly over the district of Aleppo, perhaps over all of Syria. This would seem further indicated by the Syriac legend which does refer to an abbot but employs another Semitic equiva-

lent for this title. Had the Greek scribe, too, referred to an abbot so that the two legends would have mentioned the same dignitary, it would be remarkable that the Semitic scribe should not have used the same title, seeing that *hēgoumenos* is not only widely used as a loan-word in Syriac (*heḡmōnā*) but has here the same range of meaning as in Byzantine Greek. But the strongest objection to taking the *hēgoumenos* in an ecclesiastic sense is that it would confront us with the incongruous situation of an abbey having been built by the authority of the abbot.

It is fortunate, indeed, that the two names preserved in the inscription refer to persons who are historically tangible. Basil (Bulgaroktonos) and his younger brother Constantine became the nominal Roman emperors in the East following the death of their father, Romanus II, in 963. This year thus forms the *terminus a quo* for the events recorded in the Greek part of the inscription. The scribe himself went further and dated the votive undertaking—that is, no doubt, the completion of the undertaking—by a year of the Christian calendar. Unfortunately, all the numerals referring to the Christian year are missing. They have been restored by Lietzmann to read [979], on the assumption that the year of the Greek legend was identical with the Seleucid year given in the Syriac part of the inscription. This assumption, however, is altogether unwarranted, since the works recorded in the Syriac legend must have been completed at a later date than those mentioned in the Greek legend. Accordingly, the Seleucid year may serve only as the *terminus ad quem*, and all that can be said about the date furnished by the Greek scribe is that it was some time after 963 and before 979.

By the preceding observations, we are led to render the Greek text as follows:

³ Or perhaps not less than *ekklēsias tautas hupo A kai B tōn pa[triarchōn]*; but the *tautas*, while giving the clause proper balance, would hardly lessen the difficulty of *touto* if the inscription had been intended from the beginning to adorn the church rather than the monastery. Possibly, too, the persons of authority were introduced by *epi* rather than by *hupo* (for the occurrence of these two prepositions in votive inscriptions of the type before us see the instances cited above, n. 4). Because of the *bē-yaumai* in the Syriac legend (which, however, mentions only a single official, as we shall see), Meissner, indeed, suggested that we should supplement *en hēmerais*; but it seems extremely unlikely that this phrase would have been used, without anything else, to connect with the votive undertaking a whole series of persons of very different official status; nor does the case cited by Meissner (CIG, IV, 8716) offer a real parallel, since there the connection is given expressly (*di' exodou Nikolaou*, etc.).

LINE 1

Ἐκτίσθη] τὸ μοναστήριον τοῦτο
καὶ ἀνευδόθη τὰς ἐκ[κ]λησί[ας] (ταύτας?)
ὑπὸ Α καὶ Β τῶν πα[τ]ριαρχῶν
καὶ Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσ[ταντίνου] τῶν βασιλέων

LINE 2

[καὶ Γ] τοῦ ἡγουμένου ἔτους κατὰ Χ[ρ]].

This monastery [was founded], and the(se?) church[es] were restored, [by the help of A and B, the pa]triarchs, and of Basil and Constantine, the emperors, [and of C], the hegumen, in the year [. . . (=between 963 and 979)] after Christ.

THE SYRIAC LEGEND

Following the *editio princeps* offered by Lietzmann, the text would read, in transliteration, as follows:

ᾠΒΝἰ ṢṢUR DDĪRḥ H[Dḥ]
ṢPḤURTHĪ ṢṢBTHĪ BĪṢMĪ
Tḥ . . . ṢṢ[Gḥ]
URṢ DĪRḥ BṢ[N]T ṢURṢ

We notice that the legend consists of a single sentence and that it begins with a verb—a passive perfect in the third-person masculine singular: *ᾠṭbēnī*, “(it) was built,” used here in the more general sense of “(it) was made, wrought.” We notice, too, that the verb is followed by three nouns depending on it: a masculine singular, a feminine that might be either singular or plural, and a masculine singular probably intended as a collective. If these nouns be understood as representing the grammatical subject, notwithstanding the singular verb (*ᾠṭbēnī* rather than *ᾠṭbēnīu*), we would have here a case of disagreement in number characteristic of the verbal sentence in Semitic. Since, however, this type of sentence is quite rare in Syriac, it would seem more likely that the scribe understood the nouns as *objects* of the “impersonal” passive verb—a construction not infrequent in Syriac, and in Aramaic in general.⁹ In this case, he would

⁹ See above, n. 7. We should add, in passing, that it is somewhat misleading to term this construction

have employed a syntactical pattern all but identical with that of *aneneōthē tas ekklēsias* in the Greek legend.

It is instructive to note the manner in which reference is made here to the monastery. The phrase *dairā hādē* is the exact Syriac equivalent of *monastērion touto*. While only the last character of *DDĪRḥ* is intact, the reading is rendered certain not only by the context of the Greek legend but by such remnants of the individual characters as are still discernible; moreover, the whole word is admirably preserved toward the end of the Syriac legend itself. Nor can there be any doubt that the following *H*[*Dḥ*], that is, *hādē*, the feminine form of the demonstrative pronoun, rather than *H*[*Nḥ*] = *hānā*, the masculine form of that pronoun, although elsewhere in Syriac *dairā* is more often treated as a masculine than as a feminine.¹⁰ The scribe of the legend left no doubt about the matter when twice in what follows he refers to the monastery by a possessive suffix, placing a dot above the suffix (*Ḥ*). The important thing, however, is that the monastery itself does not appear to be the object of the Syriac legend at all. Instead, it merely serves as the element by which the objects proper of the legend are qualified.

The first of these objects was properly read by Lietzmann as *ṣūrā dē-dairā hādē*, “the wall of this monastery.” But the second object is hardly *ṢPḤURTHĪ*, “und

“ein unpersoenliches Passiv” of transitive verbs (Brockelmann, *op. cit.*), which suggests an equation with syntactical patterns employed in Indo-European; a better description would be “subjectless verbal sentence”; for, in truth, the phenomenon can be shown not to be confined to the passive voice, and to be conditioned, instead, by the peculiar nature of the verbal sentence in Semitic.

¹⁰ In the meaning of “monastery” the plural of *dairā* is apparently always feminine (*dairāḥ* rather than *dairē*) in Syriac; elsewhere in Aramaic no special difference in meaning may be detected between the masculine and feminine use of the word (see Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, I, 852).

seine Pforte"; in all probability, the mutilated word should be restored to read $\text{U}\check{\text{S}}\text{U}\check{\text{R}}\text{T}\check{\text{H}}$. This restoration was suggested by Meissner, but he read the word as a singular, *wē-šūrātāh*, and translated it "nebst seinem Bildwerk," which is highly improbable both lexically and contextually. An examination of the photograph reveals clearly discernible traces of two dots placed above the last of the letters within the lacuna. We should therefore restore the word to read $\text{U}\check{\text{S}}\text{U}\check{\text{R}}\text{T}\check{\text{H}}$, that is, *wē-šūrātāh*, "and the figures thereof," namely, the figures of the monastery. It would thus appear that the scribe had reference to pictures or statues that constituted a feature of the newly founded monastery. Obviously, we would have here to do with painted or sculptured representations of biblical scenes and persons such as are common in early and medieval Christian art: Moses, Elijah, Daniel, the Good Shepherd, Jesus, Mary, the Disciples, and the like. Hence the word may be found used for a copy of the Gospel adorned with pictorial illustrations (e.g., *ḥewange-līyōn dē-šūrātā*).

By contrast, we are bound to recognize that $\text{U}\check{\text{S}}\text{B}\text{T}\check{\text{H}}$, the third of the objects mentioned in the Syriac legend, was intended as a collective: *wē-šebtāh*, "and the decorations thereof," with the feminine suffix ($\check{\text{H}}$) again referring to the monastery. Apparently, then, we would be dealing here with painted and plastic work which, unlike the "figures," represented purely ornamental embellishment and which, in the opinion of the Syriac scribe, and no doubt also of the authorities of the church, was an outstanding enough feature of the monastery to deserve being commemorated together with its "wall" and its "figures."

Following $\text{B}\check{\text{I}}\check{\text{U}}\text{M}\check{\text{I}}$, that is, *bē-yaumai*, "in the days of," we come upon a lengthy

lacuna, corresponding to that of the Greek legend. At the beginning of the lacuna we discern the letter *T*, which was taken by Lietzmann to represent the initial character of "Theodoros," presumably because he believed that the same name had been contained in the Greek legend as well. Meissner, on the other hand, although realizing the complete epigraphic uncertainty of a "Theodoros" in the Greek legend, suggests that the name "ist aber doch möglich"—because of the *T* in the Syriac legend. It looks, indeed, as though both scholars labored under the assumption that if the name was mentioned in one of the legends, this alone would favor restoration of the same name in the other. In reality, however, such an assumption can be shown to be contrary to the epigraphic evidence before us; so much so that, even if "Theodoros" were preserved in one legend as well as the other, we would be obliged to recognize that reference was made here to two different persons bearing the same name.

There can be no doubt, it is true, that the *T* at the beginning of the lacuna must have been the initial letter of a personal proper name, since "in the days of" can have referred only to the period of office held by the bearer of that name. But the office cannot possibly have been that of the "patriarchs" mentioned in the Greek legend. The fact is that, following the lacuna, we come upon the title $\text{R}\check{\text{S}}\text{D}\check{\text{I}}\text{R}$, properly corrected by Meissner to read $\text{R}[\check{\text{I}}]\check{\text{S}}\text{D}\check{\text{I}}\text{R}$, that is, *rēš dairā*, "head of the monastery," which is the Syriac equivalent to the "abbot" of the Western and the "archimandrite" of the Eastern church. But since the phrase is prefixed by the conjunction "and," ($\check{\text{U}}$), it must have been preceded by another title. Of this, we have only a remnant in $\text{Ḥ}\check{\text{U}}[\text{G}]$, which Lietzmann restored to read $\text{Ḥ}\check{\text{U}}[\text{G}]$, without indicating either the reason or the meaning of the

restoration. It will be seen that, in juxtaposition with "monastery," the word may best be understood as ܡܢܚܠܐ , that is, ܡܢܚܠܐ , the standing Syriac word for "hospice," and that, if this was part of a title, it must have been preceded by a word corresponding to the "head," such as ܡܢܚܠܐ , "superintendent, overseer." Nothing, in fact, is more natural than that the newly built monastery should have included a *xenodochium*, and that the "head" of the former was also the "overseer" of the latter.¹¹

Assuming that the name at the beginning of the gap was Theodoros and that the word at its end was ܡܢܚܠܐ , there would remain room for a word or phrase of six or seven letters, containing, no doubt, still another reference to the person or office involved. While nothing can be said with certainty about that reference, it is extremely tempting to propose that it had to do with the ecclesiastic status of "Theodoros" and that, accordingly, we should supply ܩܪܝܬܐ , "priest," or, better yet, ܪܒܐܩܪܝܬܐ , "chief priest," which would fit admirably—and indeed significantly—with the "head of the monastery."¹²

As we have seen, the Syriac text dates the events it commemorates according to the Seleucid Era. Quite certain are the $\bar{\alpha} = 1000$ and the $\bar{\rho} = 200$; almost as certain it is that the number of years contained no units. For this would have required two additional characters (ܘ = "and" and a sign of corresponding numerical value), for which there is no space,

¹¹ See Bonet-Maury's article "Hospitality (Christian)," in *ERE*, VI, 804 ff. "There was practically no monastery in the Middle Ages without its *xenodochium*, and many had a *nosocomium* as well."

¹² "As it gradually became customary for many monks to be clerics, it also became the rule for abbots to be priests—in the East from the 5th cent., in the West from about the 7th. A council under Eugenius II. at Rome in 826 made this obligatory (Mansi, *Conc.* xiv. 1007)" (John Chapman, in art. "Abbot," *ERE*, I, 8, col. 2).

however. A doubt could arise only as to the identity of the character representing the tens. Yet, in view of the *terminus a quo* given in the Greek part of the inscription (963), the particular character could only have been either $\bar{\varsigma} = 90$ or $\bar{\rho} = 80$; while a faint remnant of the character, as well as the situation reflected in the inscription as a whole, would seem to favor the higher number of decades. It is therefore quite safe to say that the date given is that of the Seleucid year of 1290, which corresponds to the year A.D. 979.

Our reading and translation of the Syriac text would thus present itself as follows:

ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܢܚܠܐ ܕܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܪܒܐܩܪܝܬܐ
ܕܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܩܪܝܬܐ
ܕܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܩܪܝܬܐ
ܕܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܩܪܝܬܐ

The wall of th[is] monastery [and the figures thereof and the decorations thereof were wrought in the days of [the chief priest] T[heodore, Overseer of] the Hos[p]ice and He[a]d of the Monastery, in the y[ea]r of 1000 and 200 and [90].

FUSION OF RECORDS—A PARALLEL FROM DURA

That the inscription from Qal'at Sim'an was designed to record two different phases of a work project, if not, indeed, two different projects, we would have been obliged to infer from its contents, even if it were linguistically homogeneous, all in Greek or all in Syriac. Precisely therein lies the singular interest of the inscription for a critical study of sanctuary records in general, namely, that the two successive phases, or projects, were commemorated each in a different script and language. We have thus come upon an instance—as far as one can see, the only instance of its kind—in which the composite nature of a sanctuary record is exhibited with all the

directness and explicitness that could be desired.

Seen by itself, the Greek legend represents a renovation and expansion record, commemorating as it does both the restoration of the earlier sanctuary—the original church of St. Simeon—and the extension of its sacred precinct by the founding of a new monastery. But, judging by the inscription as a whole, we realize that a larger series of works had been planned and eventually accomplished than was recorded by the Greek scribe; so that his legend must be said to have merely commemorated partial completion of that series. Its final completion, we must recognize, was recorded by the Syriac scribe. It involved not the church, nor yet the monastery itself, but rather certain features of the latter which added to its solidity and appearance, perhaps also to its holiness: the outer wall and the iconic and ornamental decorations. In keeping with this difference in the recorded achievements is a difference in the persons honored for having lent the work their support and authority—honored by the mention of their names in the monumentally elaborate inscription. As far as the clerical personages are concerned, we have seen, it is clearly implied that the first phase of the project was credited to the “patriarchs,” while the second was held to be the merit of the “head of the monastery.”

We cannot but take it for granted that resumption of services in the renovated church and occupancy of the new monastery followed immediately upon completion of the first phase of the project, that is, without being deferred until the special features mentioned in the Syriac legend had been finished as well. Furthermore, there would be nothing plausible to account for the linguistic composition of the inscription, unless its two components were inscribed at different times, corre-

sponding to the different dates at which the two sets of work were completed. In this case, the division in language would simply have been conditioned by the fact that the recording of the earlier accomplishment was intrusted to a Greek scribe, while the services of a Syriac scribe were employed when, in due time, the latter part of the project was also finished and it, too, was found worthy of commemoration. And, yet, a glance at the epigraphic monument before us—with its elaborate frame, the mosaic setting of its script, and, above all, the symmetry of the whole despite the uneven length of the legends—suffices to make us realize that it was planned and executed all at one time and by the design of a single craftsman. How, then, may we reconcile the implication of successive recording of the two sets of works with that of simultaneous execution of the two records on the monument?

The writer was confronted with a very similar problem when dealing with the inscribed tiles from the synagogue of Dura.¹³ No fewer than six inscriptions—three in Aramaic, which it was convenient to designate as A, C₁, and C₂, and three in Greek (Gr 1, Gr 2, and Gr 3)—were found to bear on the building of the synagogue. Of these inscriptions, the Aramaic text of A, by far the most voluminous of the group, presents a strikingly close parallel to the Christian document from Qal'at Sim'ān which we have discussed. For there, too, only the first section of the text recorded the building of the sanctuary itself, while the latter section specified a number of particular features of the sanctuary. And there, too, these features included “murals,” referring no doubt to the now well-known Dura frescoes, corresponding to the “figures” of our monas-

¹³ “Inscribed Tiles from the Synagogue of Dura,” in *Berytus*, Vol. VII, Fasc. II, pp. 89 ff.; see esp. “*Excursus*,” pp. 118 ff.; for photographs of the tiles see Pls. XV–XVII.

tery. Again, there, too, the two sections of the inscription mentioned, respectively, two different sets of persons honored for their toil and labor on the pious undertaking.

The tantalizing thing, however, was that, while the Greek inscriptions were obviously independent of one another, this could not be said of those in Aramaic. Instead, the first section of A was also contained in the two other Aramaic records, while the latter section was missing entirely in C₁ and, except for a single clause at the beginning, was also missing in C₂. In other words, all three Aramaic inscriptions contained an identical legend recording the building of a synagogue, and only C₁ contained nothing else. But something had been added to that legend in C₂, while something had been added to that addition in A.

These and other observations have led me to realize that the three Aramaic inscriptions may be best understood as commemorating three different work projects or, in other words, as reflecting three different phases in the building history of the Dura synagogue; and that the same phases may readily be seen to be reflected, although somewhat less clearly, in the three Greek inscriptions as well. In this case, however, each of the additions just referred to amounted to a fusion of records. That is to say, each of the two Aramaic legends commemorating, respectively, the two younger phases of work was attached to the legend of the previous phase. As a result, only one Aramaic inscription (C₁) corresponded with a single Greek inscription (Gr 1), while the two other Aramaic inscriptions were each composite in character, the text of C₂ being the Aramaic counterpart of two (Gr 1 and Gr 2), and the text of A that of all three of the Greek inscriptions.

In the present connection, however, the

method of effecting the epigraphic fusion or composition is especially instructive. Rather than continuing where the older record had left off, the scribe of C₂ copied the legend of C₁ anew before adding to it his own legend. Precisely the same procedure was followed in due time by the scribe of A, who in turn made a fresh copy of C₂ for the purpose of fusing his own legend with it. In comparing the three Aramaic inscriptions, we find that the copy of C₁ in C₂, and similarly that of C₂ in A, while faithful on the whole, is not free from a number of more or less minor changes introduced by the younger scribe either by oversight or by design or, most likely, by a combination of the two.

Might not such a procedure have been followed in the case of the composite inscription from Qal'at Sim'an as well? The question, it need hardly be said, is by no means a purely academic one. We have noted a series of oddities that call for an explanation: (1) the phrase *to monastērion touto* in an inscription placed not in the monastery itself but rather on the floor of an adjoining church; (2) the construction *aneneōthē tas ekklēsiās*, ungrammatical in Greek, but easily accounted for in Semitic; (3) the reference to "the head of the monastery" in an inscription that related the founding of the latter; and (4) the arrangement whereby the Greek component of the text terminated at a point on the monument at which it left the exact amount of free space that was needed for the Syriac component.

These oddities, however, become plain enough once we understand the Greek legend as representing, in reality, a copy of what had once existed as an independent inscription, designed solely to commemorate the project of renovation and expansion. Such an inscription would naturally have been placed in the newly built monastery (hence the *touto*) and written.

of course, in idiomatic Greek. But when, after a period of years, perhaps a decade or more, several important features were added to the monastery, thanks mainly to the efforts of its abbot, and a Syriac scribe was appointed to record the new votive achievement,¹⁴ he did what was no doubt customary in situations of this kind, presumably with the blessing and approval of the church authorities: he fused the new record he prepared with the older one of his Greek predecessor. In doing so, moreover, he followed the same method of epigraphic fusion which we have observed in the case of the Dura records and which, it is very safe to assume, was standard practice in composite sanctuary inscriptions throughout the Near East:¹⁵ Rather than undertaking to extend the older legend, he copied it afresh and then added to it the

¹⁴ Had this achievement been commemorated in an independent record, the latter, even if it had been identical with our Syriac legend in every particular, would have belonged to the class of *contributory* inscriptions; for examples of votive inscriptions of this class see *ibid.*, pp. 121-22.

¹⁵ I have been led to suspect that all renovation and expansion inscriptions—whether pagan, Jewish, or Christian—in which specific reference is made to the older sanctuary are composite in the sense that they embody either the entire record, or data taken from the record, which had commemorated the completion of that older sanctuary. Where the younger scribe employed the same language as the older scribe (as would normally be the case), the point of cleavage would be largely obliterated, of course, and could be detected only by inference—unless, indeed, the older record should be found preserved, as it was in Dura. In certain instances, however, the situation is nevertheless easily discernible, as, for example, in the

one of his own making. Since the text thus put together comprised the entire series of the votive works that had been accomplished, it was made into an impressive monument and assigned to adorn the floor of the church itself. With the composition provided by the Syriac scribe to guide him, the craftsman was, of course, in a good position to treat the wording of the two legends as a single unit and to arrange it into a consecutive whole of two parallel lines.

It is thus the Syriac scribe alone whom we may hold responsible for the contamination of *aneneōthē tas ekklēsias*, whether he intended thereby to “improve” upon the original he was copying or whether the lapse was inadvertent. What other changes he introduced while copying the Greek legend we do not know. For, unlike those of Dura, the explorers of Qal‘at Sim‘ān did not come upon the earlier record that had been embodied in the composite inscription. But this lack is less fatal in the case of our find than it would have been in Dura, since the point of cleavage in its text was made indelibly secure by the point of cleavage in its script and language.

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Greek inscription from the synagogue of Ophel (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 123-24); and it is my belief that an examination of the pertinent epigraphic material, especially of inscriptions of any length, with reference to the manner of their composition, would yield profitable results.

LIMITS IN OLD TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION

OID R. SELLERS

IN THE last three decades there have been marked advances in the study of language. The linguists in their researches have systematized a vast amount of data by extensive observation, recording, and classification. In the process they have developed a formidable technical vocabulary and many sets of symbols which are largely unintelligible to the uninitiated. Nevertheless, some of the principles which they have enunciated have become fairly well disseminated, and the term "semantics" at least is now understood by serious students of the Bible.¹ Though some reviewers and critics have pointed out the obviousness of what the semanticists were proclaiming and others have insisted that here we have only new, artificial classifications of material that teachers of speech and composition have known all the time, still it is true that there is an awakened consciousness of the need of precision in the use of words and of caution in the interpretation of words.

I

Not many Old Testament scholars have gone deeply into the study of language. They are familiar with the languages of the Old Testament and are competent in comparing the texts of the versions; but the field of semantics for the greater part is occupied by specialists in the languages generally called Indo-European. Nevertheless, some of the basic principles of the semanticists have exerted a perceptible in-

¹ While the technical writings of C. K. Ogden, D. A. Richards, and Alfred Korzybski may be unknown to the general public, Stuart Chase's *The Tyranny of Words* (New York, 1938) and Hugh D. Walpole's *Semantics* (New York, 1941) enjoyed a considerable vogue. S. D. Hayakawa's *Language in Action* (New York, 1939) was a Book-of-the-Month Club selection.

fluence on Old Testament scholarship. This influence is largely negative in that it is a restraining force on the tendency to propose easy solutions to historical and critical problems by advancing plausible hypotheses as demonstrated facts. During the early part of this century scholars were zealous to assign an exact date and provenience to every section of the Bible; the commentator would discuss the *Bestimmung, Zeit, und Ort* of a passage and on his conclusion base much of his exegesis. The Psalms provided a happy hunting ground. It was common for a scholar to date a Psalm by finding a historical situation in which it would be appropriate and then confidently assign it to the date of this situation.² How inconclusive have been the attempts to assign authors and dates to the Psalms is indicated by the caution of the latest large commentary, by W. D. E. Oesterley,³ who effectively discounts many of his predecessors' arguments in favor of definite dates. The Old Testament scholar today is not likely to say with assurance that a piece of Hebrew poetry referred to the anointing of David, to the death of Josiah, or to a Maccabean battle because it would seem to fit that occasion. Though he may come forward with a striking hypothesis about the significance of some passage, he is more likely to leave the knotty questions of date

² Thus Moses Bittenwieser, *The Psalms* (Chicago, 1938), dates all the Psalms but thirty-three, and these he divides into pre-Exilic and post-Exilic. Nineteen he assigns to the year 344 B.C. Despite many excellent features in Bittenwieser's commentary, his categorical dating was outmoded before his study was published. R. H. Pfeiffer in his *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1941) shows some of the old desire to fix dates to the Psalms, but he is far less dogmatic than Bittenwieser.

³ *The Psalms* (London, 1939).

and authorship unsolved.⁴ This does not mean that writers on Old Testament subjects have ceased altogether from presenting theories regarding authorship and date founded on scant evidence; but, on the whole, they have become more aware of their limitations.

II

There has been during the past decade a newly awakened interest in theology, and the theology of the Old Testament is receiving its share of attention. There is again discussion, for example, as to what the Hebrew writers thought of God. Did they think of their deity primarily as a father or as a king? There is no doubt that both concepts appear frequently in the Old Testament.⁵ But the theological implications are not explained by enumeration of passages where the titles are used. We must take into consideration the referents of the two symbols. When the Hebrew was told that God was his father, what conception of the deity was the result? In America today many of us think of a father as a kind, indulgent parent, who attends to the needs of his children, overlooks their failings, readily forgives their misdeeds, and rejoices over any af-

⁴ The poet is likely to leave the reading public in the dark as to what the semanticists call the "referent." Professor Arthur A. Hays has called my attention to the militant hymn of Bishop A. C. Coxe, which begins:

"We are living, we are dwelling
In a grand and awful time;
In an age on ages telling
To be living is sublime.
Hark! the waking up of nations,
Hosts advancing to the fray;
Hark! What soundeth is creation's
Groaning for the latter day."

This was written in 1840, during one of the most tranquil periods of American history.

⁵ John L. McKenzie, "The Divine Sonship of Man," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, VII, No. 3 (July, 1945), 326-39, discusses the passages in which Yahweh is portrayed as the father of the nation Israel or of individuals and holds that the notion of divine fatherhood was early in Hebrew thought. The kingship of Yahweh is treated in chap. vii of Oesterley's *The Psalms*.

fection that they show him. But in a large portion of our population the father is a stern, unreasonable ruler, who demands unquestioning obedience in the home, who compensates for his frustrations in the outside world by harshness toward his wife and children. Religious workers in schools for delinquent children say that they must be chary in using the father-son concept in their attempts to teach their charges about God; for the word "father" is likely to bring up in the thought of the child a drunken, dishonest, dirty, ignorant, and cruel parent, who is in large measure responsible for the child's delinquency.

Probably neither of these ideas of a father came to the Hebrew writers. The general idea of father in the Israelite family was of an important person, zealous for the welfare of his children but demanding strict obedience.

We may ask further about what was meant by designating Yahweh as the father of Israel or of the individual Israelite. Did it mean that he was the actual begetter, the father of Adam, as Luke 3:38 implies? Or did it mean that Yahweh was the creator of all things and therefore in the position of parent? Or did it mean that, by establishing the covenant and giving the law, Yahweh was responsible for the nation's coming into being, as George Washington was the father of his country or Eusebius the father of church history?

In like manner we can ask what the Hebrew writer meant when he referred to Yahweh as king. In the minds of some the establishment of Saul as king was a rejection of Yahweh;⁶ but the figure of Yahweh as king sitting on a throne persisted. In some passages he was thought of as reigning in Zion;⁷ in others his throne was considered to be in heaven and his dominion

⁶ I Sam. 8:7.

⁷ Isa. 6:1; Ps. 48:2.

the whole earth.⁸ But merely saying that Yahweh was considered king does not explain very fully how the Old Testament writers regarded him; for the symbol "king" produces widely divergent thoughts. David after a time came to be regarded an ideal king, but most of the kings of Israel and Judah "did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh." Many of the kings in the Orient prided themselves on their kindness and their care of their subjects; others were selfish and cruel. Certainly the writers who pictured Yahweh as king thought of him as righteous and just; but was the important feature his benevolence or his power?

After all, the functions of a good king are about the same as those of a good father. In the long Jewish prayer repeated during the Ten Days of Penitence every sentence begins with, "Our Father, our King," *ābīnā, malkēnā*. It would seem, then, that in our discussion as to whether God was father or king to Old Testament writers we should recognize our limitations in trying to understand what they meant by their terms.

III

The prose narrative of the Old Testament is, on the whole, reasonably clear. There are, to be sure, some unintelligible passages, which scholars have attacked with varying success by proposing conjectural emendations. The making of conjectural emendations is interesting exercise; but unless an emendation is backed by some objective evidence, such as a parallel passage or one of the versions, it seldom carries conviction.⁹ Occasionally, a passage is cleared up by an archeological discovery or by wider knowledge of cognate languages. Important new light has

come from the discovery and decipherment of the Canaanite cuneiform texts at Ras esh-Shamrah (ancient Ugarit).¹⁰ Many of the details we must supply from imagination, and we must make allowances for such things as the well-recognized deuteronomistic slant of some of the editors and the tendency of the Chronicler to exaggerate in his numbers. Still we can follow with some assurance the course of the history of Israel; generally, we can tell what the authors meant.

But when we come to the poetry, we are often baffled in our attempts to grasp the significance of a passage, even though the text may be certain and the meaning of each separate word well known. The purpose of poetry is not the conveying of factual information but the arousing of emotions and imaginations. Consequently, poetry is largely figurative and presumes a background of experience and knowledge on the part of the hearer or reader. Inasmuch as there are differences in experience and knowledge, there will be differences in the feelings and the images which a poetic passage will arouse.

IV

There are in the Old Testament many passages that lend themselves to a great variety of interpretations because we have no assurance of the physical surroundings in which they were first uttered. Psalm 2, supposedly a coronation hymn, has been assigned by different scholars with varying degrees of finality to nearly every coronation or royal anointing that we know about in Israel or Judah, from Saul to Aristobulus, as well as to an ideal messianic event.¹¹

¹⁰ H. L. Ginsberg, "Ugaritic Studies and the Bible," *Biblical Archaeologist*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (May, 1945).

¹¹ Oesterley (*op. cit.*, p. 123) says that it is "obviously pre-exilic," but if one accepts the possibility of any Maccabean psalms, there is nothing that would rule out this one. An argument in favor of a late date is the absence of a title in Psalms 1 and 2. The fact that

⁸ Pss. 11:4; 47:7, 8; Isa. 66:1.

⁹ Those of us who have sat with Professor Olmstead in meetings of societies remember his impatience with papers offering fanciful reconstruction of the texts.

The historical data, however, are insufficient to warrant the assignment of the song to any definite coronation, real or ideal. So the picture that we get on reading the psalm is either blurred or based on conjecture. If we knew who was the king, the anointed of Yahweh, who was being set on the holy hill of Zion, we should have a better idea of why the heathen were raging and who were the kings of the earth and the rulers taking counsel together.

Likewise Psalm 45 presents a hazy picture because of our lack of knowledge of the physical surroundings at the time of its production. It has been assigned with varying degrees of certainty to the marriage of Solomon to the Egyptian princess, of Ahab to Jezebel, of Jehoram to Athaliah, of Ptolemy Philadelphus to his sister, and of Alexander Balas to Cleopatra. The presumed mention of the bride as the daughter of Tyre (vs. 13) has led many¹² to prefer Jezebel as the lady designated; but in a poem of this kind we should not expect geographical explicitness, and it is not at all certain that the daughter of Tyre bearing a gift was the queen. The passage may mean merely that the city of Tyre was sending a wedding present. So, with the data now available, we are unable to fix a date for this psalm or to specify the contracting couple. If we knew which wedding was meant, we could have a more definite picture of the pen of the ready writer, of the sword on the king's thigh, of the king's daughter among the honorable women.

the following psalms of Book I all have titles could be taken as an indication that the first two were added to the collection after it was assembled. Ember (*The Coronation of Aristobulus* ["Johns Hopkins University Circulars," No. 163 (June, 1903)], p. 90) presents a plausible argument for the date 105 B.C. Aristobulus was crowned king, and anything in the psalm might have been written about him by a court poet at the time of the coronation, though his subsequent conduct failed to justify much praise.

¹² E.g., Battenwieser and Oesterley.

Isa. 7:14 remains a baffling problem of exegesis. There are no serious textual difficulties.¹³ The translation is clear: "Therefore the Lord, He will give you a sign: the young woman is pregnant and is bearing a son and she will call (or thou shalt call) his name Immanuel."

But what does this mean? Everyone who has done much Old Testament teaching has told his classes what he thought it meant, and countless ministers have given their interpretations of it from their pulpits; but so far no exegete has proposed a solution convincing to all his fellow-scholars. We may be sure that Isaiah knew what he was talking about and that Ahaz understood the meaning of the message. Whoever recorded the speech doubtless grasped its significance. When we are ignorant of the details of the physical situation, however, we can only speculate regarding the import of the utterance. Who was the young woman? Why would Ahaz be interested in her bearing a son? What would be the significance of calling the boy's name Immanuel? Why would this episode be a sign to the king in lieu of the sign which he refused to ask? If we knew what were the physical surroundings of Isaiah at the time he made this speech, what people were standing by, probably we should be able to tell what he meant.

V

In attempting to understand some passages, we are handicapped by not knowing what the prophet or poet was doing with his body while he was speaking. Many verses would have more meaning to us if we knew what gestures accompanied them. Some radio programs are much more effective with the studio audience than with the audience which tunes in be-

¹³ Most manuscripts have *adōnāy*, while about forty (according to the Kittel Bible) have *Yhwh*; some Greek translators read *qārātā*, "thou shalt call," while others read *qārāt*, "she will call."

cause the former sees the gestures of the speakers, while the latter can only imagine them. That prophets understood the importance of visual communication is shown by such acts as Isaiah's walking naked and barefoot to portray the imminent captivity of Egypt and Ethiopia at the hands of Assyria,¹⁴ Jeremiah's wearing on his neck a bar to indicate Judah's submission to Nebuchadnezzar,¹⁵ and Ezekiel's making the model with a tile and an iron plate to portray the siege of Jerusalem.¹⁶ That the prophets and poets used gestures to clarify and emphasize their words we may be certain. In fact, practically all of the quotations recorded in the Old Testament were accompanied by somatic action. In Palestine today ordinary conversation is frequently accompanied by elaborate gestures, and a public speech (except by a government official) is sure to entail the exercise of many muscles other than those of the speech organs. Such is the case all around the Mediterranean. So we may be certain that, as the poets and prophets of the Old Testament delivered their utterances, they made their words more forceful by movements of the head, eyebrows, hands, arms, feet, and shoulders.

In Hos. 10:2 the text is clear: "Their heart is smooth; now are they guilty. He will break their altars, will shatter their stelas." The subject of the last sentence is emphasized by the third personal pronoun, *hû*. Grammatically, "he" refers to Israel in the preceding sentence. This could mean that a repentant Israel will destroy the paraphernalia of idolatrous worship; but the context is against such interpretation. Most commentators think that "he" refers to Yahweh. Some would emend the text, changing the *hû* to

ânôhî,¹⁷ reading: "I will break their altars," or to *Yhwh*.¹⁸ But such change is unnecessary. A gesture of the prophet would show clearly that "he" meant Yahweh.

Another speech which must have been accompanied by a gesture is the formula, *kô ya-âšê 'êlôhîm . . . wê-kô yôšîp kî*, translated "thus may God do . . . and more also if." This was in the nature of a curse to be effective if the one addressed or the speaker failed to fulfil certain conditions. Ruth said to Naomi, "Yahweh do so to me and more also if death part between me and thee."¹⁹ Jonathan used the expression in promising to let David know of any evil intentions of Saul.²⁰ David used it in promising to exterminate the house of Nabal,²¹ to fast until sundown in mourning for Abner,²² and to make Amasa his commander in place of Joab.²³ Eli used it in making the boy Samuel tell what Yahweh had revealed in the vision near the ark. So strong was the curse involved that Samuel was afraid not to give Eli the distressing word that Hophni and Phinehas would die and that Eli's house would lose its pre-eminence in the priesthood.²⁴ The formula is presumed to have originated at the slaughter of a sacrificial animal to bind a covenant, but in the Old Testament it comes out in conversation with no accompanying ceremony. Just what gesture went with these words? It must have been eloquent.

VI

An element even more elusive than gesture in our attempts to find the exact meaning of the written text is tone or pitch. The impression we get from reading

¹⁷ So D. E. Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch* (Leipzig, 1922), p. 88; O. V. Pilcher, *Hosea, Joel, Amos* (London, 1929), p. 82.

¹⁸ So Hugo Gressmann, *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments*, II, Part I (Göttingen, 1921), 390.

¹⁹ Ruth 1:17.

²² II Sam. 3:35.

²⁰ I Sam. 20:13.

²³ II Sam., 19:13.

²¹ I Sam. 25:22.

²⁴ I Sam. 3:17-18.

¹⁴ Isa. 20:2-4.

¹⁵ Jer. 27:2; 28:10.

¹⁶ Ezek. 4:1-3.

a speech is not the same as that which the same speech would make on us if we heard it. The importance of intonation and accentuation is recognized by every effective speaker. His technique may be natural, or he may have acquired it; but he knows how to increase the volume of his voice and to decrease it, how to raise the pitch and to lower it. Vocal inflection can have a great deal to do with conveying the meaning of a group of words.²⁵ In the Hebrew system of writing before the time of the Massorites there was nothing to indicate anything about stress, tone, or pitch. The Massorites indicated sentence divisions, vowel lengths, and rhetorical pauses as the text was understood in their day. If we knew all that their markings signify, we should know more of their interpretations.

Even with the Massoretic punctuation, there was no question mark. So, unless there were an interrogative prefix (*hă, ha, or he*) or one of the interrogative pronouns or adverbs, there was nothing to show whether a sentence were a question or a declaration. Today in Palestine both Arabs and Jews often indicate a question by the rising inflection of the voice rather than by the construction of the sentence. Instead of "Are you going to the city?" they may say, "You are going to the city?" There must have been a good deal of this manner of indicating a question in ancient times. The late Hinckley G. Mitchell made an exhaustive study of the so-called omission of the interrogative particle and in the summer of 1913 presented

²⁵ An example showing variety of meaning possible in a few words is in *Macbeth*, Act I, scene vii, during the discussion of the proposed murder of Duncan. Macbeth says, "If we should fail," and Lady Macbeth answers, "We fail." Some editions treat Macbeth's speech as a question and others as a sentence started and interrupted by Lady Macbeth's breaking-in. Some take Lady Macbeth's two words as a flat statement, some as an exclamation, and some as a question. Actresses who prefer the last interpretation are divided. Some say, "We fail?" Others say, "We fail?"

his conclusions to a class in the University of Chicago. According to his findings, the particle was omitted in ironical questions. For instance, when Samson's wife tearfully intreats him to let her know the answer to his riddle, he says, "Behold, my father and my mother I have not told, and thee I shall tell."²⁶ The English versions translate "Shall I tell thee?" or "Should I tell you?" With our conventional punctuation marks this is the only way to convey the meaning of Samson's words; but in the Hebrew sentence there is nothing to indicate an interrogative. By his tone of voice, when Samson said "thee I shall tell," he let his wife know that he had no intention of doing anything of the kind.

Another passage of this sort may be, "They do not despise a thief if he steals to satisfy his appetite when he is hungry."²⁷ This is contradicted in the next verse: "And if he is found he shall repay sevenfold; all the substance of his house he shall give." So many commentators²⁸ would read the first as a question: "Do not men despise a thief even though he steals to satisfy his appetite when he is hungry?"²⁹ In Hebrew and in the literal English translation the ironic or interrogative character of the statement could be indicated merely by the tone of voice.

More puzzling is the statement, "If a man would give all the substance of his house for love, they would utterly despise him (or it)," *im-yittēn ʾiś et-kol-hôn bēlô bā-ʾāhābā bōz yābūzû lô*.³⁰ There are no textual difficulties, but the meaning is not clear. Is the implication that if a man sacrificed

²⁶ Judg. 14:16.

²⁷ Prov. 6:30.

²⁸ E.g., G. C. Martin in *The New Century Bible*.

²⁹ Such is A. R. Gordon's interpretation in *An American Translation*. By a textual emendation "despise" can be read "let off," and this is accepted by Moffatt; but there is no support for this in any ancient version.

³⁰ Cant. 8:7b.

his wealth for love, he would be a laughingstock? The context seems to forbid that interpretation, for it extols the power of love. Does the passage mean, then, that love is so precious that if a man tried to purchase it with his goods, he would meet only derision? Such interpretation is possible. That the sentence is interrogative is suggested by G. Beer,³¹ who proposes the insertion of *hă* before *bôz*. This would be in line with the context, as it would imply that if a man sacrificed all his material blessings for love, no one would blame him. It is unnecessary, however, to insert any particle; for the interrogative character of the sentence could be shown by vocal pitch—"he would be indeed despised?"

An often-quoted passage which has received conflicting interpretations is: "'Come now, and let us reason together,' saith Yahweh. 'Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.'"³² Generally this statement has been taken at its face value and has been used in countless sermons as a promise to those who repent. George Adam Smith has written: "And how pardon can be the end and logical conclusion of conscience is clear to us, who have seen how much of conscience is love, and that the Lord's controversy is the reproach of His Father's heart, and His jealousy to make His own consider all His ways of mercy towards them."³³

Those who would call attention to the justice as well as the love of God, however, have felt that such a concept is out of place in Isaiah's denunciation of Zion. So they have considered the statement ironic. Some try to bring out the ironic force by

translating, "let them be white as snow!"³⁴ Others would make a rhetorical question, "Can they be white as snow?" One may argue effectively that Isaiah meant exactly what he said or equally effectively that he meant the opposite of what he said. In the latter case he would have made himself clear by his tone of voice. The people who heard him would have understood, but the scribe who recorded his words would have been unable to indicate their ironic character.

By the changing of tone we can make a sentence mean the converse of what it means in plain print or in monotonous recitation. The acceptance of this principle opens a wide gate. Any statement may be taken as Pickwickian. "When I use a word," said Humpty Dumpty to Alice, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you *can* make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master—that's all."

VII

A passage which illustrates the way in which a simple passage is susceptible to different interpretations is the beginning of one of the best-known "Songs of Ascents":³⁵

אֲשָׁא עֵינֵי אֱלֹהִים בָּאֵין יְבֵא עוֹרִי
עוֹרִי מֵעַם יְהוָה עֲשֵׂה שְׂמִים וָאָרֶץ

There are no difficulties in translation:

I lift up my eyes to the hills.
From whence³⁶ cometh my help?
My help is from Yahweh,
the maker of heaven and earth.

³⁴ So Owen C. Whitehouse in *The New Century Bible*.

³⁵ Ps. 121:1-2.

³⁶ On lexicographical grounds *mē-ʿayn* has long been recognized as an interrogative, not a relative, as the A.V. has it.

³¹ Kittel Bible (3d ed.), p. 1210.

³² Isa. 1:18.

³³ *The Book of Isaiah* (New York), pp. 13-14.

The first clause, however, has at least four possible meanings. Following is an attempt to show how the various referents which the author may have had to the symbol "hills" would affect the recitation of the poem. The system used will be that of Rulon S. Wells,³⁷ who finds four pitch phonemes to differentiate "the phonemically (i.e. perceptually and meaningfully) different pitch contours of English." He uses the numerals 1 to 4, placed before syllables, to indicate pitch in ascending order. It is not presumed that the numbers tell the whole story of pitch; but they are sufficient to indicate the rise and fall of voice. In case of a marked change of pitch on one syllable, more than one numeral may be used. One numeral may represent the pitch of a succession of syllables.

Probably the most common interpretation of the verse in question takes the hills as the dwelling-place of Yahweh, the source of divine power. Yahweh was known as a God of the hills. He gave his law on Mount Sinai; he shone forth from Mount Paran; he spoke to Moses and Aaron in Mount Hor; he had his temple on Mount Zion. After a defeat by Ahab's army the servants of the Syrian king Ben-hadad said: "Their god is a god of the hills; therefore they were stronger than we; but let us fight them on the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they."³⁸ Though the Syrians failed to win on the plains, the saying of the servants illustrates the general belief that Yahweh was particularly manifest in the mountains. So, according to Briggs,³⁹ for instance, the first statement is one of exultation and the question one of confidence.

³⁷ "The Pitch Phonemes of English," *Language*, XXI, No. 1 (January-March, 1945), 27-39.

³⁸ I Kings 20:23.

³⁹ *The Book of Psalms* ("I.C.C." [New York, 1907]), II, 446.

Thus, as the pilgrim nears Mount Zion, he exclaims:

¹I lift up my eyes to the ³hills!

²From ³whence ²cometh my ⁴help?

²My ³help ²is from Yah³weh,

²the ³maker of heaven² and ³earth.

Buttenwieser,⁴⁰ on the other hand, taking the hills to be the sure bulwarks and places of refuge, believes that the psalmist was disappointed and perplexed in not getting from them the help that he desired, so that he had to turn to Yahweh. So Buttenwieser inserts the word "querying" before the question to indicate its querulous quality. The same effect can be attained by reading:

¹I lift up my eyes to the ¹hills.

²From ³whence ²cometh my help?

²My help is from Yah³weh,

²the maker of heaven and ¹earth.

Morgenstern⁴¹ makes out a very good case for taking the hills, through which the pilgrim passes on his way to the Holy City, to be places where enemies and robbers lurk to pounce upon the unfortunate traveler. Ezra tells us: "I was ashamed to ask of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen to help against the enemy on the way, because we had spoken to the king, saying, 'The hand of God is upon all them for good that seek him; but his power and his wrath are against all them that forsake him.'"⁴² Ezra was shaky about conditions on the road, however, so that he called a fast and a season of prayer to give added assurance of divine protection. If the psalm was written with thoughts of conditions such as those which faced Ezra, the first clause should be read with a quavering voice; the second should mark a

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 489.

⁴¹ "Psalm 121," *JBL*, LVIII (1939), 311-23.

⁴² Ezra 8:22.

transition; the third should express confidence:

²I lift up my eyes to the ²hills.

²From ³whence cometh my ⁴help?

²My ³help ²is from Yah³weh

²the ³maker of heaven and earth.

A fourth interpretation is one which I have not seen in print, though I presume that it has been published. It was proposed by George Adam Smith, and I learned of it from his brother, Hunter Smith, who used it while preaching in America in 1927. According to it, the hills were high places, the sanctuaries of pagan deities. So the loyal worshiper of Yahweh speaks the first clause in irony and then contrasts his God with the false gods of the local shrines:

³I ²lift up my eyes to the ¹hills.

²From whence cometh ³my ²help?

³My ²help is from Yah³weh,

²the maker of ³heaven ²and ³earth.

All of these interpretations are plausible. They depend on the interpreters' suppositions regarding the physical surroundings at the time of the production of the poem. They may be made clearer by gestures and variations in pitch. We have, then, a clause which consists entirely of well-known words and with no textual problems, but which may have four different meanings.

VIII

A great deal of Old Testament poetry, like this, defies our efforts to put it away finally as belonging to a certain time or situation, so that whatever interpretation we give it must be tentative. This does not mean, however, that attempts at interpretation are futile. Much of the best poetry is timeless. In a sense it is correct to say that the Old Testament poets and prophets "wrote better than they knew." When Lincoln composed his Gettysburg Address, he was writing for a particular historical situation, and after delivering the address he thought it was a failure; but his words have proved appropriate on many subsequent occasions.

Even when we are able to date a passage and to determine what circumstances caused it to be written, we have not exhausted its usefulness. We have a right to enjoy a piece of literature and to take from it spiritual uplift, no matter whether the author originally intended to say exactly what the words now mean to us. According to Hegel, "It is a matter of perfect indifference where a thing originated; the only question is: 'Is it true in and for itself?'"⁴³ So the poems and prophecies of the Old Testament, whatever their original applications, live, as always, a profitable source for study and inspiration.

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⁴³ *Philosophy of History*, III, 3, 2.

TWO STUDIES IN ATHENIAN MANUMISSION

WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN

DURING the past century 876 usable inscriptions recording grants of liberty to slaves have been taken off various walls of the sacred precinct of Apollo at Delphi. The standardized formulas recounting these transactions as they appear in the inscribed records were undoubtedly the work of the Delphic priests. The modern task of transcribing and editing these documents was carried out in part by German scholars but chiefly by French epigraphists.¹

The documents cover almost three centuries—from 200 B.C. to a time close to A.D. 100. The method employed in making these grants of liberty was by the quasi-religious procedure of a trust sale of the slave to the god Apollo. The slave intrusted his money to the god for the purpose of his self-redemption. The master of the slave accepted the purchase price from the hands of the priests, who represented the god in the transaction. Those masters who used this system of manumission were for the greater part residents of Delphi; but they included, also, slaveowners from numerous independent city-states of central Greece and townsmen of member-cities of the Locrian, Phocian, and Aetolian leagues, with an occasional citizen of Athens or one from Macedon or, now and again, a subject of

some city still farther removed from the radius of direct Delphic influence.²

The accounts of these trust sales as posted by the priests of Apollo are called *anagraphai*. They vary widely in length and fulness of statement;³ but there is one essential of the transactions which is always present.⁴ That essential is the explicit enumeration of two, three, or four elements of the liberty which the new freedman had acquired. These "four freedoms," when they are all given, appear usually in this order: status as an individual; protection from illegal seizure or arrest; freedom of choice of work, that is, "occupational option"; and the privilege of moving wheresoever the new freedman wishes, which I have elsewhere called "spatial mobility."⁵

In the records of these self-redemptions as published by the priests the first two of the four characteristics of freedom always appear. They represent, therefore, the two possessions which a free man *must* have and *must* retain, according to the analysis of freedom which recommended itself to the formula-making priests of Apollo. The four, taken together, amount to a descriptive formula,

² Daux, *op. cit.*, pp. 490-96.

³ *GDI*, No. 1914, e.g., has 79 words, No. 1906 has 92 words, whereas Nos. 1752 and 1755 run beyond twice that length. Only in slight degree is the difference caused by the double-dating and necessary expansion of essential phrases when the manumittor was resident in another city-state than Delphi. The differences depend upon the type of the sale (whether with or without continuing indentured services) and the manumittor's willingness to pay for a more imposing publication.

⁴ The sale to the god is "for freedom." See Paul Koschaker in *Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie, phil.-hist. Klasse*, XLII (1934), No. 1, 39-40.

⁵ Westermann in the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America*, II (1943), 10.

¹ They are most conveniently available as they appear in the following publications: Collitz-Baunack-Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften (GDI)*, Vol. II (Göttingen, 1899), Nos. 1684-2342; *Bull. de corr. hell.*, XXII (1898), 9-140 (121 documents edited by G. Colin); and *Fouilles de Delphes*, Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 2, 3, and 6, *Epigraphie* (Paris, 1929-39), ed. E. Bourguet, G. Colin, G. Daux, A. Salač, and N. Valmin. The most recent full discussion of the documents describing the manumissions is that of G. Daux in "Delphes au II^{ème} et I^{er} siècle," *Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, CXL (Paris, 1936), esp. pp. 46-209.

though not a definition, of personal liberty. The last two elements, the free choices of activity and of movement, seem rather to have been classed as privileges available to a free man than as inalienable rights. The disposal or the retention of these two privileges was evidently regarded as a matter of the freedman's option. The *choice* must be his;⁶ but in practice, both in ancient and in modern economies, the free man may, and almost constantly does, barter away by contract some part of his control of these options in the pressing business of earning a living.⁷

At Delphi two distinct types of these manumissions appear. The first is that of an outright and unrestricted sale to the god wherein the entire price agreed upon is paid to the vendor immediately and accepted by him. The freedman becomes immediately and completely free to work at what he wishes and to go where he wishes. This type comprises about three-fourths of the total number of the records found in the *temenos* of Apollo. In the second type the slave agreed that, as freedman, he would accept certain infringements affecting the last two elements of his new-found liberty—that of free activity and that of movement. This may be called the *paramone* form of manumission. Under its provisions the freedman contractually agreed to "remain with" (*paramenein*) his former owner and to carry out all his orders, "as far as possible." This qualification of the extent of his services appears constantly in the *paramone* grants. Since, however, the

freedman agreed to do some labor services for his manumittor, he must necessarily "remain" in the same town or city-state as his former owner. Only this degree of restriction upon his freedom of movement was implicit in the Delphic understanding of the *paramone*.

At Delphi the restrictions upon the privilege of working *as* the freedman chose and *where* he wished were not, as far as can be seen, fixed in any city-state law. They were the outcome of contractual agreement between the two parties concerned: the slaveowner and the slave who was aspiring for self-redemption. Also by agreement the former owner might retain some part of the right of punishment which he had formerly held over his slave. As a part of the right to penalize the freedman a clause is frequently found in the *paramone* manumissions to the effect that, in case of nonfulfilment of the required services, the sale to the god might, by court action, be declared incomplete (*ἀτελής*) and voidable (*ἄκυρος*).⁸ If a decision were reached, in a court case of this kind, condemning the *paramone* freedman, and the sale to the god was voided as a result of this decision, the slave would revert to his previous status of enslavement.

Customarily the *paramone* agreement, when this type of manumission was followed, was formally worded to endure for the life-expectancy of the owner. In point of fact the freedman was permitted to pay out money in lieu of some part of his indentured services; and customarily he did so. The period of the indentures lasted in reality from one to eighteen years, as we know from a score of official releases (*apolyseis*) from these obligations

⁶ The late Bronislaw Malinowski in his *Freedom and Civilization* (New York, 1944), p. 60, has presented the idea of these two personal options as parts of freedom, obviously without consciousness that he was reproducing the thought of the Delphic priests: "The sound theory of freedom consists in the realization that men must have scope for the choice of what they want to do and where they want to get."

⁷ Westermann, *American Historical Review*, L (1944-45), 216-18.

⁸ Examples of *paramone* manumissions with the right to physical punishment and voidability by court action are: *GDI*, No. 1819, ll. 6-7, 9-10; No. 1944, ll. 10-13; *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 3, 6, ll. 10-11. Cf. Kosschaker in *Abh. sächs. Akad., phil.-hist. Klasse*, XLII, No. 1, 31, 38-49.

which have come down together with the reports of the corresponding *paramone* manumissions. The average length of the *paramone* amounted to ten years in twenty-three usable cases which we have.⁹

In the Delphic manumissions there are seven cases, out of the total of 876 manumission records which I could use, in which the slave resorted to a temporary loan company (*eranos*) for a noninterest-bearing advance of a part of the money with which to finance his self-redemption. There are three peculiarities which mark these *eranoi* as uniquely Hellenic. They were organized merely for the one loan, that is, purely *ad hoc*; they were apparently not subject to state regulation of any kind; and they paid no interest. They were clearly social in purpose and quite distinct from regular interest-bearing loans, which are constantly distinguished under the word *daneia*. In the Delphic group of seven manumissions based upon *eranos* loans, six were for outright and unrestricted grants of freedom.¹⁰ Only one was set up in connection with a *paramone* (indentured service) grant of liberty.¹¹

I. THE SILVER BOWLS OF ATHENIAN FREEDMEN

In *IG*, II-III², 2, 1553-78, a number of lists have been published of the names of freedmen who had paid money to the city of Athens in the form of silver bowls, each of the weight and value of 100 drachmas.¹² These have long since been recognized as being the kind of silver bowls (*φιάλαι ἐξελευθερικαί*) which the treasurers of Athens accounted for in

⁹ The documentation of these statements will be presented in a forthcoming study.

¹⁰ *GDI*, Nos. 1772, 1791, 1804, 1878, 1909, and 2317.

¹¹ *GDI*, No. 1754. In *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 6, 15, an *eranos* is not involved. The freedman merely agreed to pay some interest-bearing loans (*daneia*) which his former owner had previously contracted.

¹² Sometimes the amounts paid in silver are not given, as in the list *IG*, II-III², 2, 1576.

their financial reports of 320-319 B.C.¹³ and of about six years later.¹⁴ In the stereotyped formulas of these inscriptions the freedman's name may appear in the nominative with a participial form agreeing with it, the verb for "has paid in" being omitted. A standard example of this usual form is:¹⁵ "Mnesitheia, wool-weaver, resident in Piraeus, winning (her suit) against Dionysius, an *isoteles*, (has deposited) a bowl of 100 (drachmas) weight."¹⁶ A deviation from this reads as follows: "Heraclides, pot-maker, dwelling in Cerami, has won (his case) against Autocles, son of Chaerippus, of (the deme) Pithus."¹⁷

As a variant of this formula the name of the former owner of the freedman or freedwoman sometimes appears in the nominative, as the active agent in the transaction, in this way: "Niceratus, son of Niceratus, of Melite (and) Phidippus, son of Sosidemus, of Xypete, (have released) Conon, a boy, residing in Melite. Bowl—100 (drachmas weight)."¹⁸

Three important steps toward the present understanding of these inscriptions should be noted.¹⁹ The first was the expression by Rangabé, in his translations

¹³ *IG*, II-III², 2, 1469, II. 5-6, 15. These silver bowls are plain payments in silver of 100 drachmas, not dedications. Just so in Plato's will (Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* iii. 42) the silver bowl weighing (ἐκκουρα) 165* is cash on hand just as much as the three minas silver which precede it.

¹⁴ *IG*, II-III², 2, 1480, I. 9.

¹⁵ The English words in parentheses in my translation indicate that they do not appear in the elliptical Greek formulation.

¹⁶ *IG*, II-III², 2, 1554, 14-17. An *isoteles* was a metic who had the privilege of paying citizen taxes in full.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1576, 69-72.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1559 B, 83-85. The boy, Conon, in his enslavement was under dual ownership.

¹⁹ Summarized statements of these discussions are available, with all the necessary references, in Michel Clerc's thesis, *Les Métèques atheniens* (Paris, 1893), pp. 286-94, and in Aristide Calderini's *La Manomissione e la condizione dei liberti in Grecia* (Milan, 1908), pp. 424-34.

of parts of the lists,²⁰ of the belief that the freedmen and freedwomen who were mentioned had stood trial on some accusation and had been acquitted.²¹ The second was the connection established by Köhler, and mentioned in a previous paragraph, between the payments in the lists of acquitted freedmen and freedwomen and the "freedmen bowls" (φιάλαι ἐξελευθερικαί) which appear in *IG*, II-III², 2, 1469 and 1480.²² The third was the correct restoration [. . . δίκαι ἀπο]στασίου in the caption of *IG*, II-III², 2, 1578, through a brilliant suggestion of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.²³ General acceptance of his restoration by the epigraphists transmuted Rangabé's theory into a confident belief that the names of freedmen were those of persons who had been acquitted in court trials, called *dikai apostasiou*, with the explanation that these "trials for abandonment" were merely "feigned," or *pro forma*, actions in imitation of actual *dikai apostasiou*.

A definition of the real Athenian action for abandonment has been clearly, though elliptically, given by the lexicographer Harpocration: "It is a kind of action against freedmen permitted to those who have freed them if they (the freedmen) abandon (their former owners) or register another person as patron and do not carry out those things which the laws command."²⁴ There is little doubt that Harpocration was here referring to a spe-

cifically Athenian type of legal action.²⁵ The statutory results of conviction or acquittal in the actual trials of freedmen in the Athenian state under this charge are given by Harpocration as follows: "And those who are condemned necessarily become slaves; but those who have won the suits, already (being) free men, (become so) completely." The Greek text of Harpocration, where it deals with the acquittals, is highly contracted: τοὺς μὲν ἀλόντας δεῖ δούλους εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ νικήσαντας τελέως ἤδη ἐλευθέρους. The exact phrase, ἤδη ἐλευθέρους, reappears in the fairly contemporary will of the Peripatetic school head, Theophrastus, and in the same sense: "Of the boys (παίδων in the meaning of "slaves") I manumit Molo and Timo and Parmenio (who are) already free."²⁶ If they were "already free," the only thing that Theophrastus could still release them from would be the *paramone*, or indentured services, to which they were obligated. This conclusion is supported in the will of Lyco²⁷ by his testamentary provision that he remitted the self-redemption payments²⁸ still to be made to him by a former slave named Demetrius, who was "long since free."

The best point of departure for the understanding of the Greek city-state systems of manumissions in general is to be found in the Delphic examples of the trust sale to Apollo. So far as we know, the method of the trust sale of a slave to the god which was followed at Delphi was not employed at Athens. The resi-

²⁰ Alexandros Rangabé, *Antiquités helléniques*, Vol. II (1855), Nos. 881, 882. This was considered an error by W. Köhler in *Arch. Institut des deutschen Reiches*, *Athen. Mitth.*, III (1878), 173.

²¹ This is, without question, the meaning of ἀποφύγειν. See Mayer-Schoemann-Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 623-24, n. 12.

²² W. Köhler in *Arch. Inst. des deut. Reiches*, *Athen. Mitth.*, III, 173-77.

²³ *Hermes*, XXII (1887), 110, n. 1.

²⁴ *Harpocrationis Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos*, s.v. "ἀποστασίον": δίκη τις ἐστὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀπελευθερωθέντων δεδομένη τοῖς ἀπελευθερώσαντι ἐὰν ἀφίστανται τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἢ ἑτέρον ἐπιγράφονται προστάτην καὶ ἀκελεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι μὴ ποιῶσιν.

²⁵ This is clear, both from the general title of his *Lexicon* and from the fact that his examples of the *dike apostasiou* are all from Athenian sources. Those which he mentions are Lysias, *Against Aristodemus*; Hyperides, *Against Demetria*; and Aristotle's *Polity of the Athenians*. The orations of Lysias and Hyperides are lost.

²⁶ Diogenes Laertius v. 2. 55 (*Theophrastus*): ἤδη ἐλευθέρους ἀφίημι.

²⁷ *Ibid.* v. 4. 72 (*Lyco*).

²⁸ *Ibid.*: Δημητρίῳ μὲν ἐλευθέρῳ πάλαι ὄντι ἀφίημι τὰ λύτρα. The *lytra* are the instalment payments which were required in the process of the working-out and the liquidation of the *paramone* obligations.

dents of that state were obviously content to rely upon the usual civil procedures of granting liberty or upon the widespread custom of freeing faithful slaves in their wills. In any case, or under any method of liberation, the slave would either (1) be freed outright and without restrictions upon the liberty granted him; (2) be freed outright but at a later fixed time under a "deferred," or "suspended," manumission which would be complete when it went into force; or (3) be granted his freedom with the duty of carrying on remaining (*paramone*) obligations toward his former owner. At Delphi the details of the *paramone* manumission, routed over the detour of the trust sale to the god, and the services toward the former owner required under it, were fixed by contractual agreement in the bill of sale to the god. At Athens these obligations of the *paramone* were fixed by law.²⁹

If the freedman under *paramone* duties at Athens was declared guilty of abandonment, according to the Athenian statutory provision, he would revert to his previous status of enslavement to his former owner. If acquitted, the former slave (who was already free) would be declared "completely" (*τελέως*) free. This can mean only that further services due to his former owner would be extinguished.

In the Delphian phraseology of the trust sale to the god a similarity of essential idea is to be noted, with use of the same root-word as in the word *τελέως* of the quotation from Harpocration. If the former slave under *paramone* did not live up to the obligations which he had agreed to perform, a suit might be entered against him in which the trust sale might

be declared "void and incomplete" (*ἄκυρος καὶ ἀ-τελής*), if an arrangement to that effect had been made between the contracting parties of the *paramone*, namely, the freedman and his former owner. If the decision fell against the freedman, under the Athenian statutory provision and under the Delphic contractual agreement as well, the result would be that the freedman would revert into enslavement.

There is no doubt in my mind that the persons whose names are posted in the Athenian lists of payments by the 100-drachma silver bowls (*IG*, II-III², 2, 1553-78) were "already free." For if they were of servile status when the trials for abandonment took place, there would be no sense in Harpocration's statement that, if convicted, they would necessarily become slaves again. It is, therefore, obvious that the simulated *dikai apostasiou* of these lists could not have been conducted for the purpose of manumitting slaves. This leaves, for me, only one possibility. The persons who were tried in the feigned *dikai apostasiou* of the Athenian inscriptions were, without exception, freedmen and freedwomen who had been under "*paramone*" obligations to their former owners. Therefore, the use of the "fictitious" trials for abandonment, with predetermined result of acquittal, was a device employed at Athens to attain the release (*apolysis*) of the freedman from his bondage service obligations. At Delphi this result was usually accomplished by an implicit or expressed agreement that the services could be ended by an additional payment of money, with an instrument of release, called an *apolysis*, in proof of the extinction of the obligations.

A typical Delphic *apolysis* reads as follows: "In the archonship of Cleomantis, son of Dion (?), in the month Ilaeus, Theodora, having accepted three minas, has released Apollonia from her *para-*

²⁹ See Harpocration's statement, under *ἀποστασιον*: "It is an action against those who have been manumitted granted to those who freed them if they (the freed persons) should not do what the laws order." Note the use of the root of *ἀποστασιον* in the Delphic release *GDI*, No. 1919, l. 1: ἀπὸ τῶν καὶ ἀπελθόντων.

mone (ἀπέλυσε τὰς παραμονὰς). Her mother, Sopatra, who was present, expressed agreement. Witnesses, the same."³⁰ Similar documents of release from *paramone* emanating from Athens are unknown; and it is most probable that none were given. It seems, in fact, that they were quite unnecessary because the decisions in the simulated trials for abandonment, as published, were usually combined with an acknowledgment by the state of receipt of the payment of 100 drachmas. This government posting of the decision and the payment to the state would stand, for the freed persons, as a sufficient public testimonial both of the original grant of freedom with *paramone* and of the elimination of the *paramone* residua of their former enslavement.

Wherever the silver (by weight) in the silver-bowl payments is given or is not lost,³¹ it is always a flat amount of 100 drachmas,³² whether the freedman acquitted in the simulated suit was a man, a woman, a boy, or a girl, and whatever his or her occupation might be. It must, therefore, represent the payment of a blanket fixed charge, which was quite independent of the value of services which the freed person could render under his, or her, *paramone* obligations. It has been customary to regard these silver bowls as thank offerings dedicated to the god by the former slaves for their manumission. This would mean that they were thank offerings made by freed persons who had

been liberated from their enslavement sometime previously, and may, indeed, have been free for a number of years. There is no proof of what the payments were for; but I would venture that the Athenian law required a tax for the *apolyseis* from *paramone* just as taxes were imposed on manumissions and upon sales of slaves. This blanket amount of 100 drachmas would, I should say, include the charges for the court procedure and the publication fee.³³

Comparisons between the Attic 100-drachma (one mina) payments to the city-state, the many three- to five-mina payments for self-redemption by slaves at Delphi in the second century B.C.,³⁴ and the state taxes and fees exacted upon slave sales in Egypt about 198-197 B.C.³⁵ might be helpful in the attempt to determine the nature of the 100-drachma silver-bowl payments. In the Ptolemaic realm of that time the state took in, as total taxes and fees upon the more usual forms of slave sales, from 17.83 to 20.17 per cent of the purchase price of the slave (*ad valorem*).³⁶ Starting from this exact knowledge out of a period not too remote from the Attic silver-bowl payments (the *phialai exeuleutherikai*), the Athenian flat payments of 100 drachmas still seem inordinately high until they are closely

³⁰ GDI, No. 2200. The witnesses are "the same" as those in No. 2199, which is the record of the original trust sale of Apollonia to the god Apollo. For the *apolyseis* at Delphi consult, for the present, Paul Koschaker in *Abh. sächs. Akad., phil.-hist. Klasse*, XLII, No. 1, 36, 39.

³¹ In three lists (IG, II-III², 2, 1575, 1576, 1578) the weight in drachmas is not given. In 114 individual cases of freedmen names the amounts can be read. In 94 scattered cases the amount is lost by fragmentation of the documents.

³² The 100 drachmas weight in silver was equal in value to 100 drachmas in Athenian silver coinage.

³³ The publication fee which was paid by freedmen in a number of towns in central Greece at the time of the Roman domination for having their names posted upon a stone slab is known to us. It usually stood at 15 staters, which equaled 22½ drachmas or the same amount as estimated in *denaria*. See, e.g., IG, IX, 2, Nos. 13-22, from Hypata; Nos. 71-78, from Lamia; Nos. 107-9, from Halus; Nos. 539-68, from Larisa.

³⁴ Moritz Bloch in his dissertation, *Die Freilassungsbedingungen der delphischen Freilassungsschriften* (Strassburg, 1914), worked with incomplete information, it is true, but his conclusion (p. 24) still holds that the rule for the self-purchase price at Delphi was from three to five minas.

³⁵ P. Columbia Inv., 480, published by Westermann, *Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt* (New York, 1929).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 15. Cf. Friedrich Oertel's review of Westermann's book in *Gnomon*, VIII (1932), 648-49.

analyzed with the limited amount of comparative data at hand.

In the Delphic arrangements for release from the *paramone*, in the few cases for which we have both the original amount paid for the self-redemption³⁷ and the later payment made for the release from the indentured services (*paramone*), the prices paid for the releases from *paramone* may be one-third of the original amount paid,³⁸ one-half of it,³⁹ three-fifths,⁴⁰ or an amount exactly the same as the original payment.⁴¹ The indications which we have from Athens of the usual slave prices in the fourth century B.C. are that they averaged about 200–300 drachmas.⁴² In the following calculation I am compelled to assume that the ratios of the

prices for release from the *paramone* to the original self-redemption payments were about the same at Athens in the fourth century B.C. as they were at Delphi in the second century B.C. The value of the labor services (*operae*) cannot be reckoned in either case; and they are eliminated from the calculation.

Applying the Delphic ratios of the prices of the releases (one-third, one-half, three-fifths, or an amount equal to the original self-purchase payment) to the 200–300-drachma average for slave sales at Athens, the totals of the money payments in *paramone* manumissions in fourth-century Athens would work out as follows. Adding one-third to the original payment, the total (in *paramone* manumissions) would be 266–400 drachmas. At one-half of the original manumission price it would come to 300–450 drachmas; at three-fifths, to 320–480 drachmas; on the basis of equal payments, to 400–600 drachmas. Accepting my suggestion that the 100-drachma (one mina) silver-bowl payments of the freedman lists at Athens (*IG*, II–III², 2, 1553–78) include the manumission and release taxes and the court costs and fees for the feigned trials, they will be found to compare fairly closely with the percentages of the taxes and fees on slaves as known to us from Ptolemaic Egypt. They would range from 16.67 per cent of the total amount paid to the manumittor to 38.40 per cent of that amount, as against the 17.83 to 20.17 per cent taken by the Egyptian state on sales of slaves about 200 B.C.

If the combination and analysis which is proposed above has any value, it follows that the earnings to be derived at Athens by slaveholders from leasing out slaves trained in the handicrafts, or even from unskilled slave laborers, must have been high to warrant the exaction by the state of such percentages of the customary

³⁷ The original payment to the slaveowner (vender to the god) is not given in *GDI*, No. 2192, ll. 3–4 and in No. 2199, ll. 3–6. The payments for release are five minas in No. 2192, ll. 8–9, and three minas in No. 2199, ll. 11–12.

³⁸ *GDI*, No. 1717, l. 3, three minas manumission price; *ibid.*, ll. 5, 9–10, one mina, or the furnishing of another slave in her place, as the price of release from the *paramone*.

³⁹ *GDI*, No. 1749, l. 2—original self-redemption price, three minas; *ibid.*, l. 5, release from *paramone*, three half-minas. The release appears as No. 1750. In it the statement is made that the required amount was paid.

⁴⁰ *GDI*, No. 1918, l. 3—the original trust sale (or self-purchase) price, five minas. In the document of release, No. 1919, the *apolysis* cost was three minas.

⁴¹ Equal payments of three minas for the *paramone* grant of liberty and for the release in *GDI*, Nos. 2324, ll. 6 and 15. See also an original sale for three minas in *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 3, 32 and a *novatio*, or secondary sale to the god, of the same slave at the same price, in *GDI*, No. 2143. The editors of *F. de D.*, III, 3, 32, are in error, I think, in their belief that the three minas of the secondary sale (*novatio*) were not actually paid. The annulment of the first sale (*F. de D.*, III, 3, 32) was an annulment of the services only (*operae*) under the *paramone* (*G. D. I.*, No. 2143, ll. 12–13). The original self-redemption price was not paid back by the former owner; and he certainly received the second payment of three minas.

In Colin, No. 40 (in *BCH*, Vol. XXII), the original sale price is not stated; but the payment for the release is fixed at three minas plus the furnishing of a slave child one year old (Colin, No. 40, ll. 6–7). Colin, No. 41, is the document of release (*[ἀνέλευσε]* . . . *τὰς παραμονὰς*) from these services. It states that the conditions of payment for the *apolysis* had been met.

⁴² See Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *RE*, Suppl., VI, 915–16.

slave values in taxes and fees upon manumissions. On this assumption of high earnings the plan of Xenophon for the state purchase and renting-out of slaves, as presented in the brochure *Upon the Revenues*,⁴³ becomes something more than the fantasy of an economic dreamer. He believed that the increase in the numbers of slaves to be purchased by the state from an original 1,200 to 6,000, and thereafter to 10,000, could be financed by their earnings as labor leased out to the entrepreneurs of the silver-mine operations and to other enterprisers. Noteworthy in respect to the high indirect taxes on slaves at Athens (import and export and sale taxes) is his statement that, before the Decelean War, the income derived by the state from slaves in private ownership formed an important part of its revenues.⁴⁴

II. MANUMISSIONS IN THE WILLS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

The will of Plato and those of the first four heads of the Lyceum—Aristotle, Theophrastus, Strato, and Lyco—have been preserved by Diogenes Laertius in his *Lives of the Philosophers*.⁴⁵ Since the publication of Ivo Bruns's scholarly study, *Die Testamente der griechischen Philosophen*,⁴⁶ there seems to be no dis-

⁴³ Xenophon *Vectigalia* iv. 23 ff. For a careful discussion of the ideal average net earnings of one obol per day from a skilled-laborer slave see Friedrich Oertel in *Rhein. Museum*, LXXIX (1930), 233.

⁴⁴ Xenophon *Vectigalia* iv. 25.

⁴⁵ Diogenes Laertius *Vitae philosophorum* v. 1. 11-16; v. 2. 51-57; v. 3. 61-64; v. 4. 69-74. Epicurus also manumitted four slaves by will (Diog. Laert. x. 16-21); but the sole method employed by him was that of outright and unrestricted liberation, with no continuing services attached under the *paramone* relation. Since his testament offers nothing of value for this study, I am omitting it.

⁴⁶ Ivo Bruns, *Savigny Zeitschrift, rom. Abtheilung*, I (1880), 1-52. For acceptance of the genuineness of the wills of Strato and Lyco see Capelle's discussions of these two men in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *RE*, XIII, 2307 (Lyco), and IVa, 279 (Strato). See also the unhesitating use of the Peripatetic legacies by U. von Wilamowitz in *Antigonos von Karystos* ("Philologische Untersuchungen," Vol. IV), pp. 265-69.

position either among legal scholars or among the philologists to doubt their authenticity. These wills have an intrinsic human interest all their own in the history of Athens at a time when its life was still vibrant and dynamic. They have a particular importance, also, as evidence for the Greek law of testaments in the late fourth and third centuries B.C. Quite aside from these values, they throw considerable light upon the Greek institution of slavery of that time, particularly upon the transition from slave status into freedom by testamentary disposition. The center of their interest for the purposes of this brief inquiry is the appearance of continuing bondage services in the manumissions of several of the slaves of the Peripatetic leaders.

The Attic lists of manumissions by simulated trials for abandonment (*dikai apostasiou*) in *IG*, II-III², 2, 1553-78 are dated about 330 B.C. The will of Aristotle went into effect in 322 B.C. Those of the first three scholars fall within a century after Aristotle's death. There is no available information which suggests that any radical change occurred in the Athenian institution of slavery in that century. We are fairly safe, therefore, in assuming that the slave liberations in the four Athenian wills and the releases of freedmen from their *paramone* obligations in the Athenian silver-bowl lists are to be judged in the same general frame of laws upon manumission.

Assuming that Aristotle's suggestions for disposal of his property were completely up to date at the time of his death, he certainly had fourteen slaves when his will went into effect, possibly even sixteen or seventeen.⁴⁷ Of this number of fourteen

⁴⁷ The doubt as to the total arises from the fact that Aristotle does not give the number of boy slaves who acted as his personal attendants. There were certainly two of them. I would not be inclined to put them at more than five. Note that Herpyllis, the wife

to seventeen, seven were to be retained in slavery, being left as legacies to people of his household. The rest, seven or more, depending upon the number of his personal attendants, were manumitted. The seven who were left as legacies were assigned as follows: Herpyllis, wife or concubine of Aristotle, was to retain as her own property three household servants (*θεραπαίνας τρεῖς*), if she desired them. Also she was to keep a girl attendant (*παιδίσκην*) whom she already had and to receive a boy named Pyrrhaeus. Ambracis, a slave woman, but now to become free, was to keep as her property a girl who had already been acting as her servant.⁴⁸ Thales, a free companion of Aristotle (possibly one of his freedmen from former days), was to have a second slave girl in addition to the young girl, a bought servant, which he already possessed.⁴⁹

It is the manumissions rather than the legacies of slaves which are of the greatest interest. Only one slave, the woman Ambracis, was freed outright. Obviously, she was a servant of long standing, attached in her duties to Pythias, Aristotle's young daughter.⁵⁰ Four male slaves—Lycho, Philo, Olympius, and his son—were to be freed, but not until the marriage of Pythias should have taken place. Clearly these are deferred, or suspended, manumissions, of the type so common in the testamentary freeing of slaves in our postbellum South.⁵¹

or concubine of Aristotle, had but one attendant slave before Aristotle's death (Diog. Laert. v. 1. 13); and Thales, a household companion of Aristotle, was to have two young girls as servants after Aristotle's death.

⁴⁸ Diog. Laert. v. 1. 14.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Bruns, in *Savigny Zeitschrift, rom. Abt.*, I, 16, 18. After the marriage of the daughter, Pythias, the freed-woman Ambracis was to be paid a legacy of 500 drachmas out of the estate.

⁵¹ Helen T. Catterall, *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, III (Washington, 1932); Georgia case of *Knight v. Hardeman*, p. 40; Ala-

The arrangements for the several boys (number not given) who had acted as Aristotle's personal servants are blurred by the fact that Aristotle's will, both in the Greek of Diogenes Laertius and in the Arab version given in translation by Ivo Bruns, is not complete in form or in its property specifications.⁵² It was the expressed wish of Aristotle that the slaves were not to be sold. Nor were they to be distributed among the heirs mentioned for legacies—"but they (presumably the executors) are to use them; and when they (the slave boys) come of age they (the executors) are to manumit them according to value (*κατ' ἀξίαν*)."⁵³ There are only two legal possibilities which can explain, as far as I can see, Aristotle's desire that they be not sold from the estate but that they be used by the estate until the time of their prospective manumission. The first would be to manumit them immediately with continuing bondage services (with *paramone*, that is) and release (*apolysis*) therefrom when they had passed out of the age of legal minority, at a valuation then to be determined. The second method would be by a deferred manumission, the manumission price to be decided under this system, also, *κατ' ἀξίαν*, that is, "according to a valuation" taken at that time.⁵⁴ In either case the intention is that they are to redeem themselves at a price which would be set, one judges, by the possibilities of their earning capacity. The fact that the estate was to use the boys leads me to favor the *paramone* explanation. It is no objection to this view that

bama case of *Abercrombie's Executors v. Abercrombie's Heirs*, p. 206; Louisiana case of *Maranthe et al. v. Hunter et. al.*, p. 650. These are random citations out of many cases.

⁵² Bruns, in *Savigny Zeitschrift, rom. Abt.*, I, 15-16.

⁵³ Diog. Laert. v. 1. 15.

⁵⁴ For *κατ' ἀξίαν* in the papyri from Egypt under Ptolemaic and Roman domination, meaning "according to the productive capacity" of land, see *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XI (1925), 170.

they were to be set free immediately and still to be "set free" at the end of the *paramone* period. This was, in fact, the regular practice in the Delphic manumissions with *paramone* that, when the period of the work obligations was ended, the *paramone* freedman was, for the second time, declared to be free and immune from illegal arrest or seizure.⁵⁵

The remaining three Peripatetic wills are legally complete, and the disposal of the slave properties contained therein quite simple. Theophrastus had long since freed two of his former slaves, Pompylus and Threpte, who were presumably man and wife. The will states that they had been very useful to him and that they are to retain any properties which he had given them, to have 2,000 drachmas in addition from the estate, and to receive a slave girl named Somatale.⁵⁶ The total of his actual slave holdings numbered seven—the girl, Somatale, and six males. Two of the six males, Manes and Collias, are now freed by the terms of the will but are to be under a *paramone* arrangement for four years.⁵⁷ During this time they were to work in the gardens of the Lyceum without incurring blame. At the expiration of the four years, they would be released from their work obligations. During the four years of the *paramone* they

would be in the same situation as the *paramone* freedmen of the Attic silver-bowl lists except that they would not need to resort to feigned trials to obtain their releases (*apolyseis*) from their work obligations. The term of the *paramone* was fixed by will. The release at the end of the four years would enter into effect automatically except if some lapse (*ἀμάρτημα*) respecting the *paramone* terms were charged against them. Two slaves were left as legacies, one to each of two friends and colleagues of the school, Demotimus and Neleus. One slave, Euboeus, was to be sold. This is the sole instance in the entire group of Peripatetic wills of a direct order that a slave be sold out of the estate inventories.

The death of Strato "the Physicist" occurred somewhere in the last two years of the 127th Olympiad, that is, in the period 270–268 B.C.⁵⁸ Since his property as scholar, except for specified legacies, was left *en gros* to Lampyrion and Arcesilaus as executors, the total number of his slaves cannot be given definitely. There are seven whose disposition is known. Strato manumitted four male slaves in his testament—Diophantus, Diocles, Abous, and Dromon.⁵⁹ Three more were left to members of the school, one named Simias going to Arcesilaus. Two others, both males, were to be selected by Arcesilaus,⁶⁰ out of an unknown remainder, and assigned to Epicrates and Iraeus, respectively. Notable in Strato's household is the lack of mention of any women slaves.

As judged by the number and value of his slave holdings, more than fourteen, Aristotle was the wealthiest man of the four Peripatetics. Next to him in this respect stands Lyco, owning twelve slaves

⁵⁵ Out of scores of examples, the following references are taken, representing, in chronological sequence, manumissions of the second and first centuries B.C. and of the first century after Christ: *GDI*, Nos. 2034, 1703, 2210 (a secondary sale following No. 2192); *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 1, 303; III, 6, 126 (= Colin, No. 115, in *Bull. de corr. hell.*, Vol. XXII).

⁵⁶ Diog. Laert. v. 2. 54.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 55. The verb expressing the manumission is in the present tense: ἀφίημι ἐλευθέρους. The verb expressing the *paramone* relation appears in participial form in the aorist tense; "I (now) set them free, they having remained in *paramone* for four years in the garden and having assisted in the work without incurring blame." Regenbogen in his discussion of Theophrastus in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus, *RE*, Suppl., VII, 1362, seems to equate the *paramone* manumissions with deferred grants. Legally and in their economic results they differ markedly.

⁵⁸ Diog. Laert. v. 3. 58 and v. 4. 68. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *RE*, IVa, 278 (Capelle).

⁵⁹ Diog. Laert. v. 3. 62–63.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 62: τῶν παλῶν ἑα δὲ ἂν δοκῇ Ἀρκεσίλαῳ. Cf. δὲ ἂν δοκιμάσῃ Ἀρκεσίλαος, *ibid.* 63.

at the time of the final redaction of his will and having three freedmen who were still under contractual *paramone* duties toward him. This impressive holding of nonfree servants, together with his other properties, is in conformity with the ancient attitude toward Lyco as a man who enjoyed the comforts of life and dwelt somewhat over the line upon its Sybaritic side.⁶¹

Lyco's testamentary arrangements for the servants of his household may be regarded as typical of the four wills and as affording us detailed clues for explaining the slave and freedmen disposals which are less clear in the other testaments. That part of the will which presents the treatment of his servants, including his disposals, is a separate unit introduced by the phrase: "Regarding those who are in my service (περὶ δὲ τῶν θεραπευόντων ἑμαυτὸν) I decide as follows." The *therapeuontes* include three freedmen—Demetrius, Crito, and Syrus—and a woman named Hilara, who seems to have been a free servant. At least there is no indication in the will, in her case, of any previous enslavement.⁶² At the time of writing the will, two of the three freedmen, Demetrius and Crito, were still under *paramone* obligations and were still making installment payments (τὰ λύτρα) against their release from these services. Technically, these two had already been manumitted with *paramone* clause, with a definite ar-

rangement for release therefrom by installment payments. According to the provisions of the will, they were to be released at Lyco's death from the *paramone*, without the necessity of paying further installments. In the case of Demetrius the statement is clear that he had "long been free."⁶³ Syrus, a former slave whose manumission was outright, that is, without *paramone*, was to inherit, as a part of his legacy from Lyco, a slave woman named Menodora out of the slave property remaining in the estate.

Eight slaves were freed outright (six males and two women), including one named Micrus and his mother. Three male slaves were to be manumitted under *paramone* obligations which were to last, in the case of Agathon, for two years, and in the case of two porters (φορεαφόρους), Ophelion and Posidonius, for four years.⁶⁴ These two porters should be classed as "pay-earning slaves" (*misthophorounta somata*) of the type which lived apart (*choris oikountes*) from their masters. They earned what they could, paying a part to their owners,⁶⁵ but retaining for themselves something over and above their slave board and lodging (*doulika tropheia*).⁶⁶ Their savings might later be, and in hundreds of instances were, applied against the cost of their self-purchase into liberty.

The information upon the Athenian slave system of the late fourth and third centuries B.C. which is to be derived from the wills of these scholars of the Lyceum is of the highest value because of the nature of the sources. The two earlier wills may be said, broadly speaking, to

⁶¹ Capelle in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *RE*, XIII, 2307. Capelle's suggestion that the slave boys, Micrus and Chares, might be sons of Lyco by a slave woman is sheer guess. It might be true, of course. It represents, however, the traditional recourse of the modern commentators upon ancient slavery, which is stenciled off the pages of the *Nea Comoedia*. I find that the Delphic manumissions offer little support for the assumption of widespread promiscuity with slave women in the ancient Greek households. No doubt it occurred in many instances. The idea should, however, be dismissed as a constant assumption for actual Greek life.

⁶² Diog. Laert. v. 4. 72-73.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 72: Δημητρίῳ μὲν,λευθέρῳ πάλαι ὄντι, ἀφήμι τὰ λύτρα Κρίτωνι δὲ Χαλκηδονίῳ, καὶ τούτῳ τὰ λύτρα ἀφήμι.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 73.

⁶⁵ Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *RE*, *Suppl.*, VI, 911.

⁶⁶ Westermann, "Slave Maintenance and Slave Revolts," *Classical Philology*, XL (1945), 1-10.

fall within the same century as most of the Attic orators and to fall in the precise period of the *Nea Comoedia*.⁶⁷ If the authenticity of the wills is accepted, whatever information appears in them may be taken without the discount which one must apply to the court distortions of the plaintiff or defendant in legal speeches, or to the slave-character qualities, both good and bad, which were so much sharpened in the theatrical productions of the New Comedy of that time.

Because of indeterminable factors regarding the financial and social status of the liberators of slaves in the priestly records of manumissions at Delphi, comparisons between the Delphic grants of liberty and those of the well-to-do group of the Peripatetic scholars must be made with caution. Despite this probable difference in financial rating and a greater liberality of attitude which might be expected in the school heads, in the complete lack of data in quantity necessary for statistical treatment some comparative numbers are presented here, for their indicative value, at least. In making up the figures presented below, the will of Epicurus is not included. Also Pompylus and Threpte, who had "long been free" according to the statement in the will of Theophrastus,⁶⁸ are not counted, because one cannot determine whether the original grant of liberation in their case was made with or without bondage services (*paramone*).

The preserved records of manumissions

⁶⁷ The death of Theophrastus is put within the two-year period 288-286 B.C. by O. Regenbogen in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus, *RE, Suppl.*, VII, 1357.

⁶⁸ Diog. Laert. v. 2. 54: πάνταλευθέρους οὖσι. Probably during the time of his servitude and certainly in the period after his manumission Pompylus had been the caretaker of the grounds of the Lyceum, and he was to be continued in that capacity after the death of Theophrastus (O. Regenbogen, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus, *RE, Suppl.*, VII, 1362).

with *paramone* at Delphi stand at about one to three in relation to the unrestricted, or outright, grants. In the five Athenian testaments of the philosophers there are fifty cases in which the manner of the testamentary disposal can be exactly determined. Only one slave was sold and the cash turned into the estate. Eighteen had been left as property legacies to members of the families or to intimates in the circles of the various scholars. Thirty-one had been manumitted in one way or another. This amounts to 62 per cent of the total number. Of these thirty-one, fifteen, roundly the half, had been freed outright, that is, without any restriction upon their occupational freedom or privilege of free movement. In four of these fifteen cases the manumissions were "deferred" to a later period. In these cases the slave status of the persons to be manumitted would continue until that time; but, when the liberations went into effect, these four were to be without bondage services.

Twelve of the grants of liberty were of the *paramone* type, that is, with requirements of continuing labor services as the former owner might request them. Such services, however, were strictly limited to the former slaves' ability to perform them. In percentages, 38.7 per cent of the number manumitted were still subject to limited bondage service restrictions in respect to their manumitters.

Historically considered, the deductions derived from these testaments may well be termed "impressionistic." They do, however, confirm similar impressions gained from the lists of releases (*apolyseis*) from *paramone* services presented in *IG*, II-III², 2, 1553-78. The first of these is that the ways of gliding over from slave status into free status in the busy handicraft center of Athens in the fourth century, and deeply into the third century

B.C., were numerous and fairly easy. Also the transition was facilitated, possibly in a quarter to a half of the civil manumissions, by the employment of the *paramone*, or continuing bondage service system. This method could be followed in granting liberty by testamentary disposition or in manumissions *inter vivos*. In the latter half of the fourth century B.C. one method of releasing freedmen under *paramone* from their bondage services was

that of instituting against them a simulated trial for abandonment (*dike apostasiou*). In such cases the release was guaranteed by the decision of the court and published in lists set up by the treasury officials. How long this devious system of release from *paramone* was employed at Athens we do not know. Its use outside of Athens is unknown to me.

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THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL PROBLEM OF JOSHUA 10 AND JUDGES 1

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THE tenth chapter of the Book of Joshua begins by describing Israel's defeat of a Canaanite coalition of five kings. It concludes with the description of a successful campaign against the Shephelah and hill country of that part of southern Palestine later occupied by the tribe of Judah. The first chapter of the Book of Judges, purporting to describe events which took place "after the death of Joshua" (1:1), appears to give a rather different picture of the Conquest, in which the individual tribes bear the responsibility for conquering their respective territories. The one describes a successful campaign of a united Israel under Joshua's direction. The other, supported by statements in Joshua 15-19, indicates that the seizure of the Promised Land was a long process, accomplished not by a single great campaign but by a series of campaigns on the part of the individual tribes. It is generally believed that the present form of Joshua 10 (particularly vs. 28 ff.) is the later of the two sources, belonging to the Deuteronomic edition of the book, while Judges 1 is largely from the tenth or ninth century, the words "after the death of Joshua" in the first

verse having been added by a harmonistic editor. It is generally believed also that, since the account in Joshua is later, it is unreliable.¹ The dominant critical position is well summarized by George Foot Moore in the *International Critical Commentary*:

.... Jud. 1 is, beyond dispute, one of the most precious monuments of early Hebrew history. It contains an account of the invasion and settlement of Western Palestine entirely different from that given in the Book of Joshua, and of vastly greater historical value. In Joshua, the united armies of Israel, under the command of Joshua, in two campaigns (10.11) conquer all Palestine from the Lebanon to the southern desert, and ruthlessly exterminate its entire population. The land is partitioned among the tribes (13 ff.), who have only to enter and take possession of the territory allotted to them. In Jud. 1 on the contrary, the tribes invade the land singly, or as they are united by common interest; they

¹ See, e.g., G. A. Smith, "Joshua," in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*; LaGrange, *Le Livre des Juges* (1903), pp. 25 ff.; Möhlenbrink, *Zeits. für A. T. Wiss.*, LVI (1938), 262 ff.; Elliger, *Palästinajahrbuch*, 1934, pp. 47 ff.; Noth, *Palästinajahrbuch*, 1937, pp. 22 ff.; Holzinger, "Joshua," *Kurzer Hand-Commentar z. A. T.*, pp. 34 ff.; Budde, "Richter," *ibid.*, pp. 1 ff.; E. Meyer, *Zeits. für A. T. Wiss.*, I (1881), 117 ff.; Kittel, *Geschichte* Book I, chap. iii; Driver, *Introd. to the Lit. of the O. T.* (rev. ed., 1913), p. 108.

fight for their own land with varying success, or settle peaceably among the older population. The larger cities with few exceptions, the fertile valleys, and the seaboard plain remain in the hands of the Canaanites. For long, the Israelites were really masters only in the mountains of Central and Southern Canaan, and the two strongest tribes, Joseph and Judah, were completely separated from each other by a line of Canaanite strongholds having Jerusalem as its salient. On the other side, the Great Plain and the fortified cities along its southern margin separated Joseph from the tribes which settled farther north.

Which of these two conflicting representations of the Israelite invasion is the truer, cannot be for a moment in question. All that we know of the history of Israel in Canaan in the succeeding centuries confirms the representation of Jud. that the subjugation of the land by the tribes was gradual and partial; that not only were the Canaanites not extirpated, but that many cities and whole regions remained in their possession; that the conquest of these was first achieved by the kings David and Solomon. On the other hand, the whole political and religious history of these centuries would be unintelligible if we were to imagine it as beginning with such a conquest of Canaan as is narrated in the Book of Joshua.²

This solution of the problem by the denial of the historicity of most of Joshua 10-11 is generally accepted today, even by otherwise conservative and cautious scholars. Yet a body of facts has been accumulating which suggests that such a solution oversimplifies the situation. A re-examination of the problem, therefore, seems to be in order.

I

In the first place, this view oversimplifies the whole import of the Book of Joshua. Careful exegesis of the Deuteronomic point of view concerning the Conquest as contained in that book and also

in the Books of Deuteronomy and Judges indicates that Moore is too sweeping when he says that "in Joshua, the united armies of Israel . . . in two campaigns conquer all Palestine from the Lebanon to the southern desert, and ruthlessly exterminate its entire population." The Deuteronomic view was that, while there occurred a great invasion led by Joshua which attained an astonishing success, yet many of the inhabitants were left in the country in order to prove Israel (Judg. 2:20-23)³ and in order to keep the wild animals from multiplying until they got out of control (Deut. 7:22).⁴ Joshua tells us nothing about the capture of Jerusalem, Gezer, or the southern coastal plain (cf. 13:2 ff.); and, as regards the campaign in Galilee, it is explicitly stated that Joshua burned none of "the cities that stood on their tells" (that is, the fortified cities), except Hazor (11:13).

Moore's conclusion is based, of course, upon the summary statements in chapters 10 and 11. Josh. 10:40-41 says that "Joshua smote all the land, (that is) the hill country (of Judah), and the Negeb, and the Shephelah, and the slopes, and all their kings; he did not leave a survivor, but all that breathed he devoted to death. . . . And Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza, and all the land of Goshen even unto Gibeon." Undoubtedly it was an exaggeration to say that every single inhabitant was killed. Yet it is obvious that the writer knew that the coastal plain was not captured (11:22), since otherwise he would have mentioned it. Reduce the

³ Budde, Moore, Driver, and others believe that this passage is in part from older sources which have been imperfectly combined and amplified by the compiler. Yet though this position is followed, the argument here would not be affected, since the compiler must have believed what he inserted.

⁴ The fact that this passage is quoted from Exod. 23:29-30 indicates that D's view was derived from his older sources.

² Judges, pp. 7-8.

statement to geography, and all that it claims is that Joshua took the Judean hill country with the Negeb and Shephelah. Gibeon is given as the northern limit because the campaign started there.

At the conclusion of the Galilean campaign, another summary statement is made in 11:16 ff. To the Judean territory is now added the Arabah (Jordan Valley) and the hill country of Israel with its foothills. The general extent of the total conquest is said to be from Mount Halak in the Negeb of Judah to Baal-gad at the foot of Mount Hermon. The Deuteronomic editor, proceeding on the belief that there were three main stages in the invasion (Jericho-Bethel-Ai and Gibeonite covenant, Judah, and Galilee), obviously looks at the total picture and gives the rough extent of the total conquest. From what he does not claim and from what he explicitly says was not conquered, it is clear that he is not deliberately falsifying the picture. He knows perfectly well that much yet needed to be done (cf. 11:13, 22). In fact, in chapter 13 he lists the chief regions yet unconquered. That he does not mention as an exception a city like Jerusalem in such summarizing statements is scarcely surprising. He could well say, "If you want to know more details, read the succeeding chapters"! Given his three-phase theory of the conquest of western Palestine, we must admit that he was substantially correct. All we can charge him with is overschematization of his material.⁵ It would seem

⁵ Josh. 12:7 ff., undoubtedly by the same compiler or school of compilers, presents several problems, though Driver's position in its regard seems reasonable enough (*op. cit.*, p. 109); namely, that the kings not previously mentioned are from sources (perhaps JE) which D had omitted or hastily summarized. It is to be noted, however, that the compiler is not listing cities which have been conquered but kings against whom Joshua fought successfully. Most of those in vss. 10-16 appear in chap. 10, and those in vss. 19-23 are either mentioned or implied in chap. 11, in which the campaign is only hastily reviewed. The insertion of the king of Bethel in vs. 16 may have been occasioned

that the same charge could be made against Moore, since he does not do justice to the Deuteronomist's view!

II

In the second place, Moore's statement, here taken as typical of the prevailing viewpoint of the last generation, oversimplifies the whole question of the reliability of Judges 1. The first twenty-one verses of that chapter contain a number of fragmentary and sometimes apparently contradictory statements regarding the conquest of the territory of Judah by that tribe and the groups affiliated with it. There follows a brief account of the capture of Bethel by the House of Joseph (vss. 22-26) and a list of cities from which the central and northern tribes were unable to evict the inhabitants. The first characteristic of this chapter, then, is that it is a collection of miscellaneous fragments, not a unified document.

The list of the cities left in Canaanite hands (vss. 27-33) is certainly reliable information, but it is not in such absolute contradiction to Joshua and the Deuteronomic point of view as is so commonly assumed. As pointed out above, it was Deuteronomic theory that the completion of the Conquest was a long-drawn-out affair. This being the case, we should not easily conclude that the account of the campaigns in Joshua 10-11 is, therefore, unhistorical.

As for the ascription of the capture of Bethel to the House of Joseph in Judg. 1:22-26, a simple solution may be as follows: We know that at an early date

sioned either by 8:17 or by the old tradition that it was Bethel, not Ai, which was actually taken (see below). The kings mentioned in vss. 17, 18, and 24 appear to indicate that fighting occurred in the occupation of north central Palestine—a tradition which, while not preserved elsewhere in Joshua, is probably reliable. (In Num. 27:1 Hopher and Tirzah are mentioned as Israelite clans.)

the story of the conquest of Bethel was transferred to the neighboring Ai (the name of which means "The Ruin"); and thus the Deuteronomic editors of Joshua present it (chaps. 7-8).⁶ Ai was destroyed *ca.* 2200 B.C., and Bethel was founded one and one-half miles away to take its place. The latter was violently destroyed *ca.* 1250 B.C. (see below), at which time Ai was unoccupied. The verses in Judges 1 preserve, apparently, the original tradition regarding the capture of Bethel. The editor⁷ collecting these miscellaneous fragments in Judges 1 was faced, therefore, with the problem of what to do with the Bethel tradition. Working under the belief that all the fragments not previously accounted for in Joshua were later than Joshua, he might naturally assume that the Bethel tradition belonged to the House of Joseph, since the city lay in the territory of Ephraim. And that is the way he presents it.

The Judah section in the first twenty-one verses offers many more difficulties. Verses 5-7 describe the defeat and capture of a certain Adoni-bezek, apparently the king of Jerusalem (vs. 7), at a town named Bezek. The difficulties of this passage have long been evident. From no other source do we know of a town named Bezek in southern Palestine. More serious is the name of the king itself. The second element of such a name according to ancient nomenclature should be either the proper name of a god or an appellative of such a god; and *bezek* does not seem to meet these requirements. In addition, Adoni-bezek sounds very much like Adoni-zedek in Joshua 10. For these reasons it is commonly thought that the two were one and the same. If that is the case,

⁶ Albright, *BASOR*, No. 74 (April, 1939), pp. 15 ff.

⁷ The writer believes that he was a member of the D school, but we need not labor the point since it is not germane to the argument here.

then Joshua may preserve not only the original reading of the name but perhaps also a more reliable tradition regarding the incident itself. As recounted in Joshua, the event bears all the marks of verisimilitude, including the quotation from the Book of Jashar (vss. 12-13).⁸

Following the story about Adoni-bezek in Judges 1, there is the statement that Judah took Jerusalem and set it on fire. If this is true, it could have been only an isolated incident in the late thirteenth or twelfth century without permanent result, because verse 21 of the same chapter (from another source) says that the children of Benjamin did not expel the Jebusites in Jerusalem, since the Jebusites were still there when the verse was written ("unto this day"). It was David, of course, who finally brought Jerusalem under permanent Israelite control. It would be surprising, however, if some attempt to take Jerusalem had not been made during the early part of the period of the Judges. In any event, the incident is either unhistorical or took place sometime after Joshua. The latter, of course, was the editor's belief.

There then follow fragments which describe isolated conquests of Judah and the groups affiliated with it in the territory south of Jerusalem. Judah takes Hebron (vs. 10); the Kenizzite group captures Debir (vss. 11-15); the Kenites, Arad (vs. 16); and Judah-Simeon, Zephath-Hormah (vs. 17). Hebron and Debir are said to have been taken by Joshua in 10:36 ff. of that book. Is Joshua 10 wrong? Or was it necessary for these cities to be recaptured when the tribes began the settlement? In the whole of

⁸ It would scarcely seem necessary to be slavishly literal in the interpretation of this poetic fragment about the sun standing still (cf. Judg. 5:20, where we are told that even the stars fought against Sisera!). It is possible, however, that the compiler of Joshua 10 may have given a more literal interpretation than the original context in the Book of Jashar demanded.

Judges 1 these are the only items which face us directly with that question. The editor of the chapter assumed the second; most scholars today assume the first. We shall return again to this question below.

After the capture of Hormah, we are next told that Judah took Gaza, Ashkelon, Ekron, and the territory belonging to them (vs. 18).⁹ Yet the following verse says that Judah drove out the inhabitants of the hill country only. He was unable to drive out the inhabitants of the valley (meaning in this case, evidently, the plain along the coast) because they had chariots of iron. It is improbable that both of these verses could be true at the same time. According to Deuteronomic Joshua, the coastal plain was not taken by united Israel under Joshua's leadership (13:2-3; cf. 11:22, 10:40 ff.). Thus the statement in Judg. 1:18 that Judah took Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ekron may be unhistorical; or it may refer to a temporary Judean success after Joshua's death but before the Philistine invasion in the early eleventh century; or it may refer to a victory of David; or to Uzziah's conquest of the plain during the first half of the eighth century (II Chron. 26:6 ff.).

It is thus clear that Judges 1 presents many problems, because it is a collection of miscellaneous fragments of *varying dates and of varying reliability*.¹⁰ To represent it or even some part of it as the earliest and most reliable account of the conquest of Canaan is to oversimplify the whole problem. About all that one can lay his hands on in Judges 1 that appears to be in conflict with Joshua is the

general impression that the individual tribes are each involved in the conquest of their own territory and, more specifically, that Judah and the Kenizzites took Hebron and Debir, towns said to have been taken by Joshua (Josh. 10:36 ff.). It is obviously the view of the editor of Judges 1 that, while Joshua did make a sweeping conquest, the tribes had to make extensive and additional conquests as they settled down. It is the view of most scholars today, on the contrary, that most of the fragments which the editor presents are actually the primary data of the original conquest. The account of Joshua's work is considered largely unhistorical, and Judg. 1:1a with the words "And it came to pass after the death of Joshua" is deleted as the compiler's mistake.

Before we come to a decision on this question, it is necessary to bear in mind certain archeological and geographical facts.

III

In the first place, Joshua 10, it must be agreed, makes perfect sense geographically; and such archeological evidence as we have seems to give it considerable support.¹¹ When the view now commonly held of this chapter was formulated, there was considerable doubt about the location of the cities (with the exception of Hebron) which are said to have been taken by Joshua. George Adam Smith's *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (1st ed., 1915), reflecting as it did the state of topographical exploration at the end of the last century, does not enable one to make much sense out of the chapter because of the then current locations of Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, and Debir. Furthermore, virtually no

⁹ The introduction of the negative into this verse by the LXX was probably for harmonistic reasons.

¹⁰ It seems to me that such a statement regarding the nature of this chapter is far nearer the truth than the frequent assumption to the effect that, once occasional verses are deleted, there remains a fairly coherent extract from J.

¹¹ See *Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible* (1945), Pl. V, with accompanying text; cf. also Pl. IX.

relevant data from excavations were available.

Today, however, all four of these sites can be located with a high degree of probability.¹² The only city named in the chapter the location of which is still unknown is Makkedah.¹³ As a result of this situation, we can now say that if Joshua were to lead a campaign against the territory later occupied by Judah with the purpose of reducing its strongest fortress cities, this chapter describes precisely the way he ought to do it. The strength of this territory in Old Testament times always lay in the fortress cities of the Shephelah. When Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar besieged Judah, they first

¹² See Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Vol. II (1938), with references there cited. The location of Lachish at Tell ed-Duweir, first proposed by Albright (*ZA W*, XLVII [1929], 3, n. 2), is now virtually certain as a result of the excavations there. The name Eglon has survived in the Byzantine-Arab ruin of Khirbet 'Ajlân, of which the neighboring Tell el-Hesi is in all probability the ancient site. Albright's explorations and soundings in the neighborhood of Tell Beit Mirsim leave this site as the only probable one for Debir (Kirjath-sepher), in spite of the reservations of the Alt school. Noth's identification with Khirbet Tarrâmā (*Das Buch Josua* [1938], p. 63) cannot be considered, since the site has no trace of a pre-Hellenistic occupation (see also Elliger, *loc. cit.*, pp. 38 ff.). Libnah, it is generally agreed, must be located at Tell es-Şāfi, or at Tell Bornât, a short distance farther south. For our purposes here the most important point is that the north-south order of these towns in the Shephelah is now generally agreed upon.

¹³ According to Josh. 12:15-16 and 15:41, Makkedah was located in the northern part of the Shephelah. Josh. 10:10 and 28 indicate that it lay in the neighborhood of Azekah and Libnah. On the other hand, Eusebius appears to locate it eight miles east of Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin). If the site lay this far south, then Joshua 10 does not make geographical sense. Noth and Elliger (see n. 1), following Eusebius instead of Joshua, believe accordingly that Makkedah came into the story as a result of what they considered the etiological account of the five kings in the cave at the site. Further, they believe that later compilers introduced the town into Josh. 10:10 and 28 in order to make the chapter a unified account. Abel points out (*op. cit.*, p. 378), however, that in at least four other instances Eusebius used "east" when "north" is meant (Adolam, Bethsames, Morasthai, Robbo). It seems to me somewhat precarious for Noth and Elliger, therefore, to base their theory on two questionable assumptions (namely, that Eusebius is right as against Joshua, and that the Makkedah incident is pure etiology).

reduced these fortress cities, chief among which was Lachish,¹⁴ after which the hill country was comparatively easy to take.

Now, according to Joshua 10, five Canaanite kings became alarmed at the defection of Gibeon "because Gibeon was a great city, as one of the royal cities" (vs. 2). The coalition which attacked the town included the king of Jerusalem, who was its head and initiator, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, and the king of Eglon. (Note, incidentally, that the two kings of the hill country are mentioned first, then the three kings of the Shephelah in a north-south order.) Considering the importance of the city of Gezer, we should expect its king to appear in the coalition. Presumably, however, he was an isolationist, because he did not awake to the gravity of the situation until it was too late (vs. 33).

The Gibeonites, relying upon their covenant with Joshua, summoned the latter's aid (vs. 6). During the night he and his army ascended to the hill country from the camp at Gilgal in the Jordan Valley and surprised the coalition (vs. 9). The forces of the latter fell back by the only avenue of retreat (the Bethhoron Pass, otherwise called the Valley of Aijalon). The next verses (16-27) describe how the five kings, their armies in disorganized rout, hid themselves in a cave at Makkedah, only to be found and put to death by Joshua. After that the Israelites stormed and took Makkedah (vs. 28) and, going southward in the Shephelah, next took Libnah at the opening of the Vale of Elah. The city guarding the next important valley which led to the hill country was Lachish; so, as we should expect, it is next on the list. At this point the king of Gezer, finally becoming alarmed at the situation, appeared on

¹⁴ Cf. the writer's article in the *Biblical Archaeologist*, I, No. 4 (December, 1938), 21 ff.

the scene to assist Lachish (vs. 33), but he was defeated. This incident is often pointed to as one of the proofs that the whole account is unhistorical, because Gezer did not come into Israelite hands until the time of Solomon (cf. Josh. 16:10; I Kings 9:16).¹⁵ But such a claim is based upon poor exegesis. The editor does not say that Gezer itself was taken; he merely states that the forces which came to the aid of Lachish were annihilated.

With regard to Lachish, archeology offers some help. We know that this city suffered a violent destruction somewhere around 1230-1225 B.C.—a destruction which not only left considerable evidence on the top of the mound itself but also brought an end to the three-century-old Canaanite temple erected in the Hyksos fosse which surrounded the site.¹⁶ Of course, the evidence from the excavations tells us nothing about the identity of the force which destroyed the city, and insufficient work has been done to give us an idea of the type of settlement re-erected on the site. There is, however, a whole body of evidence both literary and archeological which would date the Exodus and main Israelite entry into Canaan in the thirteenth century.¹⁷ The very violence of the destruction of Lachish about the end of the third quarter of that century is, therefore, extremely suggestive (even though it does not constitute absolute proof) of the historicity of Josh. 10:32.

¹⁵ E.g., L. E. P. Erith in *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, ed. Gore, Goudge, and Guillaume (1936), p. 196; and Samuel Holmes in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (n.d.), p. 253.

¹⁶ Albright, *BASOR*, No. 58 (April, 1935), pp. 10 ff.; *ibid.*, No. 68 (December, 1937), pp. 22 ff.; Starkey, *Pal. Explor. Quart.*, 1937, pp. 237 ff.

¹⁷ For a brief survey of the evidence, see the writer in *Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible*, pp. 39-40; *Biblical Archaeologist*, III, No. 3 (September, 1940), 25 ff.; and *BASOR*, No. 86 (April, 1942), pp. 32 ff.; and the articles by Albright referred to in n. 11.

Israel then moved on from Lachish to Eglon, a site on the very edge of a group of foothills jutting out into the plain, and one which guards the next valley leading up to the hill country below Lachish. We know from the Petrie-Bliss excavations (1890-93) that the city was probably destroyed ca. 1200 B.C., but the results are so poorly published that we cannot be precise in the dating.¹⁸

With the main section of the Shephelah now in Israelite hands, Israel would be expected to ascend into the hill country via the pass leading up from Beit Jibrin. The next town in the list, therefore, was logically Hebron (vss. 36-37), a town which is not easily defended. After its capture, Joshua circled southwest and took the last remaining strong fortress, Debir (vss. 38-39). Albright's excavations at this site show a violent destruction at about the same period as the destruction of Lachish.¹⁹ Thus, of the six towns in Judah which Joshua is said to have destroyed, three are known from the excavations to have been burned, and two of these destructions (those of Lachish and Debir) can be dated to the end of the thirteenth century. In addition, the reoccupation of Debir was ob-

¹⁸ One phase of City IV at Tell el-Hesi was probably destroyed during the thirteenth century. Bliss found in this stratum a large palace (*Mound of Many Cities* [1894], pp. 71 ff.), similar in plan to Late Bronze Age structures at Sharuhin (Tell el-Far'ah; see Starkey and Harding, *Beth-pelet II* [1932], Pl. 69), and at Beth-shemesh (*Ain Shems Excavations*, Part V [1939], pp. 36-37). The pottery from City IV is chiefly Late Bronze in date, one piece at least definitely from the thirteenth century (Pl. V:188). Bliss believed that the mud-brick building found by Petrie also belonged to City IV (p. 74). It had been destroyed by fire, but the date of the destruction is uncertain. Two vessels which came from the ruins, while they may date from the thirteenth century, are more probably late twelfth or eleventh century (Petrie, *Tell el Hesi*, Pl. VIII: 128, 134). Since City V contains tenth- or ninth-century stables for horses, it is probable that City IV will be further divided in a future excavation into Late Bronze and Iron Age strata.

¹⁹ Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (1935), pp. 91 ff.; *AASOR*, XVII (1938), 78-79.

viously by a people who were virtually unfamiliar with Canaanite arts and crafts.²⁰ In fact, wherever archeologists have dug into known Israelite towns of about the twelfth century, the difference between them and the preceding Canaanite ruins is striking.²¹

Chapter 10 of Joshua thus makes sense, both geographically and archeologically. In view of the evidence it is difficult to assume that verses 28 ff. are an entirely original and unfounded creation of the compiler. There is also the persistent tradition in the Old Testament about Joshua as the great leader of the Conquest. On a priori grounds, therefore, sound method scarcely permits confidence in a solution to the problem of the Conquest which regards this chapter as unhistorical, on the ground that Judges 1 (miscellaneous, fragmentary, and full of problems as that chapter is) seems superficially opposed to it.

We should mention in this connection, however, the important studies of Joshua 10 by the German scholars, Elliger and Noth of the Alt school.²² First of all, they assume that the chapter is not a unit but that it consists of two (Noth) or three (Elliger) main sections. The strongest argument for this is verse 15 ("And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp at Gilgal"). These words occur at the conclusion of the battle against the five kings, while the subsequent verses say that Joshua and the camp were at Makkedah. This, however, is a very weak argument on which to base such far-reaching conclusions, because the verse in question does not appear in the original edition of the Septuagint.²³ It

has been argued that the Greek translator purposely omitted it in order to avoid the contradiction.²⁴ Yet the same words also appear in the Hebrew verse (vs. 43) which closes the chapter, and the Greek omits this also. In the words of S. Holmes: "No reason whatever can be alleged for the second omission of the words except the simple one that they were not in the text used by the translator. But if the clause is an insertion of the Hebrew reviser in v. 43 it is most probably his insertion in v. 15 also."²⁵

Yet Elliger and Noth, once having separated the Makkedah section from verses 1-14, which describe the defeat of the five kings, go on to maintain that verses 16-27 are purely etiological, invented to explain the cave at Makkedah, or rather the great stones at the mouth of the cave which are said to have been there "unto this very day" (vs. 27). Noth even continues the etiological motive through the campaign in Judah (vss. 28-39). Having eliminated verses 28 and 33 as glosses, he maintains that the five remaining cities (Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, Debir) were actually those of the five kings who hid in the cave.²⁶ To do this, of course, he must insist that the kings in the Makkedah cave were not the same as the coalition of five kings which attacked Gibeon (vs. 3). It seems to me that, learned though these articles are, their basic argument is so subjective and improbable that it must be rejected.

Still remaining, however, is the question: If Joshua once conquered the terri-

²⁴ So, e.g., Holzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 37. It is curious that Noth does not mention this in his commentary.

²⁵ S. Holmes, *Joshua: The Hebrew and Greek Texts* (1914), p. 4.

²⁶ The number "five" he derives etilogically from the five trees at Makkedah on which the kings were supposed to have been hung (vs. 26). In other words, the number of the kings was determined by the number of the trees, and the cities to which the kings belonged were simply chosen from among those in the neighborhood of Makkedah!

²⁰ Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, pp. 101 ff.

²¹ See the writer in *JBL*, LX (1940), 27 ff.

²² *Palästinajahrbook*, 1934, pp. 47 ff.; *ibid.*, 1937, pp. 22 ff. See also Noth's *Das Buch Josua* (1938).

²³ See Margolis, *The Book of Joshua in Greek*, Part II (1931), p. 181.

tory of Judah, why did it have to be reconquered by the various tribes who settled it? In order to gain perspective on this question, we must consider another group of archeological facts.

IV

Most of the towns of this period which have been excavated in Palestine were destroyed or partially destroyed at least once during the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. Debir had two phases of occupation in this age, the first coming to an end early in the twelfth century.²⁷ Eglon presents evidence of a destruction about the eleventh century.²⁸ Some sort of break in the occupation of Sharuhén, a Simeonite town, occurred during the twelfth century.²⁹ Beth-shemesh was destroyed ca. 1200 B.C. or shortly thereafter and was then laid waste at the end of the eleventh century.³⁰ North of Jerusalem among the new towns founded by Israel were Gibeah and Tell en-Naşbeh; the former suffered destruction ca. 1100 B.C.,³¹ and there appears to be evidence that the first phase of the occupation of the latter may have come to an end sometime in this general period. Bethel, after having been completely burned and leveled during the thirteenth century, had three phases of occupation during the late thirteenth, twelfth, and early eleventh centuries, at least two of which were burned.³² Shiloh was destroyed ca. 1050 B.C.³³ Beth-shan has two strata of ruins which belong to the period

of the Judges.³⁴ Megiddo suffered two destructions during the twelfth century, one of which was exceptionally violent.³⁵ Tell Abū Hawām, near Haifa, was destroyed ca. 1200 B.C. and again ca. 1100 B.C.³⁶

In other words, the period of the Judges was an exceedingly disturbed age. Every town containing excavated ruins of the time was destroyed at least once; yet so far none of the destructions can be correlated with one another. This suggests that the fighting which went on was largely local in nature—precisely the picture that the Book of Judges, including the present form of its first chapter, presents.

In view of this array of facts, it is scarcely surprising to be told in Judges 1 that, after the death of Joshua, Judah and its affiliates set out to seize control of the territory allotted to them in order that they might settle in it. Heretofore the question has been: If Joshua led in a successful conquest, why did the job have to be done over? The answer has been: Joshua really did not lead in much of the Conquest. But then the archeological facts present the question: If a tribe once conquered a city, why did it have to fight the battle again? For example, in the case of Bethel the major destruction and the violent dislocation of culture occurred during the middle of the thirteenth century. From the nature of the resettlement which followed, we are justified in assuming that this deed was done by the Hebrews. Yet within two centuries there were three additional disruptions in the occupation of the site, only the third of which can reasonably be blamed on the

²⁷ Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, pp. 101 ff.

²⁸ See above, n. 18.

²⁹ Starkey and Harding, *Beth-pelet II* (1932), pp. 38-39.

³⁰ The writer, *Ain Shems Excavations*, Part IV, pp. 11 ff.

³¹ Albright, *AASOR*, IV (1924), 7-8.

³² Albright, *BASOR*, No. 56 (December, 1934), pp. 9 ff.

³³ Kjaer, *Jour. Pal. Or. Soc.*, X (1930), 87 ff.

³⁴ For the revised chronology of that site, see Albright, *AASOR* XVII (1938), 76-77; and the writer in *Amer. Jour. Arch.*, XLV (1941), 483 ff.

³⁵ Albright, *BASOR*, No. 62 (April, 1936), pp. 27 ff.; *ibid.*, No. 68 (December, 1937), pp. 24 ff.; Engberg, *BASOR*, No. 78 (April, 1940), pp. 4 ff.

³⁶ Hamilton, *Quart. Dept. Antiq. in Pal.*, IV (1934), 1 ff.

Philistines. We cannot be sure of details, but we do know that the country was filled with local conflicts throughout the early period of the settlement.

The problem of the Conquest is not solved, therefore, by the mere denial of the historicity of Josh. 10:28 ff. on the ground of its assumed conflict with Judges 1. On the contrary, there is much to be said for the essential accuracy of the Deuteronomic tradition concerning the Conquest: namely, that there was a campaign by Joshua which achieved an amazing success in attacking certain key Canaanite royal cities but that there was also a long period of struggle for possession which continued after Joshua's death. This does not mean that we can solve the problem by resorting merely to a traditional and uncritical method of harmonization. There are still many problems on which we need more light. It seems obvious that the Deuteronomist,³⁷ relying on old tradition, was wrong

³⁷ In ascribing Deuteronomic work in the historical books to one author, instead of to a school of compilers, I follow Noth's excellent study, *Übertieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, Vol. I: *Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* ("Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse," 18. Jahr, Heft 2 [Halle, 1943]), pp. 3-110. A copy of this book recently came into the possession of Professor W. F. Albright, who has been kind enough to lend it to me. According to Noth's view, Deuteronomic work is not in the nature of a redaction any more than is that of the Chronicler. Instead it is a comprehensive history, drawing on traditional material from various sources and arranged according to an over-all plan. It seems

in ascribing the ruin of Ai to Joshua, when Bethel was almost certainly the town actually destroyed. It is also probable that this author, again relying on old tradition, was wrong in ascribing the capture of Jericho to Joshua. The probable fourteenth-century date for the final fall of Jericho and the lack of any tradition in Joshua regarding the conquest of the Shechem area of north-central Palestine (though that area played an important role even in the traditions about Joshua) indicate that there is something more to the story than is evident in the book (cf. 12:17, 18, 24). Yet, in spite of all this, it is safer to look upon Joshua 10 as one of the primary and important documents of the Conquest than to regard it as largely unhistorical. Its present form probably does not antedate the seventh century; but it is a consistent source which can hold its own. It is impossible to prove this conclusively; yet its acceptance involves fewer difficulties than the oversimplified interpretation which has heretofore been so current.

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to me that in the first twelve chapters of Joshua it is very difficult to segregate a J verse here and an E verse there (as is commonly done), since these chapters are predominantly a complete re-writing of old material on the part of the Deuteronomist. In Judges and Samuel, on the other hand, it is easier to discern large blocks from older sources which were virtually unedited.

PUBLICATION PROBLEMS OF THE ORIENTALIST*

T. GEORGE ALLEN

SCIENTIFIC endeavor starts with research, whether the exploration takes place in one's study or under foreign skies. This leads to discovery of new data, be they objects, facts, or relationships. To be fitted into our "frame of reference" such items must be classified and correlated with pertinent data already known. Then the net results—the additions to or revisions of the picture as previously envisaged—need to be formulated, and the new, improved interpretation needs to be set forth. Only as data, reasoning, and conclusions are put at the disposal of fellow-scientists can advances thus made be utilized to facilitate further progress. Hence publication is both the climax and the embodiment of each forward step.¹

Though the imperativeness of publication has long since been fully recognized, its problems are not equally well understood. These involve author, editor, and publisher. The problems are largely common to all scientific work; yet it may be worth while to investigate some of the manifestations in our own oriental field.

Since manuscripts have to be written before they can be published, let us start with the author. We should be able to depend on him for at least two fundamentals: exactness and clarity. Without dependable and clearly intelligible presentation of the subject matter itself, adventitious excellencies of style or outer form can merely lull the unwary to unjusti-

fied trust. As Professor Meek so well said in his presidential address at New York in 1943,² our scholarship must be "meticulously exact" and "more objective." He pointed out how errors get carried forward with astonishing ease in citations by successive writers and how "preconceived notions" as well as pressures from without can upset the judicious balancing of facts.

What are the elements involved in exactness? It means, of course, accuracy of statements and of references. If we find but two occurrences of some phenomenon, we can cite the two; but we cannot claim that the phenomenon is necessarily "frequent." We may let another author be judged by his own words directly quoted in their proper context; if instead we restate his attitude, we must be especially careful to keep his ideas undistorted. To avoid the carrying forward of errors, references must be taken from primary sources, not from secondary works; and, even in primary sources, it is safest to look critically upon derived data.³ Furthermore, references must be tied to the particular text item to which they apply.

Consistency too is part of exactness. A single sculptured head must not be numbered 46 on page 62 and 102a on page 66, be given different field numbers, and be in two museums at the same time.⁴ Again, if an illustration shows a long central room with one row of subsidiary rooms on either side, the corresponding text should

* Presidential address delivered before the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society at Chicago April 14, 1944.

¹ On the progress and the special values of research in one part of the oriental field, namely the Near East, see W. F. Albright in *JAOS* LVI (1936) 121-44.

² *JAOS* LXIII (1943) 83-93.

³ Cf. correction of Kappers' computation by Krogman in "OIP" XXX (1937) 227.

⁴ As in "OIP" XLIV (1939). See corrections in "OIP" LX (1943) 23.

not speak of "two rows . . . on either side."⁵ An excavator can insure internal consistency in his report by directly comparing his text with his illustrations and field records and by making for at least temporary use indexes of the field numbers, locus numbers, plot numbers, tablet numbers, etc. which he mentions. In such indexes a single item may show up with different numbers, or different items may show up with the same number. But, since errors in these or other types of reference numbers (including references to other publications⁶) do not necessarily produce visible discrepancies, numbers of all sorts require special vigilance on the author's part.

Besides self-consistency — harmony within the individual manuscript—a larger consistency calls for taking account of established facts. If an ancient document has been carefully collated and found to contain a perplexing reading,⁷ we are entitled to explain that reading but not to ignore it. Again, if a bead which looks like a Stratum VII type turns up in Stratum X and the condition of the soil makes "percolation" or other usual possibilities unlikely, all those facts deserve to appear in the discussion. For, if supposedly inconsistent items are omitted, someone else may thereby be prevented later from tracing the correct relationships. Thus objectivity itself proves to be a feature of exactness.

Basic for exactness is unambiguous terminology. As stated in a paper now in preparation by Mr. Delougaz, every scientific term should be (1) specific and (2) distinctive. That is, different terms should

stand for different entities, distinguished either by nature or by definition. This principle, however acceptable in theory, has been much violated in practice. Sometimes by a mistaken application of literary feeling a series of diverse terms is used to represent what is scientifically one. Again, different authors choose different words to express a single phenomenon, often without indicating the equivalences concerned. In many cases, too, words are used not in their standard dictionary meanings but in modified senses which may lack clarity to the reader. Such uses may be highly desirable to shorten and simplify the wording of a manuscript. In that event, however, the author would do well to preface his chapters with a short glossary explaining such of his terms as are abnormal or are used in highly specific or otherwise unusual senses.⁸

To attain some uniformity in archeological practice and terminology a conference of excavators working in Iraq was held at Baghdad in 1930. It recommended certain methods and approved and defined certain terms applicable to pottery.⁹ In 1943 we heard that "Professor Glueck and Mr. Harry Iliffe are circulating a letter on 'Field Archaeology after the War' to stimulate a movement to have adopted an international uniform archaeological code."¹⁰ This letter led to an "informal archaeological conference," held in Jerusalem that July, where the agenda again included nomenclature.¹¹ By such steps in various fields the problem of terminology will gradually be simplified.

A special application of the principle of

⁵ As in "OIP" LVIII (1942) 308.

⁶ E.g. 38 for 88 in "OIP" XX (1933) 61, n. 55. The various regrettable examples so far cited have slipped into Oriental Institute volumes. Such errors appear, however, elsewhere also.

⁷ E.g. Habigalbat for Hanigalbat in "SAOC" No. 22 (1944).

⁸ As e.g. in "OIP" XXVIII-XXX (1930-32) and XXXIII (1938).

⁹ *BASOR* No. 38 (1930) p. 8; *Syria* XI (1930) 307 f.; *AOF* VI (1931) 249 f.; VII (1932) 303 f.

¹⁰ O. R. Sellers in *JAOS* LXIII 249.

¹¹ *BASOR* No. 91 (1943) pp. 2 and 6. This article, referred to again in n. 49, was called to my attention by Dr. J. A. Wilson.

unambiguous terminology must be made to transliteration. In philological works in particular transliteration of nonroman scripts serves many ends. It lessens the cost of composition, it facilitates comparison of variant spellings and tabulation of paradigms, and it simplifies discussions. Of course the problem differs according to the type of script concerned and also according to the purpose to be fulfilled. Thus, whether a script be alphabetic or syllabic, only words as wholes may interest us; on the other hand, the exact spelling, character by character, may be important. Possible complications in the latter case are perhaps most extensive in Chinese.¹²

A transliteration system which is to represent exact spellings must make specific and distinctive provision for all features of the script and language concerned. This can be done in many ways. But systems tend to differ both in symbolism and in completeness, for details are often ignored.¹³ Among scripts of the Near East are Egyptian hieroglyphic and its cursive derivatives, hieratic and demotic, also hieroglyphic Hittite.¹⁴ But two scripts in particular, ancient cuneiform and modern Arabic, merit special mention because of the widespread use of each for writing several languages.

Cuneiform writing is comparatively well provided for by Thureau-Dangin's system of numbering the various homophones.¹⁵ The typographic treatment of

ideograms, determinatives, and phonetic complements can be and is varied in practice without loss of clearness.¹⁶

Arabic transliteration is a thorny topic, complicated largely by the fact that it must serve diverse classes of readers and diverse functions.¹⁷ Among its functions we must reckon the rendering of Arabic, Persian, and other proper names, both geographic and personal, by Near Eastern archeologists as well as philologists. The place-name forms chosen by excavators are often inadequate pictures of the originals. This situation may result from gaps in linguistic background, differences of opinion among the natives themselves, or other causes. Rare indeed and inappropriate is such intentional variation from the correct form as Speiser has popularized in the name Tell Billa. Billa first appeared in the form Billah (with final *h*).¹⁸ Later Speiser omitted the *h*. In 1937 he explained: "I take this opportunity to object once again to the semitization of the name into *Billah*. As a matter of fact the correct form of the name is *Billi*, which occurs not infrequently in Kurdish. My preference for *Billa* was prompted by a feeling that the correct form might appear flippant in an English context."¹⁹

Whatever the language, for purely archeological purposes some writers get their geographic name spellings from current maps or from previous publications, or they render local pronunciations as heard (accurately or otherwise). If for convenience such procedures are adopted, more than one source will normally have to be utilized. One's name forms as a group then tend to become a hodgepodge.

¹² On the range of possible methods of cuneiform transliteration, with notes on means of indicating many explanatory details that are commonly ignored, see A. Walther, "Die Umschrift der Keilschriftzeichen," *ZA* XXIX (1914) 142-57.

¹³ See Brux *op. cit.* pp. 1-5.

¹⁴ Speiser in *AASOR* IX (1929) 22.

¹⁵ Speiser in *BASOR* No. 68 (1937) p. 10.

¹² See John De Francis in *JAOS* LXIII 225-40.

¹³ Cf. A. A. Brux, "Arabic-English transliteration for library purposes," *AJSL* XLVII, Oct. 1930, part 2, p. 2 and table at end.

¹⁴ This designation is adopted because conventionally accepted (cf. bibliography in "SAOC" No. 21 [1942]) even though not literally accurate.

¹⁵ F. Thureau-Dangin, *Le syllabaire accadien* (Paris, 1926) and *Les homophones sumériens* (Paris, 1929). Further progress was about to be made through an international committee, with Thureau-Dangin at its head, appointed by the Congress of Orientalists held at Rome in 1935; but war intervened.

for rarely indeed do different sources agree fully in their usages. Simplification might more logically be attained by transliterating names uniformly but omitting in the text the diacritical marks. In any event philologists and other scholars deserve to have exact transliterations provided in the index or elsewhere, for what the natives actually write must be taken as the true names.

In this connection we must distinguish between *transliteration* of written *spellings* and *transcription* of spoken *sounds*. Transcription, with its own elaborate symbolism, is required for dialectal or other studies involving speech; in other cases transliteration ordinarily gives the more suitable spelling. Certain modified name forms have become standard in English and appear in our gazetteers.²⁰ Apart from them it is really no more appropriate to spell Arabic names, for example, with ambiguous but supposedly phonetic *e*'s and *o*'s than it would be to spell Chihuahua as Cheewahwah or Chicago as Shecawgo.

Grammar as well as vocabulary and spelling has a bearing on exactness. A dangling participle may not disguise one's meaning, even though it does reveal sloppy thinking. But irregularities of other sorts, including loose word order, may throw a statement out of focus and leave its meaning questionable.

The goal just set before the author is exactness, to be exemplified by factual accuracy, consistency, objectivity, unambiguous terminology, and good grammar. The second great goal for the author is clarity. His grammar will of course affect the clearness as well as the exactness of his statements. But clarity has a broader application. As a manuscript grows, one frequently finds rearrangement desirable.

²⁰ E.g. Cairo for al-Qāhiraḥ, Aleppo for Ḥalab; cf. Turin for Torino, Brunswick for Braunschweig, etc.

With this should go careful tailoring of shifted parts to fit them into their new surroundings. The final plan is worth careful thought. Not only should a monograph "be divided into chapters, each with a carefully worded heading,"²¹ but the chapters themselves should be analyzed and should be so arranged that their parts as well as their wholes are in logical order. The appropriate heads and subheads can then be inserted in the text if desired and also be combined into a table of contents by which the validity of the layout can be tested. Such procedure should prove worth while for journal articles as well as books.

Logical arrangement of the subject matter is, then, necessary for clarity. But clarity is likewise affected by typographic features. Concerned are not only use of heads and subheads, along with choice of type sizes, faces, and layout, but also the treatment of punctuation, abbreviations, references, and illustrations. In at least these last-named matters the author's co-operation with his editor or publisher is needed, for in them clarity can be reached by many roads.

Punctuation as usually standardized²² involves, for example, more commas than are required for clarity, and these in turn call for other elaborations. Simplification of punctuation is provided for in Oriental Institute,²³ American Oriental Society,²⁴ and other instructions prepared for authors. Since the simplifications are developed along different lines, the author should keep in mind in this as in the other features just named the practices of the organization for which he is writing.

²¹ JAOS LXI (1941) 310.

²² E.g. in the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style*, 10th ed. (1937).

²³ The Oriental Institute, *Editorial Policy and Practices*, May 17, 1937 (mimeographed), p. 10.

²⁴ JAOS LXI (1941) 306-10 and LXII (1942) 85.

Abbreviations for titles of outstanding publications in the oriental field are fairly well standardized; but every new work tends to involve copious references to some less used titles, and even for some of the best known more than one abbreviation is in use.²⁵ Hence clarity requires for each new volume an alphabetic list of the abbreviations it employs for book and periodical titles. Whether such titles and abbreviations should be left in roman or printed in italic depends on the point of view. Use of all-roman type is considered by many to give the best appearance, but italics make references stand out more distinctly. The reader's convenience may be served if the expansions of the abbreviations give the author and title entry in standard library catalogue arrangement and note the series (if any) to which each volume belongs. In technical studies abbreviations for recurring technical or other terms also may be permissible and useful. These can be grouped in a second list.

Style of references is perhaps of all typographic features the most likely to be distinctive. Here type face, punctuation, and extent and order of data are all subject to variation; the choices depend on the editor or publisher concerned.

In deciding whether a work needs illustrations, the author should think first whether words alone can make his meaning unmistakable. For describing the concrete—architecture, works of art, pottery, or what not—words alone are definitely inadequate. What a difference we are certain to find, for example, between the impression gained from a verbal account of a group of objects and that derived from pictures. On the other hand, if main types are illustrated, relatively few words may perhaps suffice instead of pictures to cover the variants. Whatever illustrations are

used should if possible be made from original photographs, original drawings, etc., not reproductions, for each copying involves some loss of detail. To bring out interrelationships graphs, diagrams, or maps may contribute not only greater clarity but also brevity.

The usefulness of illustrations depends on their nature, their size, their position, and the method of their reproduction. All these aspects may profitably be discussed with editor or publisher even before the originals of the illustrations are prepared, for they are intimately interconnected. Some varieties of originals—paintings, wash drawings, etc.—may appeal to the author but prove both difficult and inordinately expensive to reproduce adequately. If more than one printing method or more than one kind of paper stock is made necessary, the layout of the publication is definitely affected. In turn the resulting arrangement of the illustrations in series of figures, plates, etc. determines the numerical designations which will represent them throughout the text.

As mentioned above, different organizations have different style practices. An author would find it very helpful to both himself and his editor or publisher if he would first familiarize himself with the details of the latter's style, then bear them in mind in his writing. This principle applies not only to the features just discussed—punctuation, abbreviations, references, and illustrations—but even to spelling. The University of Chicago Press, for example, accepts in general the preferences of Webster's *New International Dictionary*, yet gives in its *Manual of Style* quite a few words in which its own preferences, based largely on those of its authors, are to govern. The *Manual* thus illustrates the interaction that goes on between author and publisher. Preferences, however, whosever they are, cannot bol-

²⁵ E.g. *Afo* and *AOF*, *ÄZ* and *ZAS*.

ster spellings which utterly lack acceptance or even etymological justification. Thus we can only assume a slip on the part of all concerned when such a spelling as "Ptolomaeic" turns up.²⁶

Even the most detailed style books cannot cover all contingencies. Hence the author will need to note down his own solutions of special problems, along with proposals for changes in treatment elsewhere which may seem to him beneficial. By such collaboration in determining the simplest and clearest forms of presentation an author can benefit not only his own work but later works by others. If no formal statement is provided him, then the author's notes will expand into a little manual of his own, which should be checked with editor or publisher, be revised if necessary for practicability, and after agreement be carefully followed for the sake of consistency in the final typing of the manuscript. Thus typographic treatment unites with logical arrangement to make for clarity.

Besides exactness and clarity there is a third goal, conciseness. Both clarity and conciseness are attainable by foregoing cumbrous, ill-arranged, or overelaborate forms of expression in favor of simple, logical ones. Tabulation of masses of data to replace long strings of sentences is often feasible. As noted already, proper proportioning of text and figures (including graphs, diagrams, and maps) may likewise serve both purposes. Conciseness means also avoidance of repetitiousness in both text and illustrations. In its various manifestations conciseness may well add to the reader's pleasure without lessening his profit. Indeed, it might even be considered that the author's ultimate objective should be to make his position fully clear and convincing to his readers

with the least corresponding expenditure of time and effort on their part.

The requirements of exactness, clarity, and conciseness have been illustrated in some detail. If the author were always alert to observe them and to co-operate with his publisher, then an editor would be useful merely for copyreading to check consistency in typographic style. However, editing in a somewhat broader sense "implies a careful and critical literary survey."²⁷ For the author himself objectively to survey and subsequently to revise his brain child may seem a natural, reasonable, and automatic activity on his part. But in actual manuscripts, however useful and desirable they may be in some ways, such activity is often not in evidence or at least has not been carried far enough. For manuscripts do turn up with ambiguities, with inconsistencies in facts as well as in typographic style, with poor grammar, with poor arrangement, with poorly chosen titles, with inaccurate references, without lists of abbreviations, without lists of illustrations, or even without tables of contents. The worst of it is that various of these drawbacks survive in some books as actually printed.

Use of volumes of that sort, more or less unedited, gives one faith to believe that editors do not live in vain. But a real editor must go far beyond a "literary survey." His first prerogative should be to decide whether, in spite of present drawbacks, a manuscript is valuable enough to justify printing after suitable revision. If so, his acceptance should still be only tentative, subject to later examination of the revised form.

To aid the author in his work of revision the editor can provide a sort of prepublication review pointing out adjustments needed. The editor need not, in

²⁶ *JAOS* LXIII 279 and *passim*. This is of a piece with "Neville" twice for "Naville" *ibid.* p. 281.

²⁷ University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style*, 10th ed., pp. 178 f.

fact cannot, be completely expert in the subject matter of each manuscript that he handles. But he should be able to spot existing ambiguities, inconsistencies, and illogical sequences; and he should be familiar enough with the field to realize where deeper difficulties may lie hidden and be able to ask pertinent questions about possible omissions or misstatements. The author in turn should accept such preliminary criticism in the same friendly spirit in which it is given, for it is not personal but is intended to help him save himself from subjection to similar remarks in print after his book is out. To give the editor (and also colleagues; cf. p. 126) ample room for presenting comments and suggestions clearly, a manuscript needs broad margins all around and double spacing throughout, including even the footnotes, as so wisely required in the American Oriental Society rules.²⁸

Finding the word that is exactly right in both meaning and connotation is frequently a real problem. Help in choice and also arrangement of words is needed most of all by those authors who write in a language which is not their native tongue. Thus "extension" may have been used for "extent," "plaster" for "pavement," "clothes pins" for "garment pins."²⁹ The editor, in proportion to the suitability of his own linguistic equipment, will recognize and rectify such slips.

Establishment of suitable forms of presentation for complicated masses or unusual types of material is another job for the editor. The principle of suiting layout to content calls for pioneering when occasion arises and for progressive improvement. Sprengling and Graham's publication of Barhebraeus' scholia on Genesis-II Samuel³⁰ and Jacobsen's *Sumerian*

*King List*³¹ are two of many volumes put out by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago which offer examples of layouts adapted to special problems.

The last stages in which an editor can help an author are proofreading and indexing. Proof offers a fresh view of the material, a changed form from which errors or inconsistencies that have grown familiar and so escaped notice before may jump out at one. So proofs should be read not only in detail but for content; and the more numerous the eyes that examine them, the better. In tables especially, slight variations in layout or changes or additions in headings may show themselves desirable.

As to indexes, the author will have ideas about points that need to be brought out; but his very familiarity with his material may make him overlook some features important to prospective readers. Here the editor's relative detachment can be of use. He can contribute ideas on the kinds of indexes needed and on their form and style. The editorial office may, indeed, actually make the indexes, as is commonly done at the Oriental Institute. Wherever they are made, they should embody the best ideas of both author and editor.

The editor's usefulness in connection with an accepted manuscript can, then, extend from prepublication review, with general suggestions for improvements, to help on wording, planning of layout for presentation in print, and finally collaboration in proofreading and in indexing. But an editor's responsibilities may involve him even more deeply in the production of the finished book. In the Oriental Institute, for example, publication is often merely the last stage in, or is otherwise closely related to, the accomplishment of some project which the Institute

²⁸ JAOS LXI 306.

²⁹ Examples of cases encountered by the writer.

³⁰ "OIP" XIII (1931).

³¹ "AS" No. 11 (1939).

has officially undertaken. In such a case the quality of what is published reflects upon the organization itself no less than upon the individual author. If the latter's manuscript is and remains somehow inadequate, the Institute for the sake of its own reputation will do its best to make good the lack before printing. This effort will be made by or through the editor, with the co-operation of other members of the Institute (see p. 126). However, this particular editorial activity is not to be considered normal. The author should revise his manuscript as often as its state requires, until he has used his own abilities to the limit, rather than expect the editor to take it over at an earlier stage and do the needed investigating and re-writing.

The editorial activities just described apply particularly to books. For journal articles they would be analogous but somewhat simpler. For example, indexing would rarely be involved. Again, a journal editor might be in better position to make his authors stand always on their own feet. He has as much right as does a book editor to expect exactness, clarity, and conciseness in the manuscripts submitted to him; and the more strongly he insists on those qualities, the greater will be the prestige of his journal.

There are two sides to an editor's career. He not only gives but gets. From the publisher he acquires better understanding of printing and other book-making processes and of how to choose among them to meet his specific needs. From authors he receives sometimes blame but often gratitude, along with enlargements of his background and his vocabulary. Such additions are not all technical terms. Would one, for example, without an author's help realize that the Latin verb *subauditur* is also an English noun perfectly at home in Webster?

The publisher's part has already entered in some detail into our discussion of clarity (pp. 118-20). We need his collaboration in matters of typographic style, layout, and illustration. Furthermore, the physical appearance of our finished product, the printed volume, is wholly dependent on the extent and quality of his equipment and on the technical ability of his staff.

The ideal of meticulously accurate factual content presented in clear, logical, simple, and concise form adjusts itself surprisingly well not only to the normal external limitations of author and publisher but to the wartime restrictions of today. Even in normal times funds and facilities are not limitless; and now we have the added problem of a paper shortage. To save funds and paper requires saving of time and space. Exactness and clarity require no more space than do error and ambiguity; and conciseness will both save paper space and lessen the printer's composition time. Co-operation in planning typographic style (see pp. 119 f.) is also likely to save time, for, whereas conventions originally used or contemplated by the author are liable to require some admixture of relatively slow hand-setting, by consultation conventions suitable for machine-setting can usually be found. Another time saving can come from clear marginal marking and explanation in the manuscript of any unusual characters or usages, so that no time will be lost by the printer in resetting misunderstood passages. These savings which the author can effect are desirable at any time. Just now, in addition, much paper must be saved by adopting measures not in accord with our standards or traditions. Page size can be changed from that of previous volumes in a series so as to lessen waste in trimming; the type page can be increased to cover a greater percentage of

the paper page; smaller type and thinner paper can be used; the preliminaries can be combined into fewer pages. In these various ways our limitations, normal or temporary, can be overcome.

We have so far seen that publication is necessary, that the problems within manuscripts involve author, editor, and publisher, and that for best results the collaboration of all three is needed. We have also noted external problems in the way of limited funds, facilities, and paper. Though all these problems affect scientific publication in general, they have been treated with particular reference to and illustrated by examples from the oriental field. Certain special features of oriental studies in particular now deserve mention.

Dr. John A. Wilson, director of the Oriental Institute, has recently dwelt on the interrelationships within cultures and the need for opening wider windows on our world by studying any given culture as a unit, not compartment by compartment.³² Under his leadership the University of Chicago is planning specialized study of regions as such, integrating and supplementing the disciplines which have been traditionally emphasized.³³ When this plan has been worked out and put into effect, educational effort at Chicago will have been organized with reference to both the *x* and the *y* axis.

For us orientalist such regional organization is automatically involved, since the term "Orient" is definitely a regional designation, though it covers not one but many cultures. Each of these in turn needs to be considered not from a few but from all available angles, for interrelationships are likely to bob up anywhere, both between disciplines and between cultures.

³² *University of Chicago Magazine*, Oct. 1943, pp. 8-10 and 14.

³³ See *University of Chicago Alumni Bulletin* of Nov. 1, 1943.

This situation is good for us; it keeps expanding our vision and makes our minds nimble. It should also keep us humble, for the implications of our researches tend regularly to extend beyond our individual competences; their scope widens like ripples spreading on a pond.³⁴

To illustrate the breadth of oriental studies even when limited to the Near East, it is interesting to note the range of the 132 volumes sponsored by the Oriental Institute down to the end of 1943. These carry us in time from before the advent of geologic man down to the present, in place from Anatolia via Syria and Palestine to Egypt and to Iraq and Iran. Their subjects ramify not only through the humanities and the social sciences but into the physical and even the biological sciences, for they include anthropology and zoölogy, archeology and technology, art and surgery, geology and religion, history and philology. They deal with explorations and excavations; they reproduce records, both written and pictorial, as well as other objects; they translate; they correlate; they interpret.

In 1922 Dr. James Henry Breasted, the founder of the Oriental Institute, had visualized its incipient activities as twofold, to be carried on by (1) "a group of local expeditions working at strategic points among the remains of all the leading civilizations of the Near East" and (2) "a home staff . . . [to] receive, classify, correlate, study, and publish the facts and sources discovered in the field."³⁵ After man's beginnings, his rise to civilization in the East, and the penetration of that civilization (including religions developed in Asia) into Europe had thus been traced, the Institute was "to produce a work on 'The Origins and Early

³⁴ Cf. a different presentation of the same fact by H. H. von der Osten in "OIC" No. 8 (1930) p. 3.

³⁵ "OIC" No. 1 (1922; preprinted from *AJSL* XXXVIII) p. 43.

History of Civilization,' which shall give the first adequate account of human beginnings and the early career of man."³⁶

Dr. Breasted had, then, contemplated synthesizing results of all sorts into a historical narrative. In this process identification and interpretation of hitherto unknown languages, such as Hurrian and hieroglyphic Hittite were until rather recently, are among the incidental steps. Yet they must be taken, for without them many facts we might otherwise utilize will remain hidden.

Historical research depends likewise on chronology, since without time correlation the interrelationships of events are inevitably distorted. Chronology itself requires many approaches. For prehistoric stages stratification—geological, then archeological—is usable. With the appearance of written records direct correlations may be found in lists of *limmu*'s, year names, kings' reigns, etc., to which dated documents can be referred. But even lists that seem analogous can be prepared on different bases. Thus Professor Kennedy of Yale has called attention to discrepancies in modern lists owing to diverse treatments of overlapping dynasties in China (especially those of foreign origin) and of accession years.³⁷ Moreover, to fit such lists into the Christian era or to determine the periods to which undated documents or structures belong, more devious ways must be taken. The very language in which an inscription is composed, the stage of development of the language, the vocabulary used, the style of the writing, the persons, places, and events mentioned, genealogical sequences, types of names—all these may help to re-

duce temporal uncertainties. If events mentioned happen to be eclipses or seasonal activities, then astronomical calculations can further limit the possibilities. Astronomy may likewise contribute to the dating of such buildings as temples in cases where definite principles of orientation can be demonstrated.

Lest the abundance of Near Eastern publications of both source materials and studies put out through the Oriental Institute and many other channels since 1922 be taken to mean that the then proposed culminating work on "The Origins . . ." is just around the corner, omissions as well as commissions must be considered. In the first place, for various reasons applicable to scholarly undertakings in general—lack of time, money, application, etc.³⁸—some whole projects once announced by the Institute have met indefinite postponement, among them publication of the animal fables commonly summed up under the title "Kalilah and Dimnah" and of certain bodies of Egyptian and cuneiform texts. In the second place, other projects, such as the translation series of "Ancient Records" and the publication of Barhebraeus' scholia on the Old Testament, have been well begun but are not being currently continued. In the third place, various Institute expeditions, groups, and individuals are carrying on programs that have not yet reached the publication stage. In the fourth place, there are omissions that concern not projects in general but only individual volumes. Among such matters are exact determinations of stones, metals, etc., comparative studies of art motives as applied to diverse categories of objects, and supplementary data known to be relevant to our own but to which some other scientist has a prior publication right.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ George A. Kennedy, "Dating of Chinese dynasties and reigns," *JAOS* LXI 285 f. On similar problems in Babylonia cf. R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.—A.D. 45* ("SAOC" No. 24 [1942]), esp. p. 17.

³⁸ Well stated by Meek in *JAOS* LXIII.

The foregoing samples of the done and the undone and of approaches to further doing have been drawn from only one section of that Orient which our Society claims as its field. How much more extensive, then, is the full sweep of our undertaking! And not only for the past but for the present and the future is it important that we see the parts of our field within the perspective of the whole.

The far-off Orient is vast, and so are its complexities. Hence we Western orientalists are comparatively few and tend to specialize within relatively tiny niches. With our scanty number thus further divided, the demand for individual technical volumes is decidedly limited. Therefore publication, like the field work or research that precedes it, must be financed on the basis of service rather than returns. In a business sense the cost of a volume would include the expenses for preparation and editing of its manuscript as well as for its manufacture and distribution. In the Oriental Institute at least it is customary to leave the preparation and editing angle out of account. But even manufacture and distribution expenses can rarely be recovered, for the editions needed are so small that retail prices high enough to cover both those items tend to prevent the very sales on which we count. Dr. Breasted's original theory that a "revolving fund" could be set up to pay for future Oriental Institute publications out of the returns from past ones³⁹ early proved untenable. Even distribution expenses must often drop out of the picture, and cost of manufacture alone cannot always be taken fully into account.⁴⁰

In such a situation publication must be subsidized; but the extent of the subsidy may differ both as between volumes and as between readers. In the latter

respect it will depend on pricing policy and on extent of free distribution. Should the wind be tempered to the shorn lamb by copious distribution of free copies, while prices to the financially able are held high? Or should the subsidizing be on an equitable basis as between readers, with free copies for only those who earn them and with prices set low enough to win customers for the whole edition within a reasonable number of years? Or, instead of meeting standardized treatment, should each book be priced on an individual basis? Whatever pricing policy is followed, carrying it into practice has its own difficulties.

In view of the regional basis of our field as a whole, with its comprehensive range of interests, and our individual limitations which make subsidies necessary, it is clear that we orientalists are quite dependent on one another for the mutual widening of horizons.

As far as theory is concerned, our interdependence finds ample expression. The American Oriental Society and analogous organizations exist at home and abroad. Exchanges of periodicals keep us in touch with the work of other groups, and foreign scholars are met in person at intermittent International Congresses of Orientalists. In this country our Society broadens its scientific contacts by participating in the American Council of Learned Societies, which in turn co-operates with the government's National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel.

In practice, however, our relationships are not with societies, which are merely artificial personalities, but with individuals. Co-operation with one's fellows can come to fruition in various forms. Joint authors may work on the same treatise or report, each one handling primarily the phase or phases with which he is most familiar but consulting with and in turn

³⁹ Cf. Breasted, *The Oriental Institute* (1933) p. 107.

⁴⁰ Cf. *ibid.* pp. 434 f.

making suggestions to his associates.⁴¹ A single author may circulate his manuscript among his colleagues for comment before considering it finished.⁴² An author whose materials include some that fall outside his own province may seek as collaborators scholars trained in the specialties involved.⁴³ Where publication rights to a homogeneous mass of material are in scattered hands, it may be possible to centralize them by the giving of suitable acknowledgments;⁴⁴ or the various parties may unite in a joint publication.⁴⁵

Dr. Breasted had in mind the benefits of working together when he founded the Oriental Institute, for he visualized it as a "laboratory" and practiced "co-operation with other institutions" from the start.⁴⁶ Within the Institute itself co-operation is possible among faculty members, expedition staffs, associates abroad, library and museum staffs, and editorial office. Their books⁴⁷ and even their journal articles show that the members of the Institute are in general increasingly conscious of the value and the power of coordinated effort.

For American Oriental Society members its *Journal* occasionally carries notes on the doings of other societies and on special needs of its own members.⁴⁸ This latter use might well be extended and made a regular feature. Inquiries printed

in the *Journal* can lead us directly or indirectly to others interested in our own particular problems, controlling materials bearing on them, or capable of filling publication gaps resulting from our personal limitations. By such use of its *Journal* the Society would constantly be bringing interested parties together on the truly American basis of voluntary collaboration.⁴⁹

Even with all possible co-operation among scholars, even after obvious gaps have been worked on, after possible false trails have been recognized and abandoned, and after some work such as the "Origins and Early History of Civilization" proposed by Dr. Breasted has been written and printed, the need for oriental studies in even the Oriental Institute's limited field of the Near East will continue. Within that field, just as in the unlimited realm of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, new studies will be required to fill in further details or to take account of new problems raised by new discoveries; and these will lead to successive rewritings and ever new editions. Only by such progression can the current attainments of this or any other segment of our studies be kept available in print.

The general public is little interested in our elaborate investigations of specific details, necessary though they are for progress. But it does care to know what the whole thing is about. We ourselves need individual breadth of vision in order to fit our piecemeal results into the larger picture. Only as our own vision broadens do we become capable of meeting Profes-

⁴¹ E.g. "OIP" LVIII (1942).

⁴² E.g. "SAOC" No. 22 (1944). The writer's present manuscript has had the benefit of examination by his fellow-editors Dr. John A. Wilson, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Hauser, and Dr. George G. Cameron.

⁴³ E.g. "OIP" XXX (1937).

⁴⁴ E.g. the Egyptian Coffin Texts, publication of which began with "OIP" XXXIV (1935) and XLIX (1938).

⁴⁵ E.g. "OIP" LVII (1943).

⁴⁶ "OIC" No. 1, pp. 1 and 89-94.

⁴⁷ Cf. examples cited above.

⁴⁸ E.g. Neugebauer's request in *JAOS* LXI 310 for news of unpublished Babylonian mathematical and astronomical texts. For similar practice elsewhere cf. *BASOR* No. 91 (1943) p. 47.

⁴⁹ On the archeological side a much more elaborate program has recently been proposed. It would have the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, organized under the League of Nations, add to its Department of Art and Archaeology an international Service of Documentation and Information dealing with excavation problems, personnel, discoveries, and records. This and other archeological matters were discussed informally at Jerusalem in July, 1943; see *BASOR* No. 91, pp. 2-7.

sor Meek's challenge to make our field "better known to the people at large."

The problems of publication have been considered from the viewpoints of author, editor, and publisher. Individual internal limitations play a part in making necessary the collaboration of all three parties if a printed volume is truly to exemplify the exactness, clarity, and conciseness which should be its author's goal. External limitations affect form rather than substance.

Oriental studies involve not only general problems but some features of their own. They deal with a region, not a discipline. That region is subject to the whole gamut of human experience; and its distance, vastness, and complexity all operate to reduce the number of orientalists, to limit their spheres of activity, and to make the subsidizing of their work necessary.

Under the circumstances, general and special, just summarized, it appears that oriental studies require of their devotees constant co-operation, continuous integration of new discoveries with the old, and broad vision that can be communicated to wider circles. We orientalists need to work with one another in finding truth,

with editor and publisher in disseminating it to the public. We ought also to keep up to date in print the records of our achievements and to give them adequate backgrounds so that no reader of even the most specialized volume need feel cut off from the world he knows.

Besides exactness, clarity, and conciseness our publications should, then, be distinguished by timeliness and perspective. If in addition we happen to be gifted with the power to inspire sympathetic understanding, some of our manuscripts may turn into "best sellers" and lessen the need for subsidies. Broader appeal, whether attributable to more attractive presentation, better perspective, or a larger subject unit, means in any case a larger demand. With larger demand, larger editions can be printed. Their lower unit cost will permit a lower price, yet one based on more nearly normal business principles. This in itself should further expand distribution and thus interest still wider circles. So books that are not only scientific but well integrated and written with enthusiasm will do the greatest honor both to ourselves and to the field of oriental studies.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SUMERIAN MYTHOLOGY: A REVIEW ARTICLE¹

THORKILD JACOBSEN

THE study of ancient Mesopotamian civilization may be said to have reached the threshold of a new epoch. For only now does the vast and profoundly important early Sumerian literature begin to be accessible in a real sense. It is not that the task of publishing the thousands of fragments of clay tablets upon which this literature was inscribed has only now begun. Rather the major part, and in many respects the heavier end, of that task was accomplished in long years of valiant work by many devoted scholars. If any single name should be mentioned, it would perhaps be that of Edward Chiera, whose contribution—judged on the double standard of quality and quantity combined—is outstanding.² Chiera also accomplished the first and most difficult part of the task of distinguishing the various compositions involved and of assigning the relevant fragments to them so that now, when the style and subject matter of the major literary compositions are known, the placing of new fragments—even small ones—has become incomparably easier.³

With all this work done, however, the compositions remained fragmentary. For most of them the statement was true—

¹ S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology: A Study of Spiritual and Literary Achievement in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Philadelphia, 1944).

² In painstaking exactitude of copies, translations, and interpretation, nobody surpasses Poebel, but he has published relatively little in this field. Radau's copies and translations are very commendable, his interpretations less so. De Genouillac and Langdon will be gratefully remembered by workers in this field chiefly for the large volume of materials which these two scholars made available.

³ We have in mind especially the results embodied in the introduction to *SRT*, *SEM*, *STVC*, and in the article *JAOS*, 54 (1934), 407–20. Dr. Kramer, who edited all but the first of these after Dr. Chiera's death, deserves great credit for having made these important studies of Chiera available.

and for many of them it still holds—that “the story seemed to make no connected sense; and what could be made out, seemed to lack intelligent motivation” (Dr. Kramer, with reference to the myth of Inanna and Enki).⁴ Hence many more of the fragments lying unpublished in the museums of Istanbul and Philadelphia had to be made available, for each such fragment now promised unusual returns: a few lines, unimportant in themselves, might furnish the link between large but separately unintelligible sections of a story and thus for the first time make that story understandable. It is greatly to Dr. Kramer's credit that he clearly realized the import of this situation and that he energetically bent his efforts toward publishing and placing more texts. In Istanbul he collated earlier publications and copied 170 hitherto unpublished fragments;⁵ some 675 further fragments in the University Museum in Philadelphia are being prepared for publication by him. When these texts have been made available, Dr. Kramer will have lastingly inscribed his name in the annals of Sumerology, and Sumerology itself can enter upon a new era—an era of interpreting and evaluating Sumerian literature.

Dr. Kramer plans to publish the results of his researches in a series of seven volumes, of which the book here reviewed represents the first. Volumes II–VI will be devoted primarily to source material; they will give the text of the Sumerian compositions in transliteration accompanied by translation and notes. Hitherto

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁵ S. N. Kramer, “Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul,” *AASOR*, Vol. XXIII (New Haven, 1944). We abbreviate it as *SLiT*.

unpublished documents utilized to establish the text will be added in autograph copy. Each volume will deal with one literary genre: epics, myths, hymns, lamentations, and wisdom texts. A concluding volume will endeavor to sketch the religious and spiritual concepts of the Sumerians as revealed in the previously published materials.

This plan seems excellently conceived. One might—considering the difficulties still attending the translation of Sumerian—have preferred that translations and notes should be published separately from transliterations and copies, but the point is not very important. The main thing is that the texts now unpublished or scattered in fragments in a variety of publications will be brought together in orderly, practical, and convenient fashion so that they will be readily available for study.

The first volume of the series is intended as introductory. It is meant, the author states, to give "a detailed description of our sources together with a brief outline of the more significant mythological concepts of the Sumerians as evident from their epics and myths" (p. ix). After the first chapter, which traces the decipherment of cuneiform and the history of Sumerology (pp. 1-25), follows a discussion of "The Scope and Significance of Sumerian Mythology" (pp. 26-29). Then comes the actual substance of the book, which retells the more important Sumerian myths under the headings "Myths of Origins" (pp. 30-75), "Myths of Kur" (pp. 76-96), and "Miscellaneous Myths" (pp. 97-103). Interspersed among the stories are sections endeavoring to reconstruct and interpret in more systematic fashion the Sumerian cosmogonic concepts as a whole. The book is profusely illustrated with excellent photographs of ancient Mesopotamian seal impressions, tablets, and copies of tablets. The latter—uniting in one place copies which Kramer

had previously published in various journals, and adding a few unpublished ones—constitute a most welcome feature. Very useful also are the notes in which Kramer lists the fragments utilized for reconstructing the text of each myth treated. A number of misprints in figures and abbreviations will, we understand, be corrected by the author elsewhere. The completeness with which the material has been utilized and the various fragments assigned to their proper places is admirable. We have noted only one omission: the bilingual fragment *OECT*, VI, Pl. XVI, K. 2168, contains on the obverse the beginning of the myth which Dr. Kramer calls "The Creation of Man" and on the reverse a few lines dealing with the creatures formed by Ninmah.

Although the introductory chapters of Dr. Kramer's book—sketching the history of Sumerology in a somewhat personal perspective and outlining the older history of Mesopotamia strictly in racial terms—contain much which would normally have invited comment, all such points are necessarily overshadowed by the immediate importance of the chief subject matter of the book. Has the author been able—as he is himself firmly convinced that he has—to "reconstruct and translate in a scientific and trustworthy manner the extant Sumerian literary compositions" (p. xi)? This issue is crucial and must take the central place in any review. We shall therefore proceed directly to a discussion of the statement of Sumerian mythological concepts given by Dr. Kramer, considering first the translations upon which that statement is based, then both specific and general questions of interpretation.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to mention that two different translators will occasionally arrive at somewhat different results; for all translating involves a choice between possibilities and allows the

personal factor a certain amount of play. A reviewer thus has the advantage of being able to state alternatives whenever they seem to him to merit attention.

I. TRANSLATIONS

In trying to form an opinion about translations such as those offered in Dr. Kramer's book, one will consider—but will not attach undue importance to—instances of mere inexactitude. Lack of precision is unfortunate but rarely really serious even if, as here, instances of it occur in disproportionate numbers. A few examples chosen at random will show what we have in mind:

A b - s í n is "furrow" (see Landsberger, *ana ittišu*, p. 158) and not "crops" (p. 54 and *passim*). When the god Enki had put the plow in order, he did not roar at the crops (p. 61) but "opened the mouth of the furrow," that is, "opened up a furrow" (on the use of the locative construction here, cf. Poebel, *AOF*, IX [1933/34], 254–55).

The correct rendering of the city name mentioned on page 100 is Aktab, not Shitab (see Poebel, *JAOS*, 57 [1937], 359 ff.).

B á r a , borrowed by Akkadian as *parakku*, means "throne dais" (see Schott, *ZAnF*, VI [1931], 19 ff.; Landsberger, *ibid.*, VII [1933], 292 ff.), not "shrine" (p. 59 *passim*).

G e - g u n ₄ - n a is not "grove" (p. 60) but a special kind of dwelling, or room in a dwelling, serving approximately as audience hall and dining-hall combined (for the former use see especially the Esh-tar hymn, *RA*, XXII [1925], 170–71, rev. 5–8).

Ḫ i - l i g ū r - r u , said of a young woman, is not "bountiful" (p. 54) but "(physically) attractive." The meanings of Ḫ i - l i shade off from that of "sex appeal" (compare Thureau-Dangin in *RA*, XI [1914], 153).

K ū - g á l ⁶ is not "knower" (pp. 51 and 61) but "inspector of canals." It was borrowed by Akkadian as *gugallu* and meant originally "one who stocks (ponds and rivers) with fish," k u ₆ - g á l . (Cf. Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XXXIII [1936], 111, and Meissner, *MAOG*, XIII, No. 2, pp. 8–9. Meissner's meaning 2 belongs closely with 3 and here may belong also *gugallu* as an epithet of Adad. See also Gudea, Cyl. B xiv.26.)

M á and m á - g u r ₃ , the terms by which Nanna's vessel is designated, do not mean "gufa" (pp. 41 and 48) but "boat" and "barge." One cannot travel upstream in a gufa; Nanna travels from Ur to Nippur in the story dealt with on pages 47–49.

M a š k i m is not "ambusher" (p. 35) but—rather differently—the legally empowered agent of a court or of a high judicial or executive official (see, e.g., Landsberger, *ZAnF*, IV [1929], 276). The best English rendering (suggested to me by Dr. A. Heidel) would appear to be "deputy."

The canal of primeval Nippur is said to have been "sparkling" (m u l ; the Akkadian translation has *muttanbiṭum*), not merely "pure" (p. 43), and Karusar was not "its quay where the boats stand" (p. 43) but "its quay where the boats moor" for ú s means "to lie up against" and is—like its Akkadian counterpart *emēdu*—the usual term for "to moor." The Akkadian translation of the story renders the whole phrase as *maklūtum*, "harbor quay."

The author not infrequently omits—without informing the reader—lines or parts of lines in connected translation. Thus on page 51, after the sentence "Emesh bent the knees before Enten," the phrase "making supplication to him" has been omitted. On page 54, after the description of Ashnan, "Grain," as "a maid

⁶ Or do the texts in question actually have k u s - g á l ? We would not so expect.

kindly and bountiful is she," the line "lifting (her) head in trusting fashion from her field" has been omitted. On page 68, after "Falsely has he uttered the name of his power, the name of the Abzu," the line "guilefully has he sent thee as messenger to me" is missing. On page 98, after "Ziusudra opened a window of the huge boat," a line voicing his thoughts in so doing: "I shall let the light of the hero Utu (i.e., of the sun) enter into the interior of the huge boat," has fallen out. On page 102, after the line "The farmer more than I, the farmer more than I, the farmer what has he more than I?" two further lines, virtually repeating the previous sentence, but mentioning the farmer Enkimdu by name and epithet, have been omitted. While nothing much is lost by the last-mentioned omission one rather regrets that Dr. Kramer begins translating the myth of Enki and Ninhursaga with its fifth and not with its first line (p. 55) since the omitted section is important for the setting of the story:

When you were dividing the virgin earth
(with your fellow gods), you!
The land of Tilmun was a region pure,
When you were dividing the pure earth (with
your fellow gods), you!
The land of Tilmun was a region pure.⁷

⁷ We restore the text (Langdon, *Le Poème sumérien du Paradis, du Déluge* ... [Paris, 1919], Planche I, 1-4) as follows:

[ki sikil]-àm e-ne-ba-àm me-en-zé-en
[kur] 'Tilmun' ki kù-ga-àm
[ki kù]-ga e-ne-ba-àm me-en-zé-en
'kur Tilmun' ki kù-ga-àm

and derive e-ne-ba-àm from ba, Akkadian *zāzu*, "to divide," "to receive as one's portion in the division into severalty of property held in common." The form offers a welcome example of the second person plural preterite active of the a- theme of the Sumerian verb. The mark of this theme, the prefix a- (contracted with following e in the second person singular and plural preterite active), has hitherto been considered a mere phonetic or dialectal variant of the prefix e-/i-, and the difference in meaning of the two prefixes has been largely overlooked. This difference may be defined—provisionally—as similar to the difference in tempo between aorist (e-/i-) and imperfect (a-) as described by Jespersen, *Philosophy of Grammar*, p. 276: "The Aorist carries the narrative on, it tells us what happened next, while

The reference is to the beginning of time when the world and its various cities and city-states were apportioned among the appropriate gods, and Enki and Ninhursaga received Tilmun as their share. The two deities are here in the opening lines of the myth addressed directly in the second person; then the storyteller lapses into ordinary narrative style.⁸

the Imperfect lingers over the conditions as they were at that time and expatiates on them with more or less of prolixity." The lingering force of the a- theme occasions a significant shift of tenses in Akkadian renderings of its forms: Sumerian "present" and "preterite" active are both rendered as "present" (i.e., fientic durative?) in Akkadian, while Sumerian "present" and "preterite" passive are rendered, respectively, by present IV.1 and permansive I.1 in Akkadian. We hope to treat of the a- prefix in wider context elsewhere and refer for the time being to Poebel, *PBS*, VI, 115 (preterite active), and *AJSL*, L (January, 1934), 147 (passive) for its morphology; Poebel's term for the preterite active, "active permansive," shows that he recognized the basic meaning of the theme quite clearly at the time. The enclitic -àm at the end of the form serves here to mark circumstance of time—a frequent usage. [After the above was written, Dr. Kramer's study, *BASOR*, "Supplementary Studies No. 1," has become available. The transliteration and photograph there published favor a restoration [ki kù-g]a "The pure earth" in line 1.]

⁸ The introductions to Sumerian tales bid for the listener's attention and therefore make use of a great variety of stylistic devices. This does not always stand out in Dr. Kramer's renderings. The story of Martu's marriage, for instance, purports to be an account given by a hoary old tree which had lived in primeval times and could therefore tell what had then happened. It begins (*SEM* 58, 1-9; Dr. Kramer deals with it on p. 100 of his book):

"When Ninab was (but) Aktab was not (yet),
When the pure crown was (but) the pure tiara
was not,
When the pure herb was (but) the pure cedar
was not,
When the pure salt was (but) the pure potash
was not,
When cohabiting and conception were,
When pregnancy and birthgiving were,
I, the . . . of the pure Cedar, was; I, the
forebear of the *mesu*(?)-tree,
I, the parent of the White Cedar, the kins-
man of the Hashuru-tree, was.
In those days . . . etc. . . ."

We restore lines 5-6 as follows: gîš-dun - dun - 'ga' š[ā-ga šu-ti-a] i-me-a šā-tū' - šā-tū-ma 'tu-da' i-me-a. Note that, syntactically, i-me-a and nu-me-a can be used with participial force: "being," "not being"; "when . . . was," "when . . . was not." For an especially clear instance see *SRT*, Nos. 6 and 7, l. 94.

Another interesting example is the introduction to

Lack of precision in renderings and translations and unadvertised omission of phrases or whole lines, such as have been exemplified above, undoubtedly constitute blemishes but hardly more.

Often the translation chosen is critical to our understanding of a story, and the alteration of a single word in the translation will bring that part of the story into a more intelligible context. We shall consider here only three such cases.

1. Recounting the myth which he has

the myth of Enlil and Ninlil (dealt with by Dr. Kramer on p. 43):

Dur-an-ki uru na-nam am-
dūr-ru-dē-en-dē-en
Nipru^{ki} uru na-nam am-dūr-
ru-dē-en-dē-en
Dur-gi^{gi}šimmar uru na-nam
am-dūr-ru-dē-en-dē-en
Id sal-la id kù-bi(?) na-nam

"In Duranki, in that very city we are living.
In Nippur, in that very city we are living.
In Durgišimmar, in that very city we are living,

None but the Idsalla was its pure river, . . ."

The narrator is telling his listeners that the scene of the ancient tale which he is going to narrate is none other than their own town of Nippur, thus bidding fair to interest them.

The word *na-nam* does not mean "behold," as Dr. Kramer translates it but has identifying and restrictive force: "It is/was . . . and none other" (or: ". . . and no more"; or: ". . . and no less"); it is therefore often rendered in Akkadian by *-ma*. In the sentences under discussion it seems to be used parenthetically: "Duranki—it and no other was the city (in question)—we inhabit," i.e., "We are living in that very city, (in) Duranki." The text Barton, *MBI* 4, varies from the one quoted above (Pinches, *JRAS*, 1919, p. 190) by seemingly reading [uru^{ki} na-nam instead of Dur-an-ki (thus apparently also the catalogue published by Dr. Kramer in *BASOR*, No. 88, pp. 10-19, ff.5), by adding the determinative *ki* after *uru*, and by introducing the verbal form with the datival *na-* (see n. 12 below): *na-an-dūr-ru-dē-en-dē-en*. This dative seems to have reference to Enlil, and its force is best rendered by a possessive pronoun: "In his very city, in his very city we are living." The Akkadian translator (*JRAS*, 1919, p. 190)—perhaps not a Nippurian—disassociates himself from the Sumerian narrator and his public, reporting rather than translating the meaning of these lines. He has: *ina II* (i.e., *Dur-an-ki*) *āli-šu-nu šu-nu i-ši-ba*, "They (i.e., the Sumerian narrator and his audience) dwelt in their (i.e., Enlil and Ninlil's?) city Duranki." In the third line we read *Dur-gi^{gi}šimmar*, following Pinches (*op. cit.*) and Van der Meer (*Iraq*, IV [1937], 144 ff., No. 88 f.) rather than Langdon (*RA*, XIX [1922], 68, n. 7). The reasons underlying Dr. Kramer's rendering "the 'kindly wall'" are not clear to us.

renamed "The Feats and Exploits of Ninurta," Dr. Kramer writes:

Hearing of her son's great and heroic deeds, his mother Ninmah—also known as Ninhursag and Nintu, and more originally perhaps as Ki, the mother earth—is taken with love for him; she becomes so restless that he is unable to sleep in her bedchamber [p. 81].

The Sumerian word *a r ḫ u š*, which underlies Dr. Kramer's paraphrase "is taken with love for him," corresponds to Akkadian *rēmu* (root *r-ḫ-m*), "pity," "compassion," but not to *rāmu* (root *r-ḫ-m*), "love," which is *ki-ág(a)* in Sumerian. That *rēmu* and *rāmu*, treated as one in Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch*, are distinct in both form and meaning was shown long since by Barth (*ZA*, XXII [1909], 1-5).

The mother's pity and compassion for her son, who is far from home, alone in a foreign country, cannot take on the overtones of a love affair without serious detriment to our understanding of the myth.

2. In the myth of Enlil and Ninlil, Enlil is outlawed by the assembly of the gods in Nippur for having raped young Ninlil. Banished by the gods of the world above, Enlil can turn only to the one other great realm of the Mesopotamian universe, that of the nether world, and so—headed for those dark regions—he leaves Nippur.⁹ In

⁹ The relevant section reads:

En-lil Ki-ūr¹ im-ma-ni-in-du-bu
En-lil Ki-ūr¹ dib-dib²-da-ni
dingir gal-gal ninnu-ne-ne
dingir nam-tar-ra imin-na-ne-ne
En-lil Ki-ūr-ra [im-ma-ni³-
dab-bé-ne]⁴
En-lil ū-zug⁵-e⁶ [uru-ta ba-
ra-ē]⁴
Nu-nam-nir ū-zug⁵-e⁶ uru-ta
ba-ra-ē¹
En-lil ní-g-na-m-ma⁸ nam⁹ mu-
un-tar-ra-še
Nu-nam-nir¹⁰ nam-še¹¹ nam⁹ mu-
un-tar-ra-še
En-lil i-du . . . etc. . . .

The text is based on Barton, *MBI*, 4.ii.11-13, for its first three lines; from then onward on Pinches, *JRAS*, 1919, pp. 190-91. Variants are: ¹*SEM* 77: +-ra. ²*SEM* 77: +-bē-. ³*SEM* 77: +-in-. ⁴Thus *MBI* 4.

Dr. Kramer's rendering (pp. 43-47) all reference to the arrest of Enlil and to the verdict banishing him has been omitted. Enlil's journey to the underworld, accordingly, appears devoid of motivation.

When Enlil leaves Nippur, Ninlil, who is pregnant with his child, decides to follow. On her way she comes first to the city gate; she tells the gatekeeper that she is his queen and that she carries his king

Enlil's child under her heart. The gatekeeper, who is actually Enlil himself in disguise, answers her—according to Dr. Kramer's translation (p. 45)—as follows: The "water" of my king, let it go toward heaven, let it go toward earth, Let my "water," like the "water" of my king, go toward earth.

Thereupon Enlil, in his guise of gatekeeper, unites with Ninlil, engendering the deity Ninazu.¹⁰

It is not clear to us how Dr. Kramer arrived at the above translation and what meaning he would assign to such a speech in this context. To us it appears to obscure the story. In the Sumerian the lines in question read:

a lugal-mu a n-šè h é-du a-mu
ki-šè h é-du
a-mu a lugal-mu-ge_{is} ki-šè h é-
im-ma-du

Let my precious scion of the king go to heaven,
let my scion go to the earth,
Let my scion in place of my precious scion of
the king go to the earth.¹¹

¹⁰ The Sumerians, it would appear, considered it possible for a woman to continue to conceive though already pregnant.

¹¹ The words a lugal-mu (representing a lugal(-ak)-mu) appear to contain an intentional ambiguity which is not easily rendered in English. The words may—and thus Ninlil is meant to interpret them—be understood to contain the possessive suffix first person singular in its caritative meaning: "my (beloved) seed (i.e., offspring) of the king," i.e., "my (dear) prince." They may also, however, be understood as containing a genitive of characteristic followed by the possessive suffix first person singular in its possessive meaning "my king's seed," i.e., "my royal offspring, engendered by me, a king, and thus of royal essence." With this genitive of characteristic compare the similar genitive in a nuna-ak-e-ne, "the athelings," literally: the "magnate's seed", describing the gods as those of noble lineage. In their first sense these words could be fittingly spoken by a gatekeeper, a servant of Enlil; in the second sense they fit Enlil in his true identity.

On the use of -ge_{is} (<gimin; see Poebel, *MVAG*, 1921.1, p. 15) in the sense of "as equivalent of," compare *PBS*, VIII.2, No. 162, munus šu-gi munus kaš-ši-tum 5 gin-guškin-gimi-nam, "One old woman, a Kassite, being the equivalent of 5 shekels gold"; and see also Lugal-e Tablet X.1 ff., where -ge_{is} (translated ki-i) in Ninurta's verdicts serves to connect crime with punishment: "in recompense, retribution, for (that)."

⁶ MBI 4: KA + SAR. ⁷ MBI 4 and SEM 77: -g e. ⁸ MBI 4: omits this line. ⁹ SEM 77: -š è. ¹⁰ SEM 77: omitted. ¹¹ SEM 77: + n i g -.

"Enlil came walking into Kiur
And while Enlil was passing through Kiur
The fifty senior gods
And the seven gods who determine destinies
Had Enlil arrested in Kiur:
"This sex-criminal Enlil will leave the town!
This sex-criminal Nunamnir will leave the town!"
Enlil, in accordance with that which had been decided as destiny,
Nunamnir, in accordance with that which had been decided as destiny,
Enlil (did) go (away) . . . etc. . . ."

The Akkadian translation reads, beginning with the fifth line:

MIN (i.e., ⁴En-lil) i-na MIN (i.e., Ki-ur-ra)
ū-šà-ḫa-zu-ū
MIN (i.e., ⁴En-lil) mu-su-uk-kum i-na a-li
li-qi
MIN (i.e., ⁴Nu-nam-nir) mu-su-uk-kum i-na
a-li li-qi
MIN (i.e., ⁴En-lil) a-na šim-ti šà ta-ši-mu
MIN (i.e., ⁴Nu-nam-nir) a-na šim-ti šà ta-ši-mu
MIN (i.e., ⁴En-lil) il-la-ak . . . etc. . . .

The word ū-zug (borrowed by Akkadian as (m)usukku, fem. (m)usukkātu), denotes a person who is sexually unclean, who is dangerous to the community because he is under a sexual taboo. This term may be used of a menstruating woman or—as here—of a person who has committed a sex crime, rape. The -e which follows the word we interpret as the demonstrative -e, "this" (see Poebel, *GSG*, §§ 223-26). Related to the latter is probably a "vocative" -e which occasionally occurs. Examples are IV R, Pl. 9, obv. 5: aia-⁴Nanna-umun-an-gal-e nir-gāl dim-me-er-e-ne / a-bu ⁴Na-an-nar belum ⁴A-num rabu-u e-til-li il-me-eš "O father Nanna, lord, great Anu, respected one among the gods"; the first line of Lugal-e: lugal-e u me-lām-bi nir-gāl, "O king, storm whose sheen inspires respect"; and Exaltation of Inanna (*RA*, XI [1914], 144, obv. 5): lugal dim-me-er-e-ne-ke, "O king of the gods!" Cf. also Frank, *ZANF*, VII (1933), 195, obv. 9 and 2; S. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts*, Pl. 24, ll. 18 and 22, etc. For the semantic range involved, cf. the similar use of Egyptian *pw*, "this," in vocatives. See Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 112.

This gives very good sense. When Enlil was banished, Ninlil faced a deep inner conflict. She was his, the mother of his child; she could not do otherwise than follow him wherever he might go. But, in so doing, she would take with her to live forever in the gloom of the underworld her unborn child, Šin. In this her royal child and its fate centers all she most dearly values, all she lives for. She must therefore necessarily fall an easy prey when the gatekeeper—playing on her deepest fears in professed anxiety for the future fate of Šin—holds out to her the possibility of saving him for the world of light: she willingly unites with the gatekeeper to conceive another—not royal—child, who may take Šin's place in the underworld.

All this is essential for understanding the tale and is necessarily lost if the passages here discussed are omitted or inaccurately rendered. Lost, too, is the further point that in due time Enlil's word—as must a god's word—comes true: Šin, the bright moon-god, belongs to the world above while Ninazu belongs to the world below. Lost, finally, are the possible overtones: the constant fight of light and darkness in the waxing and waning moon as parallel to the fight of light and darkness over him before he was yet born.

3. As a last example may serve Dr. Kramer's rendering of the beginning of the myth of the pickax (pp. 51-53). Dr. Kramer is not altogether satisfied with his version, fears that it may seem "sodden, stilted, and obscure" (p. 51), but defends it on the ground that "the background and situation which these words and phrases imply and assume, still elude us; and it is this background and situation, part and parcel of the Sumerian mythological and religious pattern and well known to the Sumerian poet and his 'reader,' which are so vital to a full understand-

ing of the text" (p. 52). The translation reads:

The lord, that which is appropriate verily he
caused to appear,
The lord whose decisions are unalterable,
Enlil, who brings up the seed of the land from
the earth,
Took care to move away heaven from earth,
Took care to move away earth from heaven.
In order to make grow the creature which came
forth,
In the "bond of heaven and earth" (Nippur) he
stretched out the

He brought the pickax into existence, the
"day" came forth,
He *introduced labor*, decreed the fate,
Upon the pickax and basket he directs the
"power."
Enlil made his pickax exalted,
His pickax of gold, whose head is of lapis
lazuli,
The pickax of his house, of . . . silver and gold,
His pickax whose . . . is of lapis lazuli,
Whose *tooth* is a one-horned ox ascending a
large wall.

The lord called up the pickax, decrees its fate,
He set the *kindu*, the holy crown, upon his
head,
The head of man he placed in the mould,
Before Enlil *he* (man?) *covers* his land,
Upon his black-headed people he looked stead-
fastly.
The Anunnaki who stood about him,
He placed *it* (the pickax?) as a gift in their
hands,
They soothe Enlil with prayer,
They give the pickax to the black-headed peo-
ple to hold.

Checking through this translation to see what causes the impression of which Dr. Kramer speaks, one's attention is drawn to the last of the three sections. Here, after the second line, Dr. Kramer has followed a version which omits a line of the original.

This omitted line and the lines following it read in Sumerian:

uzu-è gis̄al-a-[ni mi-n]i-in-dù
sag nam-lú-ulú ù-šub-ba mi-
ni-gál
⁴En-líl-šè kalam-ma-ni ki mu-
un-ši-in-dar(-re)
sag-gi-ga-ni-šè igi-zi nam-
mi-in-bar¹²

¹² The text is based on *SRT* 19, *SEM* 34, *PBS*, X.2, p. 16. *SK* 207, and *TRS* 72 as follows: *First line*. Restored on the basis of *SRT* 19: uzu-è gis̄al-a-[ni . . .] and *SEM* 34: [. . . mi-n]i-in-dù. *TRS* gives [uz]u-mù-a gis̄(!?)al(!?) (read thus for sag-nu) gá-gá-dè, "When the pickax was being applied in Uzumua"; *SK* 207 retains [. . .]gis̄al[. . .]; *PBS*, X.2, p. 16 (perhaps only Langdon's copy?) omits the line. *Second line*. Preserved in part by *PBS*, X.2, p. 16, and *SEM* 34, fully by *TRS* 72. *SEM* 34 has -gál, "was," *TRS* 72 -gar, "was situated," as the last sign; the last mentioned text also writes the determinative GIS before ù-šub-ba. *Third line*. Preserved in full by *PBS*, X.2, p. 16, and *TRS* 72 (read kalam-ma-ni(!?) ki mu-un(!?) -ši(!?) -in-dar-re), in part by *SEM* 34 and *SK* 207. The latter reads [kala]m-ma-na ki ku mu-un-dar-'a'. We consider the present form of the verb—as given in *TRS* 72—the better text. It should be noted that the present tense is often used in Sumerian—as it is in Akkadian—to express attendant circumstance. It is then to be rendered by a participle or a durative past (" . . . ing" or "was . . . ing") in English. Cf. *PBS*, X.2, p. 14, rev. 8 ff.: ⁴En-líl lugal kur-kur-ra-ke igi-zi-ti-la sag-ki-zalag-ga-ni mu-un-ši-in-bar ⁴Š-me-⁴Da-gān-na nam mu-ni-ib-tar-re . . . ⁴En-líl-le nam-šè mu-ni-in-tar, "Enlil, the king of all countries, looked with a true eye of life and with a clear brow at him. Determining destiny for Ishme-Dagān . . . such and such things . . . did Enlil determine for him as (his) destiny." Cf. also *HiAV*, 6, 12, u-ba ⁴En-ki-ke ⁴En-líl-ra gū mu-un-na-dé-e, "At that time Enki was saying to Enlil," where u-ba clearly shows that no "present" or "future" tense (in the strict sense of that term) is intended. The usage is parallel to Akkadian usage, e.g., in *A pā-šu ipu-ša ma iqabbi izakkara ana B*, "A opened (lit.: 'worked') his mouth speaking (the reference is primarily to articulate sound), saying (more precisely 'calling to mind,' 'calling up images, concepts'); the reference is primarily to meaning) to B." As for the meaning of ki . . . dar, cf. *dar*, *litā*, "to cleave," "to split," Deimel, *ŠL*, 114.9; and ki-in-dar, *nigisgu*, "crack (in the earth)," *ibid.*, 461.101. We know of no such meaning as "to clothe" for ki . . . dar. *Fourth line*. *SEM* 34 reads mu-ši- for nam-mi-; *TRS* 72 seems to read the verb as mu-un-pā, but de Genouillac's copy may be doubted (mu-un-ši-bar(!?)). *SK* 207 omits the line.

The verbal form nam-mi-in-bar shows the

(And) drove his pickax into the uzu-è.

In the hole (which he thus made) was the vanguard of mankind,

(And) while (the people of) his land were breaking up through the ground (like plants) toward Enlil

He eyed his black-headed ones in steadfast fashion.

dative prefix na- (or rather the dative verbal element (-)na- in initial position?); "toward his black-headed ones the eye was opened in trusty fashion for him." The dative force of this relatively frequent "prefix" (see already above, n. 8) may be demonstrated most clearly, perhaps, by a comparison of two variant forms of Eannatum's name quoted in the "Stele of the Vultures." In obv. v. 20 ff., the author of that inscription tells about the name which Ningirsu gave Eannatum as follows: É-an-na-tù á(!?) -tuku-e kur-a du-éš na-e É-an-na-tù-ra mu ⁴Inanna-ke e-ni-sa-a-ni É-an-na-⁴Inanna-ib-gal-ka-ka-a-tù mu m[u]-ni-[sa], "He (i.e., Ningirsu) named Eannatum—(this being) his name (by) which Inanna had named him: 'The one worthy of the Eanna of Inanna of Ibgal'—(by) the (new and longer) name: É-an-na-tù-á-tuku-e kur-a-du-éš-na-e (i.e., 'Eannatum, the possessor of strength, will sound for him [i.e., for Ningirsu] the battle cry in the enemy land')." Shortly afterward the author of the "Stele of the Vultures" again refers to this new name (vi.1 ff.), but now he quotes Ningirsu's actual words in naming Eannatum. Here na-, "for him," is replaced with mā-, "for me": á-tuku-e mu-pā-da ⁴Nin-gir-sú-ka-ke É-an-na-tù-me kur-a-du-éš m[ā-e] nig-ul-lí-a-d[a] gū nam-mi-dé, "The possessor of strength, the one made known by name by (me) Ningirsu, Eannatum, will sound for me the battle cry in the enemy land' he called out unto him alongside the original one (i.e. the original name, É-an-na-tù)."

Further instances of (-)na- used initially are the well known: X.na-e-a, "what X. is saying unto him," in the introduction to letters; the introductory line of Inanna's Descent (we quote l. 3), ⁴Inanna an-gal-ta ki-gal-šè geštu-ga-ni na-an-g[u b], "(As for) Inanna her mind was turned (lit.: 'was set') for her away from the great(er) heaven and toward the great(er) earth." Cf. also *Elevation of Inanna* (*RA*, XI [1914], 144-45, l. 13): An-na-ra i(nim)-bala bar-zé-eb-ba-ke hūl-le-éš nam-mi-in-gar, ana ⁴Anu na-pa-le-e fu-ub ka-bat-ti ha-diš iš-ša-kin-šum-ma, "For Anu was joyfully established rejoinder of good(ness of) liver," i.e., "A pleasant answer joyfully suggested itself to Anu"; and Gudea, St. B, vii.4: na-mu-dū, "He built it for him." (The existence of a dative prefix na- has often been assumed. For recent views of this na- and its meaning see Falkenstein, *ZANF*, XI [1939], 183, and literature there quoted. The passage on which Falkenstein

The *u z u - è*, literally the "flesh producer," into which Enlil drove his newly fashioned pickax, is called *U z u - m ú - a*, the "(place where) flesh sprouted forth," in one of the variants of our text, and as such we know it well.¹³ It is a frequently mentioned sacred spot in Nippur, and our text shows with all desirable clarity the reason for its sacred character: here in primeval times the earth produced mankind; for the first men grew up from the earth like plants according to a tradition vouched for also in the introductory lines of the myth of Enki and E-engurra:

a - r i - a n a m - b a - t a r - r a - b a
m u ḥ é - g á l a n a ù - t u - d a
u k ù - e ú - š i m - g e ₁₃ k i i n - d a r - a - b a

When destinies had been determined for (all)
engendered things,

When in the year (known as) "Abundance,
born in heaven, . . ."

comments contains, in our opinion, the *na -* of negated wish.)

Just as a dative element (-) *na -* is found both initially and medially (as "prefix" and as "infix") in the Sumerian finite verb, so corresponds apparently the element (-) *ba -*, "for it," which occurs as infix in Urukagina Oval Plaque (cf. ii.7, *nu - na - si - mu*, "He was not giving unto him," i.e., unto the royal archer, with ii.9, *nu - ba - si - mu*, "He was not giving unto it," i.e., unto the archer's donkey; cf. also Eannatum, Mortar iv.8), to the better-known "prefix" *ba -* (on its use with nonpersonals see Falkenstein, *OLZ*, 1933, Sp. 303-4). Similarly, the "prefix" *bé - / bi -*, "at it," "on it," has a corresponding "infix" - *be -* (cf. Poebel, *AS*, No. 2, pp. 16-19; we would prefer to assume that the meaning "with them" derives from a locative "at it/them"). We hope to return elsewhere to these correspondences, to the question of difference of grammatical function in different position, and to their general implications for the structure of the Sumerian verb.

¹³ *Uzumua* is mentioned also in *KAR 4*, obv. 24, and in *CT*, XV, 31, 4 ff. Dr. Geers calls my attention to Van der Meer, "Tablets of the *BAR-RA* = *gubullu* Series . . .," *Iraq*, VI (1939), 144 ff., No. 38, i.15, where it is explained as (a part of, or a term for) Nippur. See also Heidel, *Babylonian Genesis*, p. 57, n. 40, and literature there cited. We assume *u z u - m ú - a* to have been abbreviated from a longer form: *ki - u z u - m ú - a*, "the place where flesh sprouted forth" (on construction cf. *GSG*, § 718), but other etymologies seem possible and may prove preferable.

The people had broken through the ground like grass (lit.: plants and herbs).¹⁴

The meaning of Enlil's action thus becomes clear: with his pickax he breaks the hard top crust of the earth which has thus far prevented the first men, developed below, from sprouting forth just as such a crust will often prevent germinating plants from breaking through. At Enlil's blow man becomes visible in the *ù - š u b*, i.e., in the hole left by the clod which Enlil's blow has broken loose;¹⁵ and, as man after man shoots forth from the earth, Enlil contemplates his new creatures with approval.

Once this passage has been clarified, the structure of the story as a whole begins to stand out. After Enlil had separated Heaven and Earth, he bound up the wound occasioned to Earth when the "bond of Heaven and Earth" which had united her with Heaven was severed:

u z u - è s a g m ú - m ú - d è
d u r - a n - k i - k a b ú r u n a m - m i -
i n - l á

(And) bound up for her (i.e., for Earth) the
gash¹⁶ in the "bond of Heaven and Earth"

¹⁴ Dr. Kramer, who treats of this passage on p. 62 of his book, translates:

"After the water of creation had been decreed,
After the name *ḥegal* (abundance), born in
heaven,

Like plant and herb had clothed the land, . . ."

But *a - r i - a* —which we have rendered "(all) engendered things"—means actually "seed," "offspring" (lit.: "ejaculated semen virile"), Akkadian *riḥūtu*, not "the waters of creation"; nor does *na m . . . t a r* have the connotation of "decreed" as here used. It means to decree a "fate," the form or *modus* under which something is to exist, not to call that something into existence. On *ki . . . d a r* see n. 12 above.

¹⁵ On the meaning of *ù - š u b*, or rather of its Akkadian counterpart *nalbantu*, see von Soden, *ZANF*, XI (1939), 64, n. 3. Von Soden shows that *nalbantu* denotes a cavity shaped like an inverted truncated pyramid of square ground plan. He translates it "Ziegelgrube." In our passage—as indicated above—the word apparently refers to the hole left by the clod broken off by Enlil's pickax.

¹⁶ On *búru* (presumably < *bura* with *a* > *u* after *r*; cf. Poebel, *GSG*, §§ 723 and 470, also *JAOs*, 57 (1937), 51 ff.), "fissure," "gash," cf. my remarks in *OIP*, XLIII, 170-71, No. 42, n. †.

So that the "flesh producer" might grow the vanguard (of mankind).

The place of this wound, and of the severed bond, was in Nippur, the sacred area *Dur-an-ki*, for *Dur-an-ki* means "the bond of Heaven and Earth." In *Dur-an-ki* was located *Uzu-mú-a*, which, after the wound had been closed, grew the first men.

We may thus offer the following translation which, though we consider the main lines certain, is still open to much improvement in detail:

The lord did verily¹⁷ produce the normal order,
The lord whose decisions cannot be altered,
Enlil, did verily speed to remove Heaven from Earth

So that the seed (from which grew) the nation
could sprout (up) from the field;

¹⁷ The element *nanga-*, *namga-* (on *n > m* before *g* see Poebel, *GSG*, § 63), which introduces the finite verb of this and several of the following lines, is an element of relatively frequent occurrence. (Note apart from this passage *PBS*, X.2, p. 6, rev. i.18-19; *BE*, XXIX.1, No. 2.34 [cf. p. 70]; *Lugalbanda* epic, 167-69; *TRS* 12, 104-6; *SRT* 3, iii.18; *SRT* 6.81-82; vase inscription of Enshakushanna, *RA*, XIV [1917], 152, and *TRS* 50, 57-58. The latter passage is not clear.) Its place in the verbal chain—always at the beginning before the prefix—classes it with the modal elements such as optative *hē-/hā-*, cohortative *ga-*, negative *nu-*, negating wish *na-*, etc. The force of the mode marked by *nanga-*, *namga-* is suggested by the Metropolitan Syllabary (Langdon, *JSOR*, I [1917], 22-23, obv. i.12-15), which translates *namga-* as *tu-ša-ma*, *mi-in-di*, *ap-pu-na*, and *pi-qd-at*, and by *BE*, XXXI, No. 46, i.2 (cf. Kramer, *JAOS*, 60 [1940], 251), which translates *ra(?)i-ma*. Basic in these words is an appeal to the listener's own judgment and experience; they present a fact or conjecture as "evident," "obvious," as a necessary inference from the premises, but they tend to shade off into the more general, affirmative meaning "surely," "verily." (Cf. the translation of these words suggested by Landsberger, *ZAnF*, IX [1936], 73, and by Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XXX [1933], 30, and *Analecta orientalia*, XII, 308. *Ra-i-ma* may be considered permissive *I* of a root *r-i*, "it is seen" [cf. ¹⁸], followed by *-ma*: "it is seen that," "it is evident that" > "surely," "verily"; cf. the material on *ra-i* collected by Ungnad in *ZAnF*, iv [1929], 71. We may therefore tentatively define the mood marked by *nanga-* as an inferentative-affirmative mood. Its force may be rendered approximately by "obviously" and by "verily."

Did verily speed to bring the Earth out from (under) Heaven (as a) separate (entity)
(And) bound up for her (i.e., for Earth) the gash in the "bond of Heaven and Earth"
So that the "flesh producer" could grow the vanguard (of mankind).

He caused the pickax to be, (when) daylight was shining forth,
He organized the tasks, the pickman's way of life,
(And) stretching out (his) arm straight toward the pickax and the basket
Enlil sang the praises of his pickax.
His pickax was of gold, its head(?) of lapis lazuli,
His (well) trussed¹⁸ pickax was of gold and *mesu* silver,
His pickax was

Its point was valiant, a lone bastion projecting from a great wall.¹⁹

The lord . . . ed the pickax, giving it its qualities

., the pure crown he placed upon (his) head

(And) drove his pickax into the "flesh producer."

In the hole (which he thus made) was the vanguard of mankind

(And) while (the people of) his land were breaking through the ground toward Enlil
He eyed his black-headed ones in steadfast fashion.

The Anunnaki (gods) stepped up to him,

Laid their hands upon their noses (in greeting),

Soothing Enlil's heart with prayers,

Black-headed (people) they were requesting(?) of him.

¹⁸ Very doubtful. We tentatively restore *gišal-ša(?)l-ā(?)l-a-ni*. Dr. Kramer seems to read *gišal-ē* (or *gā*)-*a-ni*, but "the pickax of his house" would be *gišal-ē* (or *gā*)-*a-na*.

¹⁹ Our rendering of *si* as "bastion" is based on *si-bād(a)k*, *štu*, "bastion." The comparison seems to be with bastions of a very long and narrow type such as found, e.g., in Agrab (*OIP*, LVIII, 221, Fig. 170). *TCL* 72 has *ū-tu-da*, "born of," instead of *ē-a*, "projecting from." This variant would appear to render Dr. Kramer's interpretation of the line less likely.

Having thus considered specimens of the translations offered in the book under review, we turn next to questions of interpretation, to deal first with certain specific interpretational concepts presented in it.

II. SPECIFIC INTERPRETATIONAL CONCEPTS

A. THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE

Dr. Kramer bases his statement of Sumerian cosmogonic concepts on a passage in the introduction to the tale of "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Nether World," which he translates (p. 37):

After heaven had been moved away from earth,

After earth had been separated from heaven,
After the name of man had been fixed;

After An had carried off heaven,
After Enlil had carried off earth, . . .

This translation is substantially correct, as is the subsequent interpretation:

Heaven and earth, originally united, were separated and moved away from each other, and thereupon the creation of man was ordained. An, the heaven-god, then carried off heaven, while Enlil, the air-god, carried off earth [p. 38].

Having established these facts, Dr. Kramer proceeds to ask three major questions: (1) Were heaven and earth conceived as created, and if so, by whom? (2) What was the shape of heaven and earth as conceived by the Sumerians? (3) Who separated heaven from earth? We shall consider his answers one by one.

1. *Before heaven and earth.*—Dr. Kramer finds the answer to his first question in the text *TRS* 10, an early version of the great catalogue of divine names known as *An Anum*, which lists the divine name ^a*Ama-ù-tu-an-ki*, "The mother who gave birth to heaven and earth," as an epithet of the goddess Nammu. He writes:

In a tablet which gives a list of the Sumerian gods, the goddess Nammu, written with the ideogram for "sea," is described as "the mother, who gave birth to heaven and earth." Heaven and earth were therefore conceived by the Sumerians as the created products of the primeval sea [p. 39].

By giving this, and only this, answer to his first question, Dr. Kramer creates the impression that Sumerian cosmogonic concepts were all smoothly integrated—that the Sumerians had a single answer to questions concerning ultimate beginnings. Such, however, was not the case. The very same text from which Dr. Kramer derives his evidence on Nammu contains two other, different, traditions concerning world origins, one of which—since it is placed at the very beginning of the text—may even be surmised to have been considered the most important of the three. These two traditions, the "Genealogy of Anu" and the "Genealogy of Enlil," are both well deserving of attention.

The "Genealogy of Anu" carries the parentage of heaven deified back through *An-šárgal*, "The greater horizon"—apparently the horizon where the greater heaven and the greater earth were thought to meet—to a divine entity *En-ur-u-l-la*, "The lord of the primeval city." Since this deity is known from other sources to be located in the nether world, we may assume that "the primeval city" is the city of the dead, the "great dwelling." Death, it would appear, was and ruled before life and all that is came into being—that is, all life originated in (or emanated from) death, lifelessness. The other tradition, the one which in *TRS* 10 is placed at the beginning, but which in later versions of the list appears as the genealogy of Enlil, traces cosmic origins back through fifteen divine pairs. Among these are the powers manifest in Earth viewed in their male and female as-

pects as ^dEn-ki, "The earth lord," and ^dNin-ki, "The earth lady," and the powers manifest in Heaven represented by ^dEn-an-na and ^dNin-an-na, "The sky lord" and "The sky lady." At the beginning of the genealogy, before everything else, stands the active principle of the world itself, its *modus operandi*,²⁰ personified as ^dEn-me-šár-ra, "Lord (en) *modus operandi* (me) of the universe (šár-ra(k))" and ^dNin-me-šár-ra, "Lady *modus operandi* of the universe." And from them issued life: "Lord days of life" and "Lady days of life." These highly interesting speculations concerning world origins cannot well be ignored in a statement of Sumerian cosmogonic concepts.

Returning to Dr. Kramer's treatment of the speculations centering in the goddess Nammu, it must be pointed out that the sign with which her name is written does not—as Dr. Kramer avers—mean "sea." "Sea" is a-a-b-b-a(k) in Sumerian; the sign with which Nammu's name is written denotes—if read en-gur—primarily the body of sweet water which the Mesopotamians believed lay below the earth, feeding rivers and wells but best observable in the watery deep of the marshes. Nammu is therefore the "watery deep" of the Mesopotamian marshes extending below the surface of the earth as

the water-bearing strata. She is not the sea.²¹

²¹ The Yale Syllabary (YOS, I, Pl. 53.57-60) and the duplicate text CT, XXXV, 1, i.46-49, list four meanings of the sign with their reading. The meanings seem to be arranged in pairs comprising first a name of an entity, then the name of the deity of that entity:

i	ENGUR	na-a-ru	"river"
i-id	ENGUR	^d Id	"the god (of the river) Id"
en-gur	ENGUR	ap-su-u	"the <i>apsû</i> "
nam-mu	ENGUR	^d Nammu	"the goddess (of the <i>apsû</i>) Nammu"

A further reading—originally perhaps pertaining to a separate sign which in time became merged with ENGUR—is gi-lu-gu (Meissner has suggested the emendation zi(!)-ku(!)-um(!), "heaven," Akkadian šamû [see SAI, 7737 and Deimel, *ŠL*, 484.8]). As translation of engur occurs also engurru which is merely the Sumerian word itself in Akkadian garb (see Deimel, *ŠL*, 484.2).

The reading with which we are here concerned is engur, translated as *apsû*, and forming a pair with the divine name Nammu. There can be little doubt about its basic meaning. Its Akkadian counterpart, *apsû*, denotes the sweet waters of the underground water-bearing strata of Mesopotamia, waters which may be reached when one digs down deep to lay the foundations of a temple, but which also appear in pools and marshes where the surface of the plain naturally dips down below the water table (see the current dictionaries *sub. voce* and Jensen, *RLA*, I, 122-23).

As *apsû* is used in Akkadian so is engur and its approximate synonym abzu (from this word derives Akkadian *apsû*) in Sumerian. Gudea tells us that the subterranean *temennu* (lit.: "temennu of the abzu") of the temple Eninnu in Lagash "consults together" with Enki down in "the house of the engur" (š-an-gur-ra-ka, Cyl. A, xxii, 11-13; cf. JNES, II [1943], 118). Here, accordingly, the engur is deep down in the ground. Ur-Nanshe, on the other hand, invokes the reeds of the marshes as "reed-of-the-canebrake of the engur" (gi.gi.š.gi engur(ra), Diorite plaque i.2; cf. JNES, II [1943], 118) and states that its root is in one place with Enki. Here, accordingly, the engur is the subterranean waters as they come to the surface in the marshes.

Although the notion underlying the words engur, abzu, and *apsû* is thus in itself both clear and well defined, one might, of course, raise the question whether occasionally one or the other of these terms might not have been used more loosely to include also the other large body of terrestrial water, the sea. On the whole, we believe, the answer must be in the negative.

The Akkadians—as shown by *Enûma elish*—distinguished quite clearly *Apsû*, conceived as male, from his spouse *Ti'amat*, the sea, conceived as female. Nor are engur or abzu ever translated as *tāmtu*, "sea," in Akkadian; this translation pertains to ab and a-a-b-b-a. But also the Sumerians treat engur and abzu as distinct in meaning from a-a-b-b-a, "the sea." We need quote only

²⁰ The Sumerian word me, here rendered as "modus operandi," means approximately "set, normative pattern (of behavior)," "norm." Etymologically it may be considered as the noun ("being" = manner of being) which corresponds to the verb me, "to be." It is used characteristically of the totality of functions pertaining to an office or a profession (cf., e.g., Gudea, Cyl. B, vi.23, vii.11, 23, etc.), of rites, and of mores (cf., e.g., Kramer, *AS*, No. 12, p. 24, l. 70; *PBS*, X.2, p. 1, obv. iii.12-13; see n. 23 below). Instructive also is me-te, "approaching the norm" = "proper," "fitting" (Akkadian (*w*)asmu). Landsberger, to whom the clarification of this term is largely due, translates "Göttliche Ordnungen von ewiger, unveränderlicher Geltung" (*Islamica*, II [1927], 369). In his earlier detailed study of the word (*AOF*, II [1924], 66) he proposed "'spezifisch göttliche Gewalt (Funktion)' oder 'heilige Macht.'"

The point just made is not unimportant, for it places the ideas with which we are here concerned in a particular group of Mesopotamian cosmogonic speculations. That group envisages the origin of the world along lines suggested by the manner of formation of alluvial Mesopotamia itself: through continual deposits

the passage which describes Enki's departure for Nipur in the myth of Enki and E-engurra (Dr. Kramer's translation may be found on p. 63 of his book):

⁴En-ki zi-ga-na (var. -ni) ku
i-zi (var. izi) šu na-zi
a b z u-e (var. -a) uš-e à m (var.
nam) -ma-gub (var. lā-a)
engur-ra hū-lā mu-ni-ib (var.
-ib) -tūm
a-a-b-ba-ka (var. -a, -geš) nī
mu-un (var. om.) -da-gāl
id-maḥ-e (var. -geš) su-zi mu-
un (var. om.) -da (var. + -an) -ri
id-Buranun-na(!) lu (var. tūš-ulū)
sūr mu-un-da-an-zi

"When Enki rose the fishes rose, raised (their)
hands (in prayer) to him—
He stood, a marvel unto the *apsū*,
Brought joy to the Engur.
To the Sea (it seemed that) awe was upon him,
To the Great River (it seemed that) terror
hovered around him,
While at the same time the Southwind stirred
the depths of the Euphrates."

The variants affecting the sense are: "He floated" or "hung suspended" instead of "He stood" in the second line; "Awe was upon him as (it is upon) the sea" and "Terror hovered around him as (it hovers around) the great river" in the fourth and fifth lines. Besides the translation of ll. 2-6 given above, one might also consider: "He stepped—a marvel to behold—up to the *apsū*, was carried in joy into the engur. In the sea awe was upon him, on the great river terror hovered around him, in the Euphrates the southwind stirred the depths when he arrived thither (lit.: 'with him')." On any translation the engur and the "sea" (a-a-b-ba) are different entities. Another passage which shows the two words to represent distinct entities is AO, 4331 + 4335, iv, 1-2; *NFT*, p. 206; Poebel, *ZANF*, III (1927), 162.

In favor of a less strict usage we could at best quote passages like *TC*, VI, 47, l. 2, which points up a resemblance between Ea and Ereshkigal as follows: a-me ⁴E-a ki-i 'ap'-su-ū ap-su-ū tam-tim tam-tim ⁴Ereš-ki-gal, "Ea resembles the *apsū*, the *apsū* the sea, the sea Ereshkigal." However, as anyone conversant with theological texts of the type of *TC*, VI, 47, will know, such associations are important rather for what they tell about Mesopotamian speculative thought than as precise contributions to lexicography.

Little is gained also from V R, Pl. 51, iii.77-78: ⁴Nammu nin ab-gal-l[a . . .], ⁴MIN be-el-tu šā ina tam-tim [. . .], for the lacuna in the text leaves

of silt in the riverain marshes. Nammu, the deep which deposits the silt, is to this day "giving birth" to earth in Mesopotamia. By identifying Nammu with the sea, Dr. Kramer must necessarily lose sight of the basic meaning of the speculations of which he treats. Accordingly, later on (p. 75), he is at a loss to explain why the particular combination Nammu-Ninmah-Enki should be involved in the creation of man. The answer is not difficult. In the text to which Dr. Kramer has referred man was made—as one would make a clay figurine—from "the clay above the *apsū*." This clay typifies the silt which the watery deep of the marshes (Nammu) deposits on the shore (Ninmah), and correspondingly Ninmah (Kramer rightly identifies her with Ki, "The firm ground") is in the myth to "stand above" Nammu to receive the child—the silt—when Nammu gives birth to it. The deposited clay owes its plasticity, its ability to receive form, to its content of water. This explains the presence of Enki, who represents the

the exact relations between Nammu and the sea or lake undetermined: "Nammu, the lady who in(to)/from the/a great sea/lake [. . .]." That etymologically the term a b z u and the terms for sea, a b and a-a-b-ba(k), may be related, and that correspondingly in a remote past the Sumerians may have distinguished the bodies of water involved less sharply, is possible (a suggestion to that effect has been made by Poebel; see *ZANF*, III [1927], 258, and *apud* Jensen, *RLA*, I, 122) but is not, of course, immediately relevant to the usage of historical times.

Under these circumstances the likelihood that in historical times engur, a b z u, and *apsū* were used—even occasionally—to include also the sea appears rather problematical. To set aside their clear and well-established meaning "sweet waters of the subsoil and of pools and marshes" and to assume instead this questionable meaning "sea" to be their primary and basic connotation seems decidedly inadvisable, the more so since the deities connected with the engur and the a b z u / *apsū*, Nammu and Enki, played a very prominent role in Mesopotamian religious thought, as did the sweet waters of the subsoil, of rivers, wells, canals, and of the marshes, in the life and outlook of the Mesopotamian himself. The sea, on the other hand, was an almost negligible factor in his life. It would be very strange indeed if he had chosen it and the divine powers manifest in it as his most popular object of worship.

sweet waters and who himself issued from Nammu. Just as the deep which deposits the clay, the firm ground which receives it, and the water which gives it plasticity are all involved in the making of a clay figurine, so were these forces involved in the making of man, a process which the myth sees as entirely analogous.

2. *The shape of heaven and earth.*—The second of Dr. Kramer's three questions has reference to the shape of heaven and earth: "What was the shape of heaven and earth as conceived by the Sumerians?" He finds the answer in two lines from the myth of Lahar and Ashnan on which he comments as follows (p. 39):

The myth "Cattle and Grain" . . . , which describes the birth in heaven of the spirits of cattle and grain, who were then sent down to earth to bring prosperity to mankind, begins with the following two lines:

After on the mountain of heaven and earth,
An had caused the Anunnaki (his followers) to
be born, . . .

It is not unreasonable to assume, therefore, that heaven and earth united were conceived as a mountain whose base was the bottom of the earth and whose peak was the top of the heaven.

What Dr. Kramer here proposes is a Sumerian *Weltberg*. His argument rests, as will be seen, on a tacit assumption that the genitive in the Sumerian phrase *h ur-sag an-ki-bi-da-ke₄*, "on the mountain of heaven and earth," can represent, and can represent only, an appositive genitive with identifying force: "the mountain of (= which is) heaven and earth." Such an assumption, however, is not admissible a priori. In the first place, the proposition that Sumerian possessed the appositive genitive is open to the gravest doubts. Nobody has yet demonstrated—or, as far as we know, even suggested—that this was the case. Sec-

ond, one would hesitate—even if it could be shown that Sumerian possessed such a genitive—to interpret the particular genitive in *h ur-sag an-ki-bi-da-ke₄* as other than a normal "possessive" genitive (range of meaning approximately: in the sphere of), for the "possessive" genitive fits the context perfectly. The Sumerian word *h ur-sag* usually has reference to the range of mountains bordering the Mesopotamian plain on the east. As seen on the eastern horizon, its shining peaks towering from earth up into heaven, the *h ur-sag* appears indeed to belong equally to both of these cosmic entities, and the epithet here applied to it, "of both heaven and earth," is therefore as forceful as it is apt.

The interpretation of the phrase here given was seen and clearly set forth already by Chiera in *SRT*, page 27, note 2. Chiera also noted (*ibid.*, p. 29, n. 3) that the scene of events as indicated in the introductory lines of the myth (the *h ur-sag* on the eastern horizon) is in full agreement with the later statement that Lahar and Ashnan came into being in *D u₆-k ù*, "the holy mound," for *D u₆-k ù* was located by the Sumerians in the mountains on the eastern horizon where the sun rises.²² Indeed, it was probably the luxuriant vegetation, the wondrously fresh green pastures of the foothills, contrasting so markedly with the barren Mesopotamian plain, that led the Sumerians to seek the origin and home of Lahar, the power manifesting itself in the thriving flocks, in the faraway green hills.

We must thus conclude that there is in these lines no evidence for a Sumerian *Weltberg*.

3. *The separation of heaven and earth.*—Dr. Kramer's answer to his third question is correct. It was Enlil who separated heaven and earth.

²² See V R, Pl. 50, l. 5. Cf. Jensen, *RLA*, I, 122.

B. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNIVERSE

On pages 41-75 Dr. Kramer deals with the organization of the universe, dividing the subject into the organization of heaven and the organization of earth; the latter, which subsumes the creation of man, we shall treat separately.

The section on the organization of heaven occupies only one of the thirty-four pages and is based largely on scattered phrases culled from a variety of literary texts. Important relevant myths are the "Myth of the Elevation of Inanna" (RA, XI [1914], 144-45; cf. also RA, XII [1915], 74-75), especially lines 24 ff., and the "Eclipse Myth" (CT, XVI, 19). Both of these sources are ignored as, indeed, are most of the very large and very important Sumerian mythological materials which happen to have come down to us in late copies only. The reasons for the omission of this material, seemingly deliberate, are not clearly stated anywhere in the book.

Since we are discussing the organization of heaven, we would call attention to a passage on page 74:

Enlil, the air-god, now found himself living in utter darkness, with the sky, which may have been conceived by the Sumerians as made of pitch-dark lapis lazuli, forming the ceiling and walls of his house, and the surface of the earth, its floor. He therefore begot the moon-god *Nanna* to brighten the darkness of his house.

For the sake of clarity it should be said that this passage is not, to our knowledge, a paraphrase of any extant Sumerian myth. The conception of the universe as a dark house, and of the moon-god as a lamp begot to light it, is rather the author's own vivid synthesis, a suggestion as to what the Sumerians *may* have thought.

The organization of the earth Dr. Kramer presents by retelling nine differ-

ent Sumerian myths. Some of these, such as "Enlil and Ninlil" and "Enki and Ninhursaga," are concerned primarily with origins (the former also with status: chthonic or celestial), while others, such as "The Myth of the Pickax," "Lahar and Ashnan," and "Emesh and Enten," deal with both origin and relative value. Only "Enki and Shumer" and in a sense "Inanna and Enki" deal primarily with organization—the latter in so far as it seeks to explain the scope of Inanna's powers. The myth of "Enki and Eridu," giving the building history of Enki's temple, stands somewhat apart. So, too, does "The Journey of Nanna," which seems concerned primarily with the prosperity of Ur.

We have commented on sections of two of these myths above ("Enlil and Ninlil" and "The Myth of the Pickax") and—since considerations of space prohibit detailed discussion—here add only a few remarks on the others.

The statement on page 53 ("Lahar and Ashnan"), "But the Anunnaki were unable to make effective use of the products of these deities; it was to remedy this situation that man was created," seems to rest on the lines translated: "The Anunnaki of the Dulkug eat, but remain unsated; in their pure sheepfolds milk, . . . , and good things, the Anunnaki of the Dulkug drink, but remain unsated" (p. 73). These lines, however, merely express the fact that the Anunnaki so liked the good products of Ashnan and Lahar (primarily bread and milk) that they never tired of eating and drinking them. This is the sense in which negated forms of *šebū*—to which *si* corresponds in the meaning "to satiate"—are used elsewhere in Mesopotamian literature (see, e.g., Delitzsch, *HW*, pp. 636-37). We should accordingly translate "unsatiably" and not "but remained unsated." The meaning of the third sec-

tion of the passage of Lahar and Ashnan translated on pages 72-73 and—much more serious—the greater part of the myth of Enki and Ninhursaga is fatally obscured through the erroneous interpretation of Uttu as “goddess of plants” instead of as goddess of “weaving” and/or “washing” clothes. The latter interpretation—and the only one which fits the myths—has been conclusively established by Scheil (see, e.g., Langdon, *Le Poème sumérien* ..., pp. 152 ff., where the relevant syllabary passages are quoted). In the myth of Enki and Shumer the latter (as the principality centering around Nippur) stands on a line with the principality of Ur (not in the relation of country and capital) and with that of Meluhha. The blessing on Shumer, mentioning its “matrix” which gives birth to kings and *enu*’s, has been largely misunderstood in the translation on page 59.²³

C. THE CREATION OF MAN

The tradition according to which man sprouted, as though he were a plant, from the soil of Uzumua has been discussed

²³ Enki touches first on Shumer’s cultural leadership: it sets the norms, the standards of right behavior. Utu-ě-ta utu-šú-uš ukū-e me si-mu cannot—for reasons of grammar—mean “the people from sunrise to sunset obedient to the divine decrees” but must be rendered: “(Thou Shumer) who dost set (lit.: ‘give’) norms for the people from sunrise to sunset,” i.e., from the farthest east to the farthest west. He then mentions Shumer’s powers as “king-maker”: it has authority to confer the high offices of “king” and “*enu*.” The relevant lines—which belong closely together—have been separated by Dr. Kramer and distributed to two of the sections into which he divides the text. They read:

u mu n̄-zí-ki-dingir-ù-tu-za
an-geš šu nu-te-gā
lugal ù-tu suḥ-zi-kés-di
en ù-tu sag men gā-gā

“Thy true matrix, the place which gives birth to gods, is untouchable like heaven,
It gives birth to kings, ties(?) rightly the pectoral(?),
It gives birth to *enu*’s, sets the crown on(?) (their) heads.”

The crown and pectoral(?) are symbols of office; the phrase “which gives birth to gods” may have reference to deified rulers.

above.²⁴ The tradition which Dr. Kramer treats (pp. 68-72) assumes that man was formed from clay much as a figurine is made. Unfortunately, the section dealing with the actual birth of “the clay above the *apsū*” and the fashioning of man from it is lost in a lacuna of the text. The following sections deal not with man as such but rather with certain freak types of human existence (e.g., the eunuch, the barren woman) and unfortunate general forms of human life such as that of the old man suffering under the debilities of extreme age (typified in Enki’s creature U₄-m u-u l, “My day is ancient”). The origin of these forms of human existence is traced to a mischievous contest between Enki and Ninmah when these gods were in their cups. One was to make freaks, the other was to cope with the freak, find a way to integrate it with the world order, a way in which it might gain a living. The meaning of this part of the myth seems to have escaped Dr. Kramer.

D. MYTHS OF KUR

A special section of Dr. Kramer’s book, pages 76-96, is devoted to myths about a monster called Kur. He writes:

Kur thus cosmically conceived is the empty space between the earth’s crust and the primeval sea. Moreover, it is not improbable that the monstrous creature that lived at the bottom of the “great below” immediately over the primeval waters is also called Kur; if so, this monster Kur would correspond to a certain extent to the Babylonian Tiamat. In three of our “Myths of Kur,” it is one or the other of these cosmic aspects of the word *kur* which is involved [p. 76].

²⁴ Another form of the tradition is preserved in KAR 4. This text also mentions the separation of heaven and earth: u a n ki-ta tab-ge-na-bad-a-ta bā-a-[ba], “When heaven from earth—from the far removed trusty twin—had been parted,” and proceeds to tell of a divine decision to create man in Uzumua (obv. 24-25). But the decision is taken at an assembly of all the gods, and man is to be fashioned from the blood of the two Lamga gods who are to be slain for that purpose.

Since the monster Kur is a new concept in Sumerian mythology—except for occasional references to it in earlier writings of Dr. Kramer—it will be worth while to consider briefly the material adduced for it.

1. *First myth of Kur.*—The first "myth" quoted under the heading "The Destruction of Kur: The Slaying of the Dragon" (p. 76) appears—we can think of no other way of describing it—to have been derived by means of a series of conjectures from a misunderstood passage in the introduction to the tale of "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Nether World." We may illustrate by quoting Dr. Kramer's own outline of the story, printing in italics the words which connect one such conjecture with the next:

After heaven and earth had been separated, An, the heaven-god, carried off the heaven, while Enlil, the air-god, carried off the earth. It was then that the foul deed was committed. The goddess Ereshkigal was carried off violently into the nether world, *perhaps* by Kur itself. Thereupon Enki, the water-god, whose Sumerian origin is uncertain, but who toward the end of the third millennium B.C. gradually became one of the most important deities of the Sumerian pantheon, set out in a boat, *in all probability* to attack Kur and avenge the abduction of the goddess Ereshkigal. Kur fought back savagely with all kinds of stones, large and small. Moreover it attacked Enki's boat, front and rear, with the primeval waters which it *no doubt* controlled. Here our brief prologue passage ends, since the author of "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Nether World" is not interested in the dragon story primarily but is anxious to proceed with the Gilgamesh tale. And so we are left in the dark as to the outcome of the battle. *There is little doubt*, however, that Enki was victorious. Indeed it is *not at all unlikely* that the myth was evolved in large part for the purpose of explaining why, in historical times, Enki, like the Greek Poseidon, was conceived as a sea-god; why he is described as "lord of the abyss"; and

why his temple in Eridu was designated as the "sea-house" [p. 79].

Since the whole story is built around the assumption that Ereshkigal in the beginning of time was abducted violently to the nether world, we may begin our comments with the three lines on which that assumption rests. They read:

u₄ An-né an ba-an-túm-a-ba
 En-líl-le ki ba-an-túm-a-ba
 Ereš-ki-gal-la-ra (var. om. -ra)
 kur-ra sag-rig₅-ga-šè im-ma-
 ab-rig₅-ga-a-ba

These lines are translated by Dr. Kramer on page 37 as follows:

After An had carried off heaven,
 After Enlil had carried off earth,
 After Ereshkigal had been carried off into Kur
 as its prize.

In his comments on the text on page 38 he explains that "the goddess Ereshkigal, the counterpart of the Greek Persephone, whom we know as queen of the nether world, but who originally was probably a sky-goddess, was carried off into the nether world, perhaps by Kur." Actually, however, the verb-phrase sag-rig₅-ga-šè . . . rig₅ does not mean, as Dr. Kramer translates it, "to carry off as a prize," but literally "to present as a presented present." It is a somewhat overloaded variant of the phrase sag-šè . . . rig₅, "to present as a present," used typically of (1) votive offerings (including persons: votaries) presented to a deity and (2) the dowry given to a woman at her marriage. Ereshkigal, whom Dr. Kramer assumes to be the subject of the passive form of the verb, is actually the dative object, as shown by the dative suffix -ra which follows her name in the text given on Plate VIII. We must accordingly translate quite differently:

After An had carried off heaven,
 After Enlil had carried off the earth,

(And) after it (the earth) had been presented as dowry to Ereshkigal in the nether world (var.: to Ereshkigal and the nether world).

For the concept that the earth (k i) belongs to Ereshkigal we might perhaps be justified in quoting her Akkadian epithet *šarrat eršetim*, "Queen of the earth." It seems quite likely that "the earth" (k i) should have been considered somehow to be associated with or to have belonged originally to the "great(er) earth" (k i-gal), Dr. Kramer's "great below," of which Ereshkigal's name (e re š-k i-gal-la) indicates her to be ruler.

There is thus in the lines quoted no support whatever for the assumption that a "foul deed" (p. 79), an abduction of Ereshkigal, was ever committed. Nor is there any evidence for the related suggestion that Ereshkigal "originally was probably a sky-goddess" (p. 38). Nor can Enki's boat ride, referred to in the following lines, now be plausibly explained as an expedition undertaken to avenge that abduction. For the time being we must content ourselves with the fact that we do not yet know the myth to which it has reference.²⁵ In passing, it may be noted that Enki's name is perfectly good Sumerian and means "The lord of the earth" (more originally, perhaps, "Lord Earth"). It happens to be one of the first Sumerian divine names attested, occurring already on tablets from Jemdet Našr.²⁶ The name also appears, immediately following that of Enlil, at the head of our oldest Sumerian lists of gods, those from Fara.²⁷

²⁵ One might guess—but it could be no more than a guess—that the myth aimed at explaining how Enki, the sweet waters in the ground, came to occupy his present position (see n. 28 below) separating the earth above (k i) from the underworld (k i-gal, "the great(er) earth") below. It is only fitting, before leaving the passage with which we have been dealing, to call attention to Dr. Kramer's earlier—and far more cautious—treatment of it in *AS* No. 10, pp. 3 and 34 ff.

²⁶ Langdon, *OECT*, VII, No. 99.

²⁷ Deimel, *Schultexte aus Fara* (Leipzig, 1923). Nos. 1.1.4, 5.1.2, etc.

The suggestion that Enki's "Sumerian origin is uncertain" seems therefore particularly unfortunate. So also is the characterization of Enki as a sea-god and the comparison with the utterly different Greek Poseidon. Enki was primarily god of the sweet waters, of wells and canals, and of the *apsû*. His connections with the salt water, the sea (a-a-b-b-a(k)), are at best peripheral, the sea playing a very small role in the life of the Sumerians, a very large one in that of the Greeks.²⁸

²⁸ The assumed connection of Enki with the sea and the translation of the name of his temple in Eridu, É-engu-ra(k), as "sea-house" (p. 79 *passim*) are largely based on the belief that a-b-zu and engur denote "sea," which we have discussed in n. 21 above. Concerning É-engu-ra(k) in Eridu it should be noted that the "sea" on which Eridu was situated was in reality an inland lake, as shown by R. Campbell Thompson's finds of fresh water shells on the site (*Archaeologia*, LXX [1920], 124-25). Both Akkadian *tāmtu* and Sumerian a-a-b-b-a(k) could be used for "lake" as well as for "sea" (cf. Jensen, *RLA*, I, 123; Unger, *ibid.*, 404-5). The flora and fauna of its immediate surroundings (Myth of Enki and Eridu, ll. 75 ff.: reed thickets, fruit-bearing orchards, birds, and fishes; cf. Kramer, p. 63) are those of a freshwater lake, not of the sea. The engur, from which the temple is named, is therefore the water-bearing strata at the lake bottom from which water seeps into the lake from the surrounding soil and, cosmically conceived, the "house of the engur" stretches underground with the water table to Lagash where the substructure of É-nin-nu reaches down into it (see n. 21 above). Thus we also understand the description in the legend of the Kishkanû (*CT*, XVI, 46-47, 187-92): Enki, the god of the sweet waters in the earth, lies in the chambers of Nammu, goddess of the water-bearing strata; these chambers are down in the earth just above the "surface of the underworld" (hiliš written i-ri-kur-ra), i.e., "surface of the underworld"; see Deimel, *SL*, 449.174).

É-en-ki-kei (var. +ki-) du-du-a-ta Eridu^{ki}-ga hē-gāl si-ga-ām
ša É-a (var. É-²⁵²) tal-lek-ta-šū ina É-ri-du (var. Eri-duo) hē-gāl ma-la-a-ti
ki-dūr-a-na ki hiliš-ām
šū-bat-su a-šar ir-qi-tim-ma
ki-nā-a itim É-Nammu-ām
ki-iš-gu-šū (var. -šū) ma-aīa-lu (var. -al-ia(?)) šā dMIN

"The haunts of Enki in Eridu are full of bounty,
Where he sits is the surface of the underworld.
Where he lies is the chamber of Nammu."

Literally translated, the last lines read: In his place where he is sitting is the place (of the) surface of the underworld, in the place where (he is) lying is the (bed)chamber (of) Nammu (the Akkadian version seems to reverse "place where (he is) lying" and "chamber").

2. *Second myth of Kur*.—The second myth quoted under the heading "The Destruction of Kur: The Slaying of the Dragon" is the well-known *lugal-e u₄ me-lám-bi nir-gál*. Dr. Kramer retells the first part of this myth—the only part here relevant—as follows:

After a hymnal introduction the story begins with an address to Ninurta by Sharur, his personified weapon. For some reason not stated in the text as yet available, Sharur has set its mind against Kur. In its speech, therefore, which is full of phrases extolling the heroic qualities and deeds of Ninurta, it urges Ninurta to attack and destroy Kur. Ninurta sets out to do as bidden. At first, however, he seems to have met more than his match and he "flees like a bird." Once again, however, Sharur addresses him with reassuring and encouraging words. Ninurta now attacks Kur fiercely with all the weapons at his command, and Kur is completely destroyed [p. 80].

This interpretation differs most strikingly from those given by earlier scholars who have worked on the myth in that it treats the word *kur*, "the mountains," "the enemy land," as if it were a proper name, the name of Ninurta's antagonist. This antagonist, Kur, is supposed to have been a "large serpent which lived in the bottom of the 'great below' where the latter came in contact with the primeval waters" (p. 78).

The texts concerned—as far as known to the reviewer—contain no evidence whatsoever that might support these assumptions. On the contrary the Akkadian translation of *lugal-e u₄ me-lám-bi nir-gál* with unfailing consistency treats the word *kur* as a geographical term, translating it by *šadē*, "the mountains." Never once does the translator take this word over untranslated as is his custom with proper names. Thus the line from which Dr. Kramer con-

cludes that "Sharur has set its mind against Kur" reads:

u₄-bi-a en-na (var. om.) *giš tukul-*
a-ni kur-ra geštu mi-ni-i[n-
gál]
ī-nu-šú šá be-lí kak-ka-šú ina šadi-i uz-na-a-šú
*ba-[šá-a]*²⁹

In those days was the attention (lit.: the ear) of the weapon of the lord (directed) toward the mountains.

This means that Sharur, Ninurta's weapon personified, elsewhere called his "general," kept an eye on the mountains, that unruly region on the borders of the Mesopotamian plain whence danger of attack ever threatened. The phrase *geštu . . . gál* which must be restored in our line means "to direct one's attention toward," literally "(one's) ears being (toward)." It does not have the connotation "to set one's mind against." *Kur* is here as elsewhere translated by *šadē*, "the mountains," quite differently from the way in which the real name of Ninurta's opponent, Asag (*Ā-s à g*), is treated. This name is not translated but is correctly taken over into Akkadian as *Asakku*. Asag, who is not mentioned by Dr. Kramer at all, is the enemy against whom Sharur warns. He has been begotten on Ki, the Earth, by the god of heaven, Anu, has been chosen king by the plants, and his warriors, various stones, raid the cities. Sharur calls upon Ninurta to protect the country against Asag and Ninurta defeats him. That Asag, and not a nonexistent being Kur, is Ninurta's antagonist has never been doubted by earlier translators. It is, besides, clearly stated in other literary texts.³⁰ Since there is thus no evidence

²⁹ Haupt, *ASKT*, No. 10, p. 80, ll. 25-26; J. 5326 (Geller, *AOTU*, I.4, p. 279); and Kramer, *SLiT* 6 rev. The reading *en-na* of *SLiT* 6 is preferable to *en* given by *ASKT* 10 (and by J. 5326?). The damaged signs at the end of l. 25 in *ASKT* 10 are undoubtedly to be read with J. as *geštu mi(!?)-ni-i[n- . . .]*. The first sign of *ba-[šá-a]* is preserved in J. alone.

³⁰ On *Asakku* see, e.g., Ebeling, *RLA*, II, 108-9.

for the existence of a personage Kur in Sumerian mythology, we need not discuss the question of his supposed outward form. As for Asag, we can offer no opinion; the myth seems to treat of him in human terms but gives no definite clue to his shape. Nor need we deal in detail with the meaning of the section which describes the conditions remedied by Ninurta after he had vanquished Asag. We shall state only that we believe Asag, "The Crippler,"³¹ to typify the frigid cold of winter, Ninurta the forces of spring. Their battle which takes place over the mountains can be heard in the roar of the thunderstorms which herald the Mesopotamian spring. Before Asag was vanquished, the subterranean waters used to go up into the far mountains where they froze, but Ninurta built the *ḫursag*, the near ranges, to prevent the waters from so doing and led them into the Tigris. This seems to have reference to that melting of the snows on the high mountains in spring which causes the yearly flood. Altogether the myth of Ninurta and Asag appears to be a nature myth telling of the yearly battle of spring and winter.

3. *Third and fourth myths of Kur*.—Two more myths are listed as myths of Kur: "Inanna and Ebih" and "The Descent of Inanna." Since the word *kur* as used in these myths is not claimed by Dr. Kramer to refer to a personal being, monstrous or otherwise, we need not discuss these two myths in detail. We may therefore conclude our comments on the chapter "Myths of Kur" with the statement that—as far as we can see—evidence for the existence of such a being is still lacking.³²

³¹ *Ā-sāg*, literally "the one who smites the arm," corresponds to Akkadian *kaṣā*, "the one who binds," "the one who lames" (cf. Deimel, *SL*, 334.104).

³² In view of the intrinsic interest of the subject, a few words may be said of "biblical parallels." As some relationship—indirect—may reasonably be assumed

It remains to consider Dr. Kramer's interpretation of his material in the wider

to exist between the Sumerian and the biblical deluge stories (p. 97), so one would not a priori reject the possibility that Sumerian dragons—though not Kur—may be remote cousins, less likely ancestors, of Leviathan and similar monsters of a later day (pp. 13 and 76 ff.). Much painstaking work must yet be done, however, before the Mesopotamian concepts are so far clarified that the problem can be at all fruitfully attacked or even formulated. Generalities such as the mere belief in "a" dragon and "a" dragon-slayer mean practically nothing, for in all questions of cultural influence it is not the abstract and the simple but the particular and the complex which furnish reliable evidence.

This must be kept clearly in mind when one evaluates the implications of even such attractive suggestions as that the Sumerian lamentations are forerunners (p. 14) of the "Book of Lamentations." (Forerunners in the sense of compositions of an earlier age treating of similar subjects? Yes, certainly. Forerunners in the sense that the "Book of Lamentations" stands in a Sumerian literary tradition from which it derives literary patterns and phraseology? Surely not until it has been shown that the extant similarities go beyond what similar subject matter and similar situations will naturally suggest to any good poet.) It is far more imperative with remarks such as that on p. 82 that the passage giving Ninurta's verdicts on the stones "in style and tone, *not in content*, is very reminiscent of the blessing and cursing of Jacob's sons in the forty-ninth chapter of Genesis." Here the reader who is intent on "parallels" must make clear to himself that the similarities pointed to are on such a high level of abstraction that they can have no bearing on questions of cultural (stylistic) influence: they will hold equally with any series of motivated blessings, curses, or verdicts in any literature anywhere at any time. Similarly with the "Cain-Abel motif" (in Pan-Babylonistic parlance this used to mean "*Brudermord*") which is mentioned whenever a Sumerian myth treats of the rivalry between shepherd and farmer (pp. 49, 53, 101). Here again the reader should note that Dr. Kramer does not speak in terms of cultural influence. The contrast and rivalry of two ways of life, of the desert and the sown, goes through all Near Eastern history: it is of a nature to seek literary expression spontaneously, independently at varying times and places. That the Hebrew and the Sumerian stories have as their theme this ever present social and economic contrast is not significant; what is significant is rather the utter difference of treatment and of underlying emotional attitude in the two cases. The shepherd-farmer problem and its literary formulation must be different in a near-tribal community from what it is in a highly integrated state. It is not likely that any of the Sumerian stories ever influenced that of Cain and Abel; that we are, in any sense, dealing with the borrowing of a literary motif.

Indeed, the great problem which the Sumerian material raises is not a comparative problem; it is rather to understand, first and foremost, that literature in its own Sumerian setting—to interpret it as the expression of Sumerian culture itself. When that has been done, and only then, will it be possible to

and more significant sense of the word: his evaluation of the Sumerian myths as a

make valid comparisons and to test Dr. Kramer's extremely bold dictum concerning the Sumerian compositions that "the form and contents of the Hebrew literary creations and to a certain extent even those of the ancient Greeks were profoundly influenced by them" (p. viii).

For the time being side glances seem more likely to distract. Thus we would suggest that the text which serves as frontispiece and which is said to describe the state of man "before the 'confusion of tongues'" and to be "very reminiscent of Genesis XI:1," would have been differently interpreted by Dr. Kramer if he had sought Mesopotamian rather than biblical parallels for its phraseology. The passage which interests us reads:

"In those days the land Shubur (East), the place of plenty, of righteous decrees,
Harmony-tongued Sumer (South), the great land of the 'decrees of princeship,'
Uri (North), the land having all that is *needful*,
The land Martu (West), resting in security,
The whole universe, the people *in unison*
To Enlil in one tongue gave praise."

A key term of this passage, *eme-ḥa-mun*, which Dr. Kramer translates "*harmony-tongued*," occurs also in an address to the divine judge Utu in V R, Pl. 50, 1.69-70 (cf. IV R, Pl. 19.2, 45-46):

eme-ḥa-mun mu-aš-geš si ba-ni-fb-sā-e
li-šd-an mi-l-hur-ti ki-i iš-tin šu-[me tuš-te]-šir

"Mutually opposed testimonies thou dost straighten out as (were they but) one single statement."

The reference is to the judge's task of finding the facts of a case. In the phrase *lišān miḥurti* (*lišān*, sg. with collective force [see Delitzsch, *HW*, p. 386], is in the construct state before the genitive of characteristic *miḥurti* [Inf. 1.2 of *m-ḥ-r*; the *-t* has reciprocal force]), the word *miḥurtu* is used in its original meaning of "being mutually opposed" and not in its derived meaning of "matching one another," "corresponding to one another" (this latter shade predominates in the related adjective-adverb *miḥāru* and *miḥāriš*), as may be seen from its Sumerian counterpart *ḥa-mun* which denotes "conflicting," "mutually opposed" (cf. *ri-ḥa-mun*, "whirlwind" [Akkadian *ašamšutu*, Deimel, *ŠL*, 86.103], literally "(a) mutually opposed blowing" [cf. *ri*, translated as *zīg šāri*, *ibid.*, 86.16], a clashing of two winds blowing in opposite directions).

On this basis, then, *eme-ḥa-mun* in the passage under consideration would seem to mean not "harmony-tongued" but "(of) mutually opposed tongues" in the sense of "comprising people of widely different opinions." In corresponding sense, as equivalent to "expression of opinion," one will naturally interpret "tongue" also in the last line of the passage and translate: "to Enlil *with* one tongue gave praise." The line then expresses that on one thing the motley of countries and people mentioned could all agree: praise to Enlil. It is unity of mind, not unity of language, with which the ancient poet is concerned.

literary and as an intellectual achievement. Dr. Kramer is the first to undertake such an evaluation. He has endeavored to bring system and order into his materials, to understand—as he sees them—their underlying pattern of thought. The reviewer notices that the resultant synthesis differs not inconsiderably from the one to which his own research has led him and which he has recently had opportunity to clarify to himself in a few lectures soon to be published. Such difference, however—at the present stage of our knowledge—is not seriously disturbing. We are as yet in the earliest and most tentative stages of penetrating the inner structural coherence of these Sumerian materials, of clarifying the cultural system in which they are imbedded and from which alone they derive their intellectual and emotional meaning. The task is exceedingly difficult and most delicate. But each individual approach will contribute, will explore new possibilities. Differences of interpretation at this stage are therefore to be expected and even welcomed. For it is precisely in attention to and discussion of differences that we may hope to progress toward a truer insight.

It seems useful therefore to express clearly those divergencies of interpretation which seem to be of greatest significance in our various attempts to achieve a consistent picture.

III. GENERAL INTERPRETATIONAL APPROACH

Good interpretation undoubtedly has its mainspring in sincere love of that which is to be interpreted. But such love, if it is to lead to understanding, must be in a very special sense unselfish, neither closing its eyes in blind admiration nor impetuously trying to make over what it loves to suit its own desires. It must be the tempered passion of one who loves wisely.

These maxims, trite but true, are not always, it would seem, strictly observed in the book under discussion. Thus many of the aesthetic value judgments scattered through its pages seem overly enthusiastic and may thereby defeat their purpose, setting the reader against the Sumerian tale rather than leading him on to appreciation.

The myth of Enlil and Ninlil as given in the book tells how Ninlil's mother deliberately makes her daughter expose herself so that she may be raped by Enlil, how Enlil abandons her as soon as he has raped her, how she follows him and is seduced three times in succession by men whom she meets on the road—all of them, as it turns out, Enlil in disguise. The story is presented to the reader as "this delightful myth" (p. 43).

The story of Inanna and Enki tells how Enki while drunk presented to Inanna a great many powers, how Inanna made off with these powers in her boat, and how Enki, when he became sober, tried to stop the boat and take back his gift. The tale is introduced to the reader as "this magnificent myth with its particularly charming story" (p. 64).

Little is gained by such appreciation *quand même*.

As for the first story, Dr. Kramer was in a difficult position, since the motivations and meaning of the events in the story seem to have largely escaped him. Thus the story becomes merely brutal, losing the strange undertone of inevitability which it has when the psychology of its characters and the moral norms governing their actions are understood. Even so, however, an adjective like "wild" or even "brutal" would have done better to prepare the reader than does the incongruous "delightful."

As for the second story, Dr. Kramer understood the essentials of the tale correct-

ly, but "magnificent" is out of tune. Here it might have been stressed that this story is one in a much lighter vein. The conflict is not serious, for, since Inanna is Enki's favorite daughter, he cannot lose much to her. Whatever he gives her stays—so to speak—in the family. Thus the listener is free to enjoy the unwonted spectacle of Enki, the most clever and crafty of all the gods, caught in a dilemma of his own making, a dilemma of which his quick-witted daughter is not slow to take advantage. It may be added that the prize for which they play is nothing as ponderous as "the basis of the culture pattern of Sumerian civilization" (p. 66) but merely a motley of powers and activities with which the many-sided Inanna was thought to have connection.

As overenthusiasm is unfavorable to understanding, so also is too harsh censure. In the myth of Enki and Ninhursaga the latter gives birth to various deities, each to heal a part of Enki's aching body. In each case the name of the healing deity is compounded with the Sumerian word for the relevant part of the body. This draws the following salvo:

Moreover, the superficiality and barren artificiality of the concepts implied in this closing passage of our myth, although not apparent from the English translation, are brought out quite clearly by the Sumerian original. For the fact is that the actual relationship between each of the "healing" deities and the sickness which it is supposed to cure, is verbal and nominal only; . . . [p. 59].

It would undoubtedly have helped the reader more toward appreciating the ancient tale if—instead of chiding the Sumerians for not being more modern in their thinking—the author had explained why they thought as they did. The conviction that a name somehow partakes of the reality of that which it denotes is a prominent feature of Sumerian, as of

most other, mythopoeic thought. It has its basis in the fact that this form of thought does not recognize different levels of reality.

By closing one's heart against such ways of thought, one bars one's self from deeper understanding of the ancient mind and of ancient poetry. Thus Dr. Kramer—averse to mere "verbal" and "nominal" relationships—must fail to appreciate the rather fine piece of narration which the beginning of this self-same myth constitutes. The narrator of the myth—since a name partakes of the reality of what it means—refers to the deity Ninhursaga under her several names according as the essence of these names is manifest in or foreshadows Ninhursaga's role in the stream of events narrated. She is *Nin-sikil-la*, "The pure (i.e., virgin) lady," before Enki unites with her. In the section telling of Enki's advances to her she is *Nin-tu ama kamma*, "The lady who gives birth, the mother of the land," the name bringing into focus the possibility latent in her, a possibility which begins to be realized with the event here related. When Ninhursaga finally accepts Enki, she is *Dam-gal-nun-na*, "The great spouse of the prince (i.e., of Enki)." And when—as the fertile soil—she conceives and gives birth to vegetation she is *Nin-ḥur-sa-g-gá*, "The lady of the mountain," for on the lush green mountain slopes in the east the earth manifests its powers to produce the luxuriant vegetation of spring as it does nowhere else.

The student of ancient mythology dares not cling to his own criteria for what constitutes logical thinking so pertinaciously that these criteria become barriers preventing him from entering sympathetically into other, earlier modes of thought. So too must he ever be on guard against reading into the ancient words his own con-

cepts, born, formed, and determined in a world of scientific outlook and experimental technique.

To a modern scientifically trained mind the concept "fire" can mean: "oxidation, the oxygen of the atmosphere combining with the substance burnt." But something entirely different filled the mind of the ancient Mesopotamian when he consigned images of his enemies to the fire and addressed it as follows: "Scorching God Fire, warlike son of Heaven, thou, the fiercest of thy brethren, who like Moon and Sun decidest lawsuits, judge thou my case, hand down the verdict. Burn, O God Fire, the man and woman who bewitched me."³³ Concepts are not necessarily identical because their referent is the same. The words "God Fire," "fire," "combustion," "oxidation," may all refer to one objective reality, yet each symbolizes a different concept entirely. Were we—in the above prayer—to progress gradually through such stages as "God Fire," "fire," and "combustion," to "oxidation," we would remove with each "translation" one step further from understanding what filled the ancient speaker, until with "oxidation" all bridges had been cast off. The concept "oxidation," the total mental reaction which this word symbolizes, could not possibly have been entertained by him.

For the Mesopotamians, as for us, things are what we make them, that is to say, what our concepts of them are. And one cannot add to, or subtract from, or make substitutions for, a concept without emerging with a new and different concept.

We are stating these rather obvious facts in order to make clear why we are reluctant to follow Dr. Kramer in his efforts to express Sumerian mythology "rational-

³³ *Maqlû*, II, 104-8. Cf. G. Meier, *Die Assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû* (Berlin, 1937), pp. 16-17.

ly.' These efforts amount exactly—it seems to us—to substituting concepts such as “combustion” and “oxidation” for concepts like “God Fire”—under the impression that one is still rendering Sumerian thought.

Dr. Kramer states his method on page 73. Speaking of Sumerian cosmogony, he rejoices that “when these concepts are analyzed; when the theological cloak and polytheistic trappings are removed . . . , the Sumerian creation concepts indicate a keenly observing mentality . . . etc.” He seems quite unaware that what he is here removing is not a “cloak,” not “trappings,” but the very categories constitutive of Sumerian thought, its whole conceptual apparatus. When that has been removed, there can be nothing left. Those and none other were the terms in which the Sumerians could and did think. Without them there is no Sumerian thought.

A few of the results of this method may be considered in more detail. We quote:

Heaven and earth were conceived as *solid* elements. Between them, however, and *from them*, came the gaseous element *air*, whose main characteristic is that of expansion. Heaven and earth were thus separated by the expanding element *air* [p. 73; italics are Dr. Kramer's].

For the god Enlil (i.e., the storm viewed as, and reacted to as, a personal being with divine powers: “Lord Storm”) has been substituted the modern scientific concept “the gaseous element *air*, whose main characteristic is that of expansion.” With the term “air” instead of “storm,” “wind,” we are already on dangerous ground. There is, as far as we know, no term for “air at rest” in either Sumerian or Akkadian: all those we have denote “air in motion,” i.e., they symbolize concepts limited approximately as are those suggested by our words “wind” and “storm,” and only thus may they be ren-

dered. Constitutive for the further term “gaseous element” is the notion that there are various substances which have the same form as air. This was realized in Europe as late as the eighteenth century; up to that time it had been supposed that air is one homogeneous substance. That the main characteristic of air is that of expansion (Dr. Kramer has in mind, as the context shows, its ability to exert outward pressure) may—at least in a modified form—seem true to the physicist, but we doubt very much whether this is the characterization the man in the street would give; and we cannot imagine how the Sumerians without experiments would hit upon the notion that heated air expands more than does a comparable volume of solids or fluids heated to the same temperature. With the terms “solid,” “gaseous,” “element,” the constitutive notion of a tripartite scheme of possible forms under which matter can exist (as solids, liquids, or gases) has been introduced and imputed to the Sumerians—if we understand Dr. Kramer's text correctly, consciously so. It seems unnecessary to go on demonstrating how utterly divorced these notions are from the Sumerian concept of a “Lord Storm,” the essentials of which they are supposed to render. In the first paragraph on page 74 the reader may find language implying that the Sumerians were aware of a relation between density and gravitational pull: “Air, being lighter and far less dense than either heaven or earth, succeeded in producing the *moon*.” He may then check with pages 43–47 to see how far the concepts involved are truly the same. The immediately following lines of the paragraph read like the Nebular Hypothesis of Laplace seen through a glass darkly.

But this must suffice. We hope that we have expressed ourselves clearly so that if we end up on a positive note by sug-

gesting that Enlil, "Lord Storm," may have been imagined to have separated heaven and earth in somewhat the manner in which strong wind may momentarily blow under and lift a tent cloth or a large heavy sheet lying on the ground, neither the reader nor Dr. Kramer will conclude that this is "the same thing" that he has been saying all along. Differences of two worlds and of four millennia may not be ignored.

We have come to the end of our review and may sum up. We have found in Dr. Kramer's book much which calls for unqualified praise, especially in matters relating to the establishing of the text of the Sumerian compositions, which is a task of prime importance.

We have also found points on which we tend to differ with the author, almost exclusively, we may stress, in matters relating to translation and interpretation.

The fact that such differences exist in

no way lessens our appreciation of the other wholly excellent aspects of the author's work and our clear recognition of the urgency, value, and extreme importance of the larger project of which the book under review forms a part. The central task of that project—the establishing of the text of the Sumerian literary compositions, the finding, placing, copying, and publication of new fragments—can be satisfactorily accomplished even though the meaning of the text may not always be fully understood. And that task, we repeat, is without question the most urgent of all those which confront Sumerologists today. Here Dr. Kramer has demonstrated his industry and ability so convincingly that in our considered opinion no other scholar would be as competent as he to carry this important work to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion.

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ORIENTAL INSTITUTE MUSEUM NOTES

[Under this heading and with publication of the two objects described below the *Journal* inaugurates a series of notes in which selected objects in the Oriental Institute Museum will be made known. The objects to be illustrated and described will, in general, be recent acquisitions or objects either imperfectly or never previously published. The editors of the *Journal* welcome the further co-operation with the Oriental Institute which is evidenced by the inauguration of such a section. We are certain that our readers will appreciate the additional link with the Oriental Institute which will result from the regular publication of these Museum Notes.—EDITORS.]

TWO ACQUISITIONS FROM THE SIMKHOVITCH COLLECTION

THROUGH the good will of Professor Vladimir G. Simkhovitch of New York, the Oriental Institute has been able to purchase two splendid pieces from his collection. The head and the bowl (Pls. I and II) represent the two extremes with which these notes will have to deal. The head offers no problem save the mastery of its maker. Its value lies in its quality and, furthermore, in the fact that but a few works of its school and period are preserved. The bowl, on the other hand, raises several questions which we, at least, are not able to answer. In such a case one hopes that publication will induce others to contribute to an eventual interpretation.

A EWE'S HEAD OF THE PROTO-LITERATE PERIOD

Twelve years ago it would have been almost impossible to assign the animal head¹ to its proper time and country. But since 1934 a few works have been known with which the Simkhovitch head has close affinities. They were discovered at Warka, in southern Mesopotamia, and this fact adds credibility to a dealer's assertion that our head was found by illicit diggers at Jokha, ancient Umma, a site about thirty-five miles from Warka and the source of several important antiquities in our museums.

The type of the animal depicted agrees with an early Mesopotamian origin. The pendent ears are characteristic of the two archaic breeds of sheep which were displaced by a fat-tailed, wool-bearing, prick-eared breed about

¹ The museum number is A 25544; greatest length 11.5 cm., width 9 cm., height 7 cm.

the end of the third millennium B.C.² The more primitive of the two breeds had a hairy coat, not a fleece, and its rams had a mane and horizontal corkscrew horns. The other early breed was wool-bearing, and its rams had heavy horns coiled in a spiral about the ear. Since in both breeds the males were horned, the Simkhovitch head depicts a ewe.

Ewes appear on monuments of the Proto-literate period³ in conjunction with the symbol of the Great Mother.⁴ In fact, the works which the Simkhovitch head resembles formed part of a deposit of disused temple furniture discovered at Eanna, the shrine of Inanna-Ishtar at Warka.⁵ They consist of one complete figure and two heads of rams and a magnificent

² See Max Hilzheimer, *Animal Remains from Tell Asmar* ("SAOC," No. 20), pp. 32-42; also his notes in Ernst Heinrich, *Kleinfunde aus den archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk* (Berlin, 1936), pp. 48-52; and his article, "Sheep," in *Antiquity*, X (1936), 195-206.

³ This period comprises the latter part of what was formerly known as the Uruk period and the whole of the Jemdet Nasr period. See P. Delougaz and S. Lloyd, *Pre-Sargonic Temples in the Diyala Region* ("OIP," Vol. LVIII), p. 8, n. 10.

⁴ E.g., on a vase from Warka: Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, Pls. 3 and 38; on a trough in the British Museum: H. R. Hall, in *British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 2 (London, 1928); and on seals: H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Pls. Ib, IIIa, Vi; Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, Pls. 17b-c, 19a.

⁵ This deposit has been published by Ernst Heinrich (see n. 2 above). The relevant animal figures appear on Pls. 4-8. The deposit was buried in the latter half of the Proto-literate period but may have contained objects of a somewhat greater age (see Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 6, n. 3; p. 30, n. 1). The animal figures of the Proto-literate period cannot as yet be subdivided into an earlier and a later group, in contrast with the seals, stone vases, and pottery.

limestone head of a ewe. The Simkhovitch head differs from all these in the degree of stylization which it shows: the natural forms are rigorously reduced to planes and sharp ridges; the work shuns the soft modeling which recalls the living flesh and avoids such details as the folds above the eyes of the Warka heads. It renders the mouth by but a single engraved line, without modeling. Yet it shares a significant detail—namely, the peculiar rendering of the eye—with one of the Warka heads.⁶ These, moreover, differ considerably among themselves; they are highly individual works, not representatives of an established style.⁷ We have shown elsewhere that variety even to the extent of inconsistency is characteristic for the art of the Proto-literate period; it abounded in vigor and explored the possibilities of plastic expression without restraint. Thus we find, sometimes in one single work, traces of contrasting tendencies.⁸ Even in historical times Mesopotamian art seems to move between two poles—the love of abstract forms and an interest in the physical nature of its models. At different times one or the other of these tendencies predominated, but in the Proto-literate period both asserted themselves with equal force.

In the Simkhovitch head abstract forms prevail, although no characteristic of the animal is neglected: the taut cheeks, the curved bony forehead, the depression in the profile near the eyes, the convex nose—all are rendered but with the greatest economy. The austerity of the work sets it apart from the heads from Warka but not to the extent that its date could be doubted. It is true that at a later age, in the Second Early Dynastic period, a similar prevalence of the love of abstract forms over the interest in physical reality can be observed. But in the sculpture of that period, exemplified by the hoard of statues found at Tell Asmar,⁹ the natural forms were

often left behind, and definitely geometric shapes—a wedge for a chin, a cone for a skirt—were substituted. Such geometrization is alien to the Proto-literate period, when stylization at its most extreme equals some of the milder devices of the Second Early Dynastic period. We notice this, for instance, in the cylinder seals in which heraldic groups occur comparable with those made at Fara in the Second Early Dynastic age;¹⁰ similarly, in sculpture, a female head from Warka¹¹ has the hair rendered by sharply separated ridges, as in the Tell Asmar hoard. The Simkhovitch head must be placed alongside the Warka heads as a contemporary work.

It is likely that the great severity of form of our head was induced by the material in which it was cut. It is a coarse-grained green stone unsuitable for the rendering of the subtle modulations of surface which are the perfection of the limestone heads from Warka. The use of this green stone in the Proto-literate period is well certified.¹² We do not maintain, of course, that in works of the quality of the Simkhovitch head the material in any way interfered with the freedom of the artist to realize his intentions. On the contrary, we allude to that harmony between intention and material to which the artist aspires. The hard green stone would tempt the sculptor to go far in the direction of abstraction, while, on the contrary, alabaster, marble, or gypsum, being fine-grained and somewhat transparent, encourage a rendering of the gently curved surfaces of living tissue.

It is impossible to form an idea of the statue, vase, or throne base to which the head belonged.¹³ In Khafajah the statuette of a cow was placed upon the altar, as it seems.¹⁴ Hence the animal represented the goddess. At al-

¹⁰ Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. IVd-f; Pl. XIb-d, 1.

¹¹ ZA, Vol. XLV (1939), Pl. VIII-IX.

¹² Frankfort, *Progress of the Work of the Oriental Institute in Iraq, 1934/35* ("OIC," No. 20), p. 68, Fig. 54. It was also used for undecorated stone vases.

¹³ For rams on a throne base see *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. VI (1926), Pl. LIIIb, and also O. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder* ("AO," Vols. XVII-XVIII), No. 430.

¹⁴ Delougaz and Lloyd, *op cit.*, p. 81, Fig. 32, and p. 82.

⁶ Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, Pl. 5 (W 7330).

⁷ This is strikingly shown by the juxtaposition of two front views in Heinrich, *ibid.*, Pl. 8.

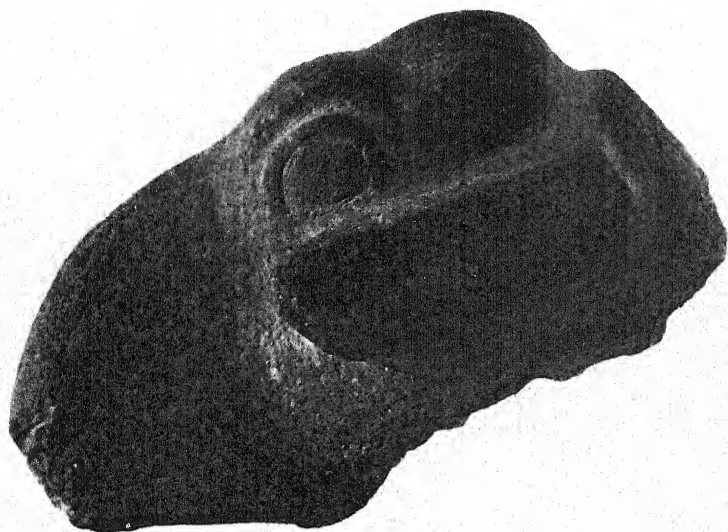
⁸ Frankfort, *More Sculpture from the Diyala Region* ("OIP," Vol. LX), pp. 1-4.

⁹ Frankfort, *Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah* ("OIP," Vol. XLIV), pp. 19-27.

PLATE I



A

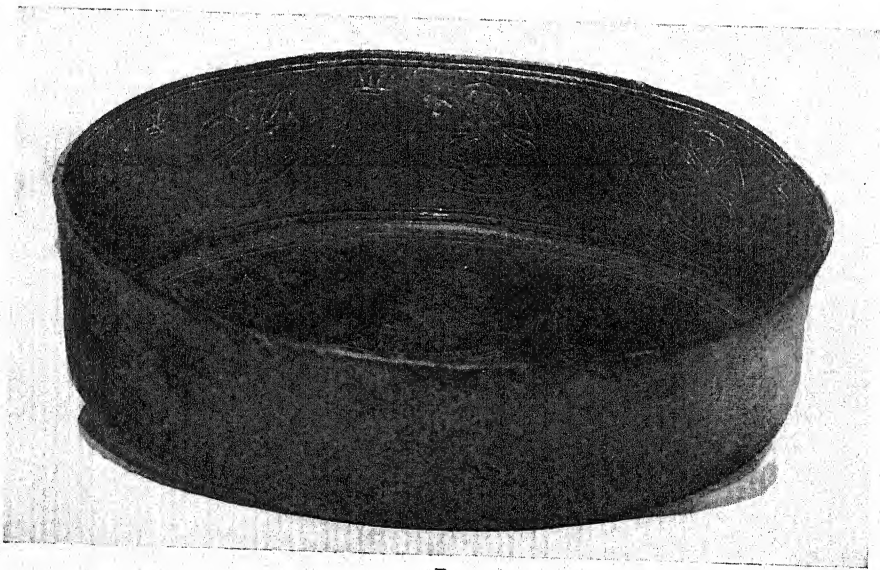


B

PLATE II



A



B

Ubaïd figures of bulls, cows, and calves served in various ways to embellish the temple.¹⁵ The house and the furniture of the goddess who personified natural life were decorated with the images of those of her creatures upon which her worshipers depended. But we need not know the exact context of the Simkhovitch head in order to appreciate its beauty. Shorn of accidentals, it was carved with a touch as sure as it was sensitive.

AN ASSYRIAN BRONZE BOWL

The affinities of the Simkhovitch bowl¹⁶ are as little in doubt as those of the head. Yet we have not been able to discover a single object which can be placed beside the bowl as a more or less related work. Even its simple shape is not found among known Assyrian bronzes, and the engraving on its inside poses a variety of problems (Pl. II).

The rim shows a motif which might be called a five-petaled flower, although no heart is shown. The flowers are set in scallops which are united at their highest points by a short horizontal bearing a fleur-de-lis-like ornament. This effective border design is quite new, as far as we know.

The scene on the inside of the bowl remains equally isolated. A mounted figure followed by a spearman moves toward a young beardless man who kneels, or rather squats, with bent head and hands lifted in worship or supplication. All three figures wear Assyrian dress, and the trappings of the horse are equally easy to match in the reliefs of Sargon, Sennacherib, or Assurbanipal; its harness includes the bit with the large segmental cheekpiece, the head-

band with a curved mount for plumes, the breast collar, and a throatlatch decorated with the rosettes which are ubiquitous at Khorsabad. The tunic and shawl of the rider are as clearly Assyrian as his leggings and shoes, which are commonly worn by Assyrian soldiers.¹⁷ The oblong piece which he wears on his chest is somewhat mysterious; it is decorated with rosettes and recalls an elaborate ornament depicted on an amber statuette at Boston.¹⁸

The manner in which these figures are drawn is as typically Assyrian as their accoutrements. The knotty musculature of the arms and legs; the rendering of the rider's hair by parallel lines ending in a triple row of curls; the characterization of the horse, not a noble animal as the Egyptians and Greeks saw it, but a laboring beast of burden—all these are unmistakable idiosyncrasies of the Assyrian draftsman.

A number of bronze bowls have been found in Assyria, especially at Kuyundjik,¹⁹ and these have nothing in common with the Simkhovitch bowl. They are larger and relatively shallower, and they are decorated, not with a single scene, but with radial arrangements or concentric bands of decorative designs. Among these the garbled versions of Egyptian motifs abound, and the bowls have long since been recognized as products of Phoenician craftsmen.²⁰ Purely Assyrian bronzework is not common; copper bands which decorated the masts at the temple entrances on the Palace Hill at Khorsabad may be quoted, but they show a combination of engraving and embossing which distinguishes them from our bowl.²¹ The hinges of the Gates of Balawat are even less like it.²²

¹⁷ E.g., Sidney Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum from Shalmaneser III to Sennacherib*, Pl. LVIII.

¹⁸ *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, XXXVI (1938), 77-83.

¹⁹ H. Layard, *A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh* (London, 1853).

²⁰ F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und Die Frühgriechische Kunst* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 6-20.

²¹ Gordon Loud and C. B. Altman, *Khorsabad II* ("OIP," Vol. XL), Pls. 49-50.

²² L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria B.C. 860-825* (London: British Museum, 1915).

¹⁵ H. R. Hall and C. L. Woolley, *Al 'Ubaïd* ("Ur Excavations," Vol. I), Pls. V-VI, X-XI, XXVII-XXX. Woolley's reconstruction in Pl. XXXVIII is ill founded; all the objects are placed in the façade of the temple because they were found at the foot of the platform in front of the building. If they had fallen there when the temple was ruined, their distribution in the soil would indeed have contained a key to their original position in the building. The descriptions and the plan suggest, however, that they were buried at the time of a reconstruction, in which case they might have been brought to the ditch in which they were deposited from all over the temple site. For an account of the conditions in which the deposit was discovered see *ibid.*, pp. 25, 78-79, and Pl. II.

¹⁶ Museum number A 25545; outside diameter 16.2 cm., height 4.2 cm., thickness of walls 0.2 cm.

But we remind the reader of these works in order to justify our claim that purely Assyrian bronzework did exist; the similarities in detail and general character between the Simkhovitch bowl and the Assyrian reliefs show that we may accept it as one of the rare survivors of the native Assyrian bronzes.

The most curious feature in the engraving is the figure on the right. We suspect that the draftsman wanted to depict a kneeling man but was prevented by the inward curve of the surface from making the feet project behind the body. The quality of the drawing is not such that it precludes the supposition of a makeshift; it possesses a pleasant liveliness, but the horse's head and neck are rather inadequate, and the figure on the left in particular shows that the draftsman was embarrassed by the circular shape of his field of design. The spearman is ill proportioned; his legs are too short and are forced toward the right. We may assume, then, that the other figure suffered similarly from his position near the edge of the bowl and was really meant to kneel. Even so, we cannot match him with any figure in Assyrian reliefs. Groups of kneeling men occur where Assurbanipal illustrated the installation of his protégé as king of Elam.²³ Some Elamites do homage by kissing the ground; behind them others are kneeling, but it would seem that they too are caught in the act of prostrating themselves and that their kneeling attitude is but a transient one. This would explain why they do not bow their heads; they will in a moment complete their proskynesis. The figure

in the Simkhovitch bowl bows his head because his gesture—be it of submission, supplication, or worship—is complete in itself. For it was only before the king that the subject kissed the ground. And the rider in our bowl is not a royal figure. The king traveled in a chariot, not on horseback, and the pomp of his progress could hardly be rendered by the little horseman and his solitary attendant. Our rider, moreover, wears a headband not unlike that of the prime minister at Khorsabad;²⁴ the king of Assyria, on the other hand, is always depicted in reliefs with a distinctive conical cap. In this light the unique nature of the supplicant's gesture also becomes explicable. The reliefs magnify royalty. Those who make submission or beg for their lives address the king and kiss the earth before his feet. But on the Simkhovitch bowl the young man makes obeisance before one of the king's officials.

The alleged origin of the bowl may be of some interest in this connection. It was said to have been found in Persia many years ago and to have been sold in Paris by a Persian. There is nothing in its design that remotely resembles Persian art, and we know that the Assyrians dominated a considerable part of western Iran. We may guess, then, that the bowl was engraved for the commander or governor of one of Assyria's eastern provinces. But even on that assumption the figures which it depicts retain the secret of their confrontation.

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²³ Archibald Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures*, Pls. LXXVI-LXXVII; *idem.*, *Palace of Sinacherib*, Pls. 65-66.

²⁴ Gordon Loud, *Khorsabad I* ("OIP," Vol. XXXVIII), p. 31, Fig. 38.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament. By NORMAN SNAITH. (Fernley-Hartley Lecture, 1944.) London: Epworth Press, 1944. Pp. 194. 10s.

These "distinctive ideas," to quote the author's own summary, are: "(1) Righteousness, always more than ethical . . . tending towards salvation or to a benevolence that is far beyond strict justice . . . (2) the love of God for man . . . (3) the Love of Israel (Man) for God . . . (4) the *ruach-adonai* (spirit of the Lord) as the life-giving, energy-giving power of God in the lives of individual men, enabling them to do what otherwise, in their ordinary strength they would be quite unable to do."

Of the importance of the volume there can be no doubt. It is a symbol of, and at the same time a welcome contribution to, a growing reassertion of the primacy of Hebrew thought in our Christian heritage as against the subservience to the Greeks which has dominated Christendom from its early history. Even yet, highly praised volumes are published on Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, and their tradition, as the sources of the Christian heritage in whom we can examine the ground on which we stand—and all just as though there had never been an Old Testament or as if Israel had never done serious thinking. Snaith properly comments: "Christianity itself has tended to suffer from a translation out of the Prophets and into Plato. Later the master was Cicero, and with the Renaissance, Aristotle. Plato has indeed been made to be 'divine' and Aristotle 'the master of them that know.' The tragedy of Christian theology through the years is the extent to which these statements are true in the matter of 'knowing Christ.'"

The favorite method in the book is that of a careful study of the etymology and uses of relevant Hebrew words, from which there are deduced the distinctive content that they had for Israel. This is excellent—up to a point! For it will be seen that the procedure can become an ingrown absorption in Hebrew thought. A

thesis such as here maintained demands, if it will escape pietistic subservience to dogma, a very broad scope and sensitivity of treatment. If the ideas actually are distinctive, then we should be told clearly wherein and to what extent they are so: in other words, the discussion must include a fair and understanding account of related thought elsewhere as a basis for comparison. The book begins well in this regard, for it plunges the reader at once into aspects of the thinking of the ancient Near East, in particular of Mesopotamia. A reassuring point, too, is its denial of uniqueness in Israel's concept of holiness on the ground that it was "the inner nature of Deity," since this was its meaning also "in Canaan and Mesopotamia." But, beyond this, the oriental background is meager to the point of nonexistence. The ethical emphasis of the prophets, the idea of a covenant relationship, the notion of the spirit of God, and many others are presented as though such concepts dawned first on the minds of the Israelites. Certainly there was a distinctive aspect of Israel's thought, and in its special areas it attained a supremacy over all others in the ancient world. But all these ideas had their beginnings elsewhere, and in some cases they reached notable elevation. The argument would have been much stronger and the value of the book higher if this non-Israelite development had been sympathetically sketched as the background of the Hebrew achievement.

But Snaith's method is peculiarly open to excess. Since it yields results in some cases, there is danger of invoking it consistently even where there is nothing to gain. This seems to be the point to which he comes in the study of Old Testament concepts of love. We are told that two conclusions emerge from the linguistic facts and that they "are of paramount importance in the understanding of the meaning of the root *'-h-b*. The first is that when the root is used of loving persons, it is used of the attitude of a superior to an inferior. Secondly,

where it is used (rarely) of an inferior to a superior, it is a humble, dutiful love." Now what does this mean, for the first point seems to cancel out the second? And the total of these results of "paramount importance" is only what the word implies in any case. Besides, there is a third condition, here overlooked—that of the love of equals, as of David and Jonathan; also it is merely begging the question to class the love of husband for wife as that of superior for inferior.

It is unfortunate that the common vogue is here followed of making the covenant basic in Israel's religious thinking. We are told that "the word *berith* (covenant) is found in the earliest records. It is used of the Covenant which Jehovah made with Abraham, Genesis xv. 18(J)." But surely the J document is not the "earliest record"; and the idea of the covenant is absent from the long prior sources in Judges and Samuel. Apart from the famous treatment of the theme in the J and E documents, the idea occurs for the first time, and then but rarely, in the prophecies of Hosea, but not again until Jeremiah in the period when Deuteronomy made it one of Israel's great themes.

The whole matter of the covenant and divine election provides some of the least satisfying discussion in the volume. It comes close, in its stress on the sovereign choice of God, to making him a being of caprice. "In some cases God does more than is required." But why in those cases only? And the answer seems to be: "Because of his free choice to do so," which surely is caprice, pure and simple. Indeed, we are left with the feeling that the divine election of Israel is interpreted in terms of national exclusiveness to the neglect of the better Old Testament thought that made it a call, not to privilege, but to responsibility and service, a universal call which, however, Israel obeyed uniquely. The sovereignty of God is emphasized to the extreme where one turns back to the title-page wondering how good a Methodist the author actually is! "Justice derives from him," he informs us, "He decides what is to be. . . . To this extent He is arbitrary in His judgments and arbitrary in His love." But surely even an underprivileged Greek such as

Socrates knew better than that! And if this is presented as biblical exposition, it is very inadequate, for the idea of theodicy, to which much thought was given by the wise men, implies a universal standard of justice to which God's conduct must conform as well as man's.

One is frequently astonished by the critical positions assumed and the inferences deduced therefrom. Isaiah is credited with "optimistic preaching," for which the references are Isa. 31:4-9 and 12:6. He is "torn between two" loyalties: to his convictions and to his nation; for the latter we are referred to chapter 31 and to 29:1-14. On such grounds, "the prophets were children of their times," i.e., swayed by national bigotries—what a caricature of Jeremiah and Isaiah, to say nothing of the others! But the trouble lies in the acceptance of passages that most scholars properly recognize to be spurious. Similar is the opinion that Isaiah "speaks of rescue when the time of greatest crisis is at hand"—apparently again an acceptance of the spurious narrative about the defeat of Sennacherib. The spirit of the Lord controls the prophets, we are told with references to Ezek. 2:2, 3:24, and 11:5—all of which are secondary in the context, as are the relevant words in Mic. 3:8. Amos charges that a man and his father go in to the *same* maid: a piece of thoroughly uncritical acceptance of current error, for the Hebrew says nothing at all about "the same" but merely that they go to "the young woman," i.e., the prostitute. For a different reason one remarks the now-abandoned dating of Hammurabi "about 2000 B.C." And why should a scholarly work, or any other for that matter, employ the baseless word "Jehovah?" If reference is to earlier concepts of Israel's God, then the correct name is Yahweh, but if to his higher attributes, then no term is comparable in dignity with the traditional "the Lord."

However, it is appropriate to turn finally from all such criticism to a cordial commendation of the concluding chapter, in which much of the thought of the book finds its culmination. In surveying the transfer of the Old Testament ideas already discussed into the New, it points out the traditional error persisting to the present of interpreting the New Testament

words *dikaion* and its derivatives in harmony with Greek usage, when they are, it is claimed, but translations of the Hebrew *tsadaq* and its related nouns. The argument at this point may well have far-reaching consequences, for it moves cogently to the conclusion that "there can be no right answer [to the question, "What is Christianity?"] until we have come to a clear view of the distinctive ideas of both Old and New Testaments and their difference from the pagan ideas which so largely have dominated 'Christian' thought."

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Meet Amos and Hosea. By ROLLAND EMERSON WOLFE. New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1945. Pp. 180. \$2.00.

Professor Wolfe explains that his aim in this little volume has been that of "making available to the average person the knowledge which hitherto has been largely the monopoly of scholars." For this he deserves commendation. There is a crying need of such scholarly popularizations. But he is to be congratulated also on the success of his undertaking; partly through the insights of his protracted study of Amos and Hosea and partly through a restrained use of imagination he has imparted a sense of reality to his sketch of their activities. His book is a welcome contribution to the already immense literature on the prophets. Its value toward its announced purpose is enhanced by the omission of practically all critical argumentation, which instead is promised for a later publication. In anticipation of this, it may not be amiss to offer a few comments and questions in the hope that they may contain something of value.

It is rather surprising to be told that the author's critical methods "have been as precise as the routine used by an organic chemist in his qualitative and quantitative analysis" (p. xxi). It is true that in literary criticism a considerable number of criteria are available (Professor Wolfe says that he used "almost a score" of them), and results take on dependability in proportion to the convergence of their testimony. Yet there remains in the end a high

measure of uncertainty, for the simple reason that literature is a product of the human spirit, which, with all our talk of psychological laws, is far removed from the relatively stable materials at the disposal of the natural scientist. The critic attains, finally, nothing but greater or less probability.

A fine feature of Dr. Wolfe's presentation is his sense of the poetic structure of the prophetic oracles. It would be well, however, to avoid the confusion entailed in speaking of "couplets" when in reality distich lines are meant (p. xxiii). The couplet is a quite different structure; in fact, couplets of *tristich* lines are not uncommon. The term "stanza" is likewise of dubious quality. Until we accept some standard terminology, this whole matter will remain confused. It would be better to retain the now traditional word, "strophe," with full recognition of its false implications, and use "stanza" then only for larger units of poetic organization, of which there are numerous examples.

The problem of Hosea's wife is perennial. It is doubtful that even relative unanimity will ever be reached. Still, to reason that marriage to a woman whom we would consider of doubtful character would spoil "the illustrative value of the metaphor" (p. 83) is but to fail to take account of relevant facts. It is gratifying to have Wolfe's rejection of the common idea of a repentant Gomer whom Hosea remarried (pp. 84-86), but this may not be supported by deletion of chapter 3, which certainly is genuine in large part.

What is meant by "the plains of Esdraelon and Jezreel" (pp. xxix and 107), since the former name is but a Greek corruption of the latter? Were the plains of Jezreel and Megiddo (or of Accho) intended? There is no basis for introducing "dung" and "dump heap" into Amos 4:3 (p. 24), a procedure that arose as part of the recent vogue of re-writing the Old Testament under the delusion that this was text criticism. The Hebrew is apparently correct, and Jerome's rendering while not final is much preferable to recent tampering. Allusion to "butcher's hooks" in connection with the same passage implies an oversight of recognized Assyrian practice (cf. the stela of Esarhaddon with the captive king of Tyre). It is

regrettable that the common error of speaking of the same prostitute in Amos 2:7 is perpetuated; the Hebrew gives no basis for this. A strange feature is the omission of mention of the cult of the dying god in connection with Amos 5:16, Hos. 5:12 ff., and the sketch of the corrupt popular cult on page 94. And, finally, would not some less "catchy" title have indicated equally well the popular character of the book?

WILLIAM A. IRWIN

University of Chicago

Mukhtārāt min al-Adab al-Arabī: An Arabic Chrestomathy for Advanced Students. Published by the COMMITTEE ON ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES. Washington, D.C.: The Committee, 1944. Pp. vi+370. \$2.50 cash with order; otherwise \$3.50.

This is the first all-American attempt to put together a chrestomathy for advanced students, and as such it is noteworthy. The principle of its building is new, an interesting experiment in photolithographic reprinting of from two to fifteen pages of previously published books, themselves largely chrestomathic. As a first attempt at this sort of thing, it is worthy of commendation. Three hundred and seventy pages of text in a chrestomathy is full measure for whatever the price may be.

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The first thing to be noted is that the phrase "advanced students" seems to be somewhat broadly interpreted. A considerable amount of the material offered is hardly of a very advanced type, naturally, because so much is taken from chrestomathic books, many of which presuppose little beyond a bare elementary knowledge such as the students of Chicago in my time of teaching would be supposed to have acquired in at most six months. This points to another characteristic of this learner's useful book: a well-graduated rise in difficulty of the material offered is not easy to discover.

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non to make this good first American effort at an Arabic chrestomathy as efficient and as useful as it should be.

M. SPRENGLING

University of Chicago

Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib as-Sarakhsī. By FRANZ ROSENTHAL. ("American Oriental Series," Vol. XXVI.) New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1943. Pp. 135. \$3.00.

The third century of Islam (ninth century of our era) was attuned to an intellectual atmosphere that was not to be surpassed in medieval history. It was a time when non-Moslem and non-Arab branches of learning held their own along with the earlier field of Moslem-Arabic studies. All branches of knowledge, therefore, came to engage the hearts and minds of an increasing body of distinguished and flourishing scholars. If any one thing characterized the most gifted of this group, it was an insatiable thirst for knowledge—a thirst they sought to satisfy at several intellectual fonts. They were, therefore, no narrow specialists—not even as that word was understood in their day—but broad encyclopedists of varying talent and energy. This fact is forcibly brought home to the Arabist who cares to look into the large body of Islamic bio-bibliographical literature of the period. For there are to be found references to many encyclopedists, some of whose numerous works have survived to our own day, as well as reference to many others whose long list of works are known only by name or through quotations and fragments of varying length surviving in the scholarly works of their successors.

It is to this latter class that the subject of this careful and exhaustive study by Dr. Rosenthal belongs, though why Sarakhsī was singled out for this special treatment is nowhere told. The author's painstaking labors and his travel on two continents in search of his subject are a fitting sequel to that "extraordinary thoroughness of Arabic scholarship" (p. 38) which preserved for centuries the materials for his own study.

For the Arabist at home in this period of Islamic civilization, the results of the present collection of Sarakhsī's fragments seem to be

largely negative, and for him a less rigorous method of procedure would have been equally effective. This is not to blame the author for not finding results that were not forthcoming, e.g., definite biographical dates and an insight into Sarakhsī's personality, a discovery of the littérateur's style, or a clearer conception of the scholar's views and theories other than those he shared with his greater and better-known teacher, Abū Yaʿqūb al-Kindī (pp. 8, 17, 86). Nor is it to be ungrateful for the ready accessibility of the materials here brought together, including the Arabic text of four hitherto unpublished fragments, even if the author's method of presentation slows up cross-referencing within the study itself. The copious notes are illuminating and suggestive.

To scholars in fields cognate to Islamic studies, the organization and translation of the materials present a sketchy yet discernible outline of the rich and varied intellectual activity of the period. The translation is, on the whole, reliable, and the style a happy medium between "literal" and "liberal," so that, for the most part, both the sense and the flavor of the Arabic are retained. The following comments and corrections result from a closer check (via Yāqūt's Arabic text) on the section on "Cultural History and Adab" (pp. 82 ff.).

Following Ibn Abī Ṣaibīḥ's grouping of phrases, the subtitle of *Kitāb al-Lahw wa al-Malāḥī* should read: "Refreshment of the Thoughtfully Occupied concerning Singing and Singer's, Boon Companionship and Fellowship, etc." (pp. 82, 84). Geometry may have helped to recognize the "qualities" of the letters of the alphabet, but "quantities," that is, size and proportional structure, is certainly implied in *maqādir* (p. 87). The geometrician in question was not "thoroughly uneducated" but one with a thoroughly bad education (from a narrow Islamic point of view [*ibid.*]). *Ṣināʿah* is hardly to be translated "science"; "art," "trade," or "profession" is more to the point (p. 89). "I took this as an allusion to the Angel of Death," should read: "I took this as an ominous allusion, etc." (p. 91). The Moslem geometrician's reply to his narrowly orthodox but privileged tormentor is not a defiant "I care neither for . . . nor am I interested in . . ." but a reassuring "I make no men-

tion of. . . .” Defiance at that point would have promptly terminated the ludicrous interview.

The adoption of Arabic names by non-Arabs (p. 16) is frequently met with in the ʿAbbāsīd empire, though it was not always made from choice. The following anecdote is not without its parallel on the American scene.

Manṣūr’s aging physician introduced his son and successor to that caliph, who asked the young man for his name. The royal-physician-to-be rolled off a long list of strange-sounding Persian names. “Is *all* that your name?” asked Manṣūr.

“Yes,” came the answer.

The caliph smiled as he added, “You have a choice of two alternatives. Either I abbreviate your name to ʾṬīmādh (one of the long list of names) or I choose for you the surname of Abū Sahl.”

“I am satisfied with the surname,” said the young physician who was to be known to posterity as Abū Sahl ibn Naubakht.¹

Aḥmar’s educational duties went far beyond what Kisāʾī had led him to believe (pp. 18–19), for Hārūn al-Rashīd himself instructed the new appointee concerning these same duties of educating and disciplining the heir to the throne.²

All concerned have succeeded in reducing the usual printer’s errors to a minimum, judging by the few that have caught the eye. A *G* slipped into the place of the *J* in Jarrett (p. 11), and al-Tawḥīdī occupies space meant, no doubt, for Abū Ḥayyān (p. 86, l. 21). The Arabic definite article seems to scoff defiantly at the familiar old rule that calls for a capital letter to head an English sentence and paragraph.

NABIA ABBOTT

Oriental Institute

Life and Works of Ibn ar-Rūmī. By RHUVON GUEST. London: Luzac & Co., 1944. Pp. 143. 12s. 6d.

Utilizing primarily the personal and historical information contained in his copious verse, Mr. Guest presents an extremely well-documented biography of Ibn ar-Rūmī (d. 896).

¹ Ibn Abī Uṣalbiʿah, I, 152.

² Masʿūdī, VI, 321–22.

The study ends with a plea for a complete (and we might add, annotated) edition of his *diwān* whose very volume, it would seem, has so far prevented publication *in toto*, despite the fairly adequate manuscript material on which a print could be based.

Guest succeeds in making transparent in the life-history of Ibn ar-Rūmī the political and social conditions of the period. The more prominent of the many personalities for or against whom the rather unlikable poet composed his often all too obviously mercenary verses are studied, and new light is shed on their character and historical significance. Ibn ar-Rūmī’s social position is well illustrated: his difficulties in recovering the expense for the paper on which a rejected poem had been written, his frantic quest for a settled income, and his alternate self-abasement and threats of blackmail when pleading for gifts stand out in strong contrast with his ambition to be fully accepted and his complaint of being treated as an inferior. It may be noted in passing that some fifty years earlier a more distinguished, if less gifted, fellow-artist—the musician and poet Ishāq al-Mausilī (d. 850)—displayed, though with better grace, the same susceptibilities regarding his place in society.

Guest supports his presentation by ample quotations, mostly in text and translation from Ibn ar-Rūmī’s *diwān*. On pages 61–71 more extensive specimens of his poetry are translated. These selections are preceded by a characterization of Ibn ar-Rūmī’s work, which, in spite of its thoroughness, somehow fails to do justice to its striking originality. Ibn ar-Rūmī’s articulateness about himself is almost without parallel in contemporary literature, and his personalized interpretation of natural phenomena as well as the wealth of his imagery in his descriptive passages are of the greatest importance for the subsequent development of Arabic poetry. One might wish Guest had expanded his stimulating but far too brief discussion of Ibn ar-Rūmī’s language. He concludes his portrayal of the poet by listing the opinions on his work of some of the leading Arabic critics—the Western student unfortunately will have to wait for the complete edition before undertaking an appreciation on modern lines. Guest’s excellent study of Ibn

ar-Rûmî's life and times with its concluding contribution of a full index of persons and places appearing in the Cairo manuscript will considerably facilitate the task of publishing Ibn ar-Rûmî's *diwân*, a task which must rank among the most urgent desiderata of Arabic studies.

G. E. VON GRUNEBaum

University of Chicago

Bayân Muškîl al-Aḥādîṭ. By IBN FŪRAK. Edited by RAIMUND KÖBERT. ("Analecta Orientalia," No. 22.) Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1941. Pp. xxvi+44+49. 140 lire.

This strikes one now as a survival of a past era. Luckily it brings us the text of a Leipzig manuscript intact so far as the publication goes. The London, Leiden, and Vatican manuscripts, also used, are probably safe enough. Likewise the unused manuscripts—four at Istanbul, one at Jerusalem, and one at Bankipore—are probably still there. That the entire work will now or ever be published in full may reasonably be doubted. Not of the very first importance, it is curious enough to be worth a knowledge of its nature. This is sufficiently conveyed by the portion published and the excellent manner of its publication.

It is a discussion of the traditions of special difficulty, whose content or import is of a doubtful nature, i.e., apparently not in conformity with the formulations considered orthodox by Ibn Fūrak's Ash'arite school. The traditions thus taken up, expounded, and rescued for orthodox use are limited to such as make statements about God, and of these to those whose chains of traditionists leading back to Mohammed are by Moslem principles unassailable.

According to his own statement, Ibn Fūrak is the fourth writer to work on this subject in the Mohammedan world, and he lays claim to completeness greater than that of any of his predecessors. Not as sovereign a mind as, e.g., Al-Ghazzālî, our author is fairly clever, diligent, and persevering in manipulating the Arabic language to make his interpretations come out as desired. He died by poison, ap-

parently by order or with the connivance of Mahmūd of Ghazna, in A.H. 406/A.D. 1015-16.

Köbert characterizes the work, the author, and the manuscripts used in the Introduction and presents the author's introduction complete from 20 pages and about 14 other pages, including the final 3, of the 210 pages of the Leipzig manuscript, the oldest known, in text and very fair German translation. The indexes, both Arab and German, leave little to be desired. Paper, printing, and general makeup, even in 1941, are worthy of the fine reputation established by the Papal Biblical Institute.

M. SPRENGLING

University of Chicago

Gafat Documents: Records of a South-Ethiopic Language. By WOLF LESLAU. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1945. Pp. 188.

This volume represents the first study of a language which up to a few decades ago was still spoken in an Ethiopian province called Gafat (or Kaffa), southwest of Addis Ababa.

The book is divided into three main parts, preceded by a brief introduction dealing with the linguistic position of Gafat. Part I (pp. 15-99) treats of the various grammatical elements of the Gafat language; Part II (pp. 101-38) contains the Gafat text of the Song of Solomon, followed by a transliteration, a literal interlinear translation, and a free, connected translation; Part III (pp. 139-88) contains a Gafat-English and English-Gafat vocabulary, with the Gafat words in transliteration.

The entire book is based on the Gafat translation of the Amharic version of the Song of Solomon, two short vocabularies of about two hundred and four hundred words, respectively, and three short sentences in Gafat found in Ludolf's *Historia Aethiopica*. These documents, as the author points out (p. 9), are the only ones "which allow us to gain an insight into the construction of the language." Added to the meagerness of the material at our disposal are the further disadvantages that Gafat does not have a consistent orthography, that the two available vocabularies are not always accurate or reliable, and that the language of

the Song of Solomon is, in all probability, translation Gafat and not a true reflection of the living, idiomatic language. But, in spite of all this, Leslau's work is a valuable and welcome contribution to our knowledge of the Semitic languages in general and the Ethiopic languages in particular.

A. HEIDEL

University of Chicago

Hurrians and Subarians. By IGNACE J. GELB. ("Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization," No. 22.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944. Pp. xv+128. \$2.50.

It is the endeavor of historians of the ancient Near East to reconstruct in ever greater completeness the mingling and conflicts of the various nations and civilizations that went into the making of the great empires of Hither Asia.

At the beginning of the century they were fully aware of the fact that our knowledge was lamentably incomplete. When the Hittites emerged from newly recovered records, it was felt that most of the gaps had been filled. But the progress in the interpretation of the new material opened at once new gaps. Some of them were soon closed by the discovery of the Hurrians. By now we have learned that, about the middle of the second millennium, the Hurrians occupied most of Upper Mesopotamia, that they played a significant role in the history of the period, and that they deeply influenced the course of events in the neighboring countries, in Assyria in the east, Asia Minor in the northwest, and Syria and Palestine in the southwest. We have also learned that before that, around the middle of the third millennium, Hurrians are found along the northern border of the empires of Akkad and of Ur and that some of them lived in the Middle Tigris region and even in Lower Mesopotamia itself. These Hurrians are best recognizable by their proper names. The Nuzu tablets (ca. 1500 B.C.) contain such names in great numbers and serve today as our best means in determining what is Hurrian and what is not. The material has recently been

collected and analyzed by the author of the book under review in co-operation with P. Purves and A. MacRae.¹

In all periods the Hurrians seem to be closely associated with the country Subartu. Late Assyrian lexical texts quote words that actually occur in our Hurrian material as words that were used in Subartu. Hence, the conclusion was commonly drawn that the terms "Hurri country" and "Subartu," "Hurrian" and "Subarian," are synonymous.

Gelb, in the book under review, tries to prove that this opinion is erroneous—that Hurrians and Subarians must be kept apart. If his point of view is to be adopted, the Subarians are to be recognized as a new factor in ancient Eastern history.

The author first reviews the history of his problem (chap. i). He then states his thesis (chap. ii) and proceeds to demonstrate that the history of Subartu and the Subarians and that of the Hurrians by no means run along identical lines (chaps. iii and iv), concluding that for this reason Subarians and Hurrians cannot be identical with each other (chap. v). Linguistic matter is relegated to three appendixes. The first deals with the various forms under which the name "Subartu" occurs in lists and syllabaries, while the second and the third collect proper names of persons who in the texts themselves are described as Subarians or are recognizable as Hurrians.

As one sees already from this short summary, the author's approach is, in the main, geographic-historical.² But is it really true that the history of the Subarians differs essentially from that of the Hurrians?

Subartu³ emerges first⁴ with *Lugal-anne-*

¹ *Nuzi Personal Names* ("Oriental Institute Publications," Vol. LVIII [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943]).

² On the first chapter, I say here merely that it simplifies matters a good deal. It treats of the problem as though it had been a contest between Ungrad on the one side and Speiser on the other. A good many other scholars have contributed to the question.

³ *Subartu* with an *s* is the Assyrian pronunciation. It was also used in Babylonia from the middle period on. This means, in my opinion, that the country was accessible to, and known by, the Babylonians of this period, only through Assyria. This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that the term changed its meaning at precisely that time (see text). The Old Baby-

[Footnotes 3 and 4 continued on following page]

mundu of Adab and *E-annatum* of Lagaš (Early Dynastic III). From then on the evidence leads in a fairly unbroken line down to the end of the Old Babylonian period. Evidence later than that seems to indicate changed conditions.

In the older sources Subartu occupies, as Gelb recognizes, a position which is intermediary between the east and the west. This seems particularly clear in the texts of Narām-Sin of Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world, who calls himself "ruler⁵ of Tidnum"⁶ and who states that he subjugated Elam and Subartu. The latter, he says, extended from Baraḥše (between Akkad and Elam) to the Cedar Forest, i.e., no doubt here the Amanus.⁷ Whoever tries to draw a map of Narām-Sin's empire is faced with the problem: how far toward the north do we have to go with Subartu? The problem has been answered in various ways. Ungnad believed that Subartu included all of Upper Mesopotamia.⁸ Gelb now makes Subartu consist materially of the later Assyria, but he assigns the Euphrates Valley to Mari (see his map). I myself am inclined to go still farther toward the north, and I am not altogether certain whether Assyria ever formed part of Subartu.⁹

[Footnotes 3 and 4 continued from p. 165]

lonian kings had direct contact with Subartu and pronounced its name *Šubartu* with a *š*. It began with the same sound as the pronouns of the third person and was inherited from Old Akkadian where the name (again as the pronoun) began with *š*. Gelb's notion that Old Akkadian writes "*s*" but pronounces *š* (p. 30, n. 55) is untenable. For my opinion see provisionally *Orientalia* (NS), VI, 14, n. 5.

⁴ Everything earlier (Gelb, pp. 31-33) is very doubtful as to its pertinence.

⁵ The reading *sa-pt-ir* seems certain in view of the duplicate Ni 2435 (*Istanbul Asiatika Nüzeleri Negri-yati*, p. 12, Fig. 10).

⁶ See *JAOS*, LVII, 107, n. 8. Tidnum, which also figures in the well-known date of Šū-Sin, was explained by the ancients themselves as Amurru (cf. Poebel, *JNES*, I, 257). It seems to have been the name of that part of Amurru which was closest to Akkad.

⁷ As everybody has conceded because of *UET*, No. 275, II, 25-26.

⁸ *Subartu*, pp. 109 ff.

⁹ Gelb's arguments in favor of his assumption (pp. 36, 42-43) are not absolutely cogent. The view of the Assyrian astrologers that Subartu means Assyria must not be taken too literally. These scholars could not help but claim that Assyria was one of the four quarters of the world. There is no other but Subartu that they could have chosen. It may be added here that in KAV 92 (the "geographical treatise," cf. Albright, *JAOS*, XLV, 193 ff.; Forrer, *Reallex. der As-*

During the Old Babylonian period we find Subartu and the Subarians connected with Marḥaši (identical with the Baraḥše of the Akkad period), but especially with countries in the Zagros mountains like Turukku and Kakmu.¹⁰

The Assyrian sources from the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries show entirely different conditions. The kings of this period came into contact with Subarians not toward the east of their capital but toward the west of it. This may be the consequence of the great changes which Mesopotamia experienced at the end of the Old Babylonian period, when the Kassites conquered Lower Mesopotamia, and Upper Mesopotamia was overrun by peoples from the north. Around 1300 the territories west of Assyria are divided into three parts: (1) Ḫanigalbat-Mitanni in the Euphrates and Ḫabur valleys;¹¹ (2) the countries of "the widespread Subarians"¹² in the Upper Tigris region; and (3) the Nairi countries still farther north in the mountains of eastern Turkey.

Still later the term "country of the Subarians" vanishes. Its area is included in the Nairi countries. It survives in the name of the country Šubria,¹³ which is one of the Nairi countries. Šubria, we know,¹⁴ is the country between the Bitlis Su and the Batman Su.

The other term, "Ḫurri Countries," belongs definitely to the second millennium, that is, it comes into use when the term "Subartu" begins to fade. Inhabitants of the Ḫurri countries, whenever their names become known to us, belong evidently to that group of people

syriologie, I, 237 ff.) *māt Aš-zē* (38) may represent an older form of the later *māt Al-zi* or *Al-še* (Arm. *Aljnik*, Gr. *Ἀλζωολ*); it extended "from the Lebanon to the Turukkiāns," i.e., over the northern part of Upper Mesopotamia. If the document belongs to the Akkad period, this is to be kept in mind.

¹⁰ Both east of Assyria proper in the mountains.

¹¹ Gelb, pp. 70 ff.

¹² Always thus; a country Subartu does not reappear before Tiglath-Pileser I.

¹³ For the relationship between *Šubaru-* and *Šubr-* compare that between, e.g., *zikaru* and *zikru*. The Akkadian law of syncope, as far as *a* is concerned, does not apply before *r* in Old Babylonian; syncope in this place is young.

¹⁴ Important for the geographic problems: J. Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 159; H. Hübschmann, *Die Altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, pp. 307-8.

with which we are best acquainted through the Nuzu tablets.

Ḫurrians—this is what we call them—appear first under the dynasty of Akkad and the third dynasty of Ur. They are connected then with eastern territories like Marḥaši (= Baraḥše mentioned above), Nawar (= later *māt Namri* in the mountains east of Bagdad), and Urbilum (= modern Erbil). A Ḫurri country is never mentioned in these early texts.

The best available geographic information on the Ḫurri countries can be gathered from the Boğazköy texts. Against Gelb (p. 78) I uphold my former opinion,¹⁵ namely, that the country Mitanni¹⁶ is only one of several Ḫurri countries and that a country Ḫurri in the narrower sense of the word actually existed (just as the country Arzawa is one of several Arzawa countries).

The Hittite conqueror Šuppiluliumaš divides the Ḫurri countries as they existed toward the end of his reign into three parts (KUB, XIX, 9, I, 10 ff.): (1) the area west of the Euphrates up to the Egyptian frontier beyond Kinza (= Qadeš on the Orontes) and Amurru (= the Phoenician coast); (2) the area east of the Euphrates with Irrita (between Kargamiš and Ḫarrān)¹⁷ and Suda (near modern Kurkh)¹⁸ up to the Malaš River; and (3) the area east of that river. The first two parts had been conquered by the Hittites; the third had remained independent. The second area is quite accurately definable by perusal of the Hittite and Assyrian lists of Ḫurrian cities. One is led to the conclusion that the Malaš River must be the Bitlis Su.¹⁹

Also the reports on the campaign which Mattiwaza and Piyaššiliš, Šuppiluliumaš's son, conducted against Šuttarna of Ḫurri in the Mitanni country are significant for our pur-

pose. There are three such reports which supplement one another. The account given in Mattiwaza's treaty with Šuppiluliumaš²⁰ is continued in HT21 + KUB, VIII, 80.²¹ A shorter report on the same events is contained in KUB, XIX, 3, col. II (untranslated). When all the evidence is combined, we see that the two princes crossed the Euphrates at Kargamiš, took Irrita, and proceeded via Ḫarrān to Waššukanni. On their further advance they carried Pakarriti and Nilabšini²² but were then halted by supply difficulties. Šuttarna of Ḫurri became so menacing that Piyaššiliš entered into an agreement with him. The shorter report contains (II, 4 ff.) the significant information: "When the Assyrian [heard about . . .], with troops and char[ioteers] he set out, and in Taida²³ [he pitched camp]. To Šuttarna's aid he came." From all this the conclusion must be drawn that (1) Šuttarna of Ḫurri was by no means "eliminated" (p. 80) with the Hittite recapture of all territory up to the Malaš River and (2) that, on the contrary, he became so strong on that line that he stopped the Hittite advance. Hence, the Malaš River must have been his western frontier.

This situation must be kept in mind when we try to understand the two other important passages dealing with the Ḫurri Country; both are duly quoted by Gelb. The introductory sentence of the treaty between Šuppiluliumaš and Mattiwaza²⁴ states that the Hittite king had found himself at war with Tušratta of Mitanni because the latter resented the conclusion of a treaty between Šuppiluliumaš and Artatama of Ḫurri (p. 78). In the treaty Mattiwaza declares he would content himself with a position secondary to that of Artatama (and his son Šuttarna) (p. 80).²⁵ Can more conclu-

²⁰ E. F. Weidner, *BoSt*, VIII, 44 ff.

²¹ J. Friedrich, *Afo*, II, 119 ff.

²² This is clearly identical with *Li-la-ab-si-nūm*²¹ of the Brak tablets which Gelb (p. 53) found unidentifiable. For the *Suhna* of the same tablets compare A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, p. 47; E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung* pp. 29–30.

²³ E. F. Weidner, *BoSt*, VIII, 26, n. 2; E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 30.

²⁴ E. F. Weidner, *BoSt*, VIII, 2 ff. This sentence closes with the first word of l. 4.

²⁵ The reading that Gelb credits to Luckenbill was also given by A. Ungnad (*ZATW* [1923], pp. 204–5) and was known to Koschaker (*ZA*[NF], VII, 36, n. 1).

¹⁵ *Kleinasien*, p. 174, n. 1; *Helhiter, Churriter und Assyrer*, p. 102; *Kizzuwatna*, p. 39.

¹⁶ I do not approve of Gelb's spelling with double *tt*. I take it that the repetition of the *t* is intended to mark the voicelessness of the dental stop rather than its gemination. In letters from Byblos only one *t* appears.

¹⁷ See A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, pp. 47–48.

¹⁸ See E. F. Weidner, *BoSt*, VIII, 9, n. 4; E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 52.

¹⁹ See *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, I, 224; *Kleinasien*, p. 174.

sive evidence be expected for the fact that there are *three* states involved here: Hatti, Mitanni, and Hurri?

How far east the Hurri Country extended, we have no way of knowing. But, for geographic reasons, it is quite impossible that it did not include the basin of the Lake of Van. We have every reason to believe that the Hurrians did not enter Upper Mesopotamia before about 1800 B.C. We must, therefore, assume that their original home was up there. What the Assyrians around the middle of the millennium call Hanigalbat-Mitanni had only been colonized by the Hurrians. Even the country of "the widespread Subarians" (see above) is probably colonial ground. But the Nairi countries of the Assyrians are clearly original Hurrian territory. They comprise the valleys and plains from east of Erbil to the Upper Euphrates near Erzerum and Harput. The names of some of the Nairi countries are Hurrian (or at least provided with Hurrian suffixes).²⁶ All names of persons from the Nairi countries are clearly Hurrian.²⁷ And Urartian, the language of the kingdom of Van, originally one of the Nairi countries, is a Hurrian dialect.²⁸

If we now compare the evidence for Subartu with that for the Hurri countries, there is no denying that a very close parallelism exists. It is almost the terminology alone which hints at an original difference. It is precisely this situation which has led previous investigators to the belief that the two terms are synonymous or virtually synonymous. The geographic-historical approach, then, remains inconclusive, if only because of the limited evidence at our disposal. During the period for which we possess a fairly large amount of evidence, the two terms "Subarian" and "Hurrian" are so hopelessly entangled with each other that their separation cannot be convincingly effected.

²⁶ E.g., Dayaeni, Suhni, Habhi (which Gelb, despite Forrer, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, 281, and Weidner, *A/O*, X, 20, continues to read Kirhi). Some of the countries of the Subarians have likewise clear Hurrian names, e.g., Papa(n)hi, Kadmuhi, Madani, Nihani.

²⁷ Gelb, pp. 82-83. A man from the same territory is in the Amarna period Antaratli of Alše.

²⁸ *Kleinasiens*, pp. 179-80; J. Friedrich, *MVAeG*, XLII, No. 2, 59 ff.

There remains the linguistic approach. Unfortunately, we know relatively little about the Hurrian language and nothing about Subarian (if we accept its existence). But we have proper names of people who are called Subarians, and of other people who were clearly Hurrians. In documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur both varieties exist side by side and can therefore be contrasted with each other. Gelb was able to demonstrate that the twenty-nine names ascribed to Subarians which he collected from these tablets are not explicable from Hurrian and that they are markedly different from the thirty-five clearly Hurrian names which the same group of texts furnishes. This strong argument is hidden away in Appendixes II and III of Gelb's book. I think it should have been made the center of the whole argument.

The basis that these names provide is rather slim. Before a thesis as far-reaching as that of the author is accepted, one would wish to wait for further confirmation which new material will almost certainly bring in due time. For the present one can agree: it seems that the Subarians represent an older layer in the ethnic structure of the mountain country east and north of Assyria, that they were gradually superseded by the Hurrians, and that they entered into such intimate relationship with them that already early in the second millennium the difference between the two peoples had reached the vanishing-point.

There is no need for adding that the book is worked out on the basis of the original sources and that it is studded with details and footnotes²⁹ that make it an important contribution even if one asks one's self whether the main argument might not better have been presented in a less pretentious form.

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²⁹ Here only a few remarks at random: (1) The interpretation of Hurrian *ša-ubri-ia(-na)-aš* ^d*Tešsub-aš* as "Subrian Tešsub," given without any reserve (p. 30), could be accepted only if it were backed up by an analysis of the respective passages. (2) A land Kardak (p. 38) does not exist; the final -k is the suffix of the Sumerian genitive. (3) For the explanation of *Dagān ša hurri*, allegedly a "Dagān of the Hurrians" (p. 63), reference to *adi hu-ri ša kaspim*, "up to the silver mountain" (*UMBS*, V, 34, XXVI, 62-63), may be in order.

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AN ARABIC PAPYRUS IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE STORIES OF THE PROPHETS

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ARABIC papyri hitherto published have come, with but rare exceptions, from Egypt and deal almost exclusively with Egyptian affairs. They are either state documents of an administrative and financial character or private contracts and correspondence reflecting the social conditions in the early Arab province of Egypt. The outstanding exceptions are three mid-third-century documents now in the Oriental Institute and a small number of documents recently discovered by the Colt Expedition of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Both groups deal with the economic administration of the province of Syria and its southern district of Palestine.¹

Arabic papyri dealing with the Qurʾān and traditions, or with history and literature, are conspicuous by their almost complete absence. This paucity is the result of several readily understandable factors. Parchment was the preferred material for Qurʾānic texts. The general use of paper replaced that of papyrus, first in the provinces east of Egypt and then in

¹ Cf. Nabia Abbott, "Arabic Papyri of the Reign of ʿĀḍfar al-Mutawakkil 'ala-llāh," *ZDMG*, XCII (1938), 88 ff.

Egypt itself, where papyrus held out the longest.² Egypt, however, was not the center of intellectual and literary activities in these early centuries of Islam, which is probably one of the reasons why the kindly Egyptian soil has not brought forth a group of early Arabic literary papyri. The intellectual centers were in the western Asiatic provinces, where the soil is anything but kind to the preservation of manuscripts.³

Hitherto the earliest known dated literary work on papyrus is a manuscript presumably still at Heidelberg. It consists of twenty-seven folios dealing with the biographies of the prophets. It bears the date of Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 229/August-Sep-

² The oldest known Arabic book manuscript on paper is dated A.H. 252/A.D. 866; cf. De Goeje, "Beschreibung einer alten Handschrift von Abu 'Obaid's Garīb-al-ḥadīth," *ZDMG*, XVIII (1864), 781, 786.

³ 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allah (d. 234/848-49), a diligent student of tradition, collected and wrote out on papyrus the entire *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. He placed the bulky work in a large bookcase for safe-keeping, as he thought, during his subsequent absence on a journey. Returning home, he found "the earth had mixed with the books so that they had turned into mud. I had not the heart," he adds, "to write it (*Musnad*) again!" Cf. Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rikh Baghdad* (14 vols.; Cairo and Baghdad, 1931), IX, 458, 462.

tember, 844. It traces its *isnād*, or chain of authorities quoted, back to Wāḥb ibn Munabbih, of whom more presently. The Heidelberg collection has several other fragments of literary papyri; but neither these nor the first-mentioned manuscript have been published as yet,⁴ except for two folios of the latter which deal with Mohammed and the treaties of 'Aqabah.⁵

Among the fairly representative collection of Arabic papyri in the Oriental Institute is a group of documents from Upper Egypt which were acquired in 1931 by the late Dr. James H. Breasted. In this group was found the present literary fragment consisting of half a folio torn lengthwise and now bearing the Oriental Institute number 14046. Professor Sprengling gave the papyrus its first reading, which, a few years back, he generously turned over to me. The fragmentary nature of the piece, its familiar content, and the pressure of other work led to its being set aside for a time that proved longer than was originally intended. In the process of completing the reading of the text, the attempt was made to identify the piece with known literary works in its particular field. The several themes as such were readily enough identified. But neither the sequence of these themes nor yet their exact content and phraseology has been met with so far in the sources at hand. It is, of course, possible that a duplicate as to text and sequence does exist in some source that has been missed or overlooked, despite the research here undertaken. In that case, it would be gratifying to have such a duplicate brought to our attention so that it can throw its light on the problems of date and authorship of the present fragment. Pending such an identification, the tentative conclusion is that we have

here a literary fragment that dates, most probably, from the third century of Islam. This tentative conclusion is based, first, on the quality and script of the papyrus and, second, on the peculiarities of the text itself.

The papyrus is fine in quality, unlike most of the generally coarse products met with in papyrus documents of the fourth century of the Hijrah. It now measures 20.5 by 10.5 cm., though its original format must have been close to a square, since reconstruction shows about half of the width of the text space is missing. The papyrus is written on both sides with nineteen and twenty lines to what appears to be the recto and the verso, respectively. The script is the fairly careful book hand or *naskh* of the early centuries employed largely by the copyists. It is a simple and more or less cursive type with the letters generally well formed. Though diacritical points are not fully used throughout the text, there is, nevertheless, a generous sprinkling of these on many words. *Fā* and *qāf* receive a dot below and above, respectively, as was the general practice with some of the earliest papyrus documents. The punctuation device for a full stop—a circle surrounded by a number of dots—is also true to early practice (Pls. III and IV).

It is, however, the text of the document that is even more suggestive of its early origin. There is first the question of the *isnād*, or chain of authority. Like the Heidelberg papyrus mentioned above, the traditions rest on the authority of Wāḥb ibn Munabbih (d. 110 or 114/728 or 732), who in his turn drew, quite frequently as not, on 'Abd Allah ibn al-'Abbās (d. between 68 and 70/687-90), as he does on the recto of the present papyrus. It is a well-established fact that these two and the earlier Ka'b al-Aḥbār (d. 32/652-53) did much to touch up biblical scenes and patriarchs and introduce them into the

⁴ Carl H. Becker, *Papyri Scholt-Reinhardt I* (Heidelberg, 1906), pp. 8-10.

⁵ Gertrud Mélamède, "The Meetings at al-'Aqabah," *Le Monde oriental*, XXVIII (1934), 48-56 and reproductions.



ORIENTAL INSTITUTE No. 14046. TEXT. RECTO



ORIENTAL INSTITUTE No. 14046. TEXT. VERSO

faith and literature of Islam.⁶ Wahb's materials were in turn transmitted through his daughter's son, Idrīs ibn Sinān, part of whose name appears in our document. This latter's son, 'Abd al-Mun'im ibn Idrīs (d. 228/843 at the ripe old age of about a hundred), was also a traditionist. He is credited, like his grandfather Wahb, with a *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, or "Book of the Beginning" (of creation).⁷ 'Abd al-Mun'im quite naturally claimed to have received his traditions on the authority of his father Idrīs and his maternal grandfather Wahb. His claim, however, was challenged by a number of part-contemporaries and succeeding traditionists, including no less a figure than Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855-56) and Bukhārī (d. 256/870). The main complaint against him is that he, being a posthumous son, could not have received his materials by the orthodox method of direct unbroken personal transmission back to Wahb himself. He is accused of searching the book market for copies of books, including those of his father, from which he extracted the materials for his works and his transmissions.⁸ But, the accusation notwithstanding, 'Abd al-Mun'im did not lack for students and transmitters, well into the succeeding centuries.⁹ It is therefore quite likely that his work, which does not seem to have survived to our day, was

in circulation in at least the third, fourth, and fifth centuries of the Hijrah. Could it be that we have here either the original or a copy of one of the first few folios of 'Abd al-Mun'im's *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*? The answer lies mainly in the lost part of the *isnād* of the first line of recto.

Turning to the rest of the text, we find that its several units, though never wholly identical with any of the numerous parallels available, are nevertheless quite close to third- and fourth-century sources. Sources later than these do present close parallels to some of the lines of the papyrus. But, inasmuch as such late sources could not have been written in the age of Arabic papyrus, they are irrelevant to the problems of dating and authorship, unless they present an identical text together with a pertinent and complete *isnād*.

The several themes touched on in the papyrus include the beginning of creation, the number of sacred books and the time of their revelation, the number of the prophets, the angels aiding the Moslems at the Battle of Badr, and the visits and description of the angel Gabriel. From the nature of one and all of these themes, great divergences and contradictions exist in the numerous traditions concerning them. Moreover, these themes themselves have been explored, in varying degrees, by scholars who were primarily interested in them and to whose work reference will be made as called for. Those currently interested in these themes and students yet to come will, no doubt, find some significant materials in the numerous early passages—some of which have not yet been utilized—that parallel the papyrus text to some degree. They would, of course, be much interested in the completed text of the papyrus. It is therefore to be hoped that the missing part will be discovered in some library or museum and be united with its other half, which will now speak for itself.

⁶ Cf. M. Lidzbarski, *De Propheticiis* (Lipsiae, 1893), pp. 27-54; A. Fischer, "Neue Auszüge aus ad-Dahabī und Ibn an-Naggar," *ZDMG*, XLIV (1890), 438-42.

⁷ Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Leipzig, 1871-72), p. 94; Ibn Qutābah, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* (Göttingen, 1850), p. 261; Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁸ Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-Bad' wa al-Ta'rikh* ("Le Livre de la création et de l'histoire"), ed. and trans. C. Huart (6 vols.; Paris, 1903—), II, 155; Khaṭīb, XI, 132-34; cf. *ibid.*, p. 399, for a somewhat similar accusation of Abū Faraj al-Isfahānī, author of the *Aghānī*, who frequented the flourishing book market of Baghdad with its well-stocked shops, whence he carried home great quantities of manuscripts.

⁹ E.g., Khaṭīb, I, 55, and XI, 131-34; Tabarī, *Ta'rikh* ("Annales"), ed. De Goeje (15 vols.; Lugduni Batavorum, 1879-1901), Index; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *ʿIqd al-Farīd* (3 vols.; Cairo, 1293/1876), III, 351; Baghawī, *Maʿālim al-Tanzīl* (Cairo, 1924), I, 7.

TEXT, RECTO

- ١ [سنان عن جدى عن وهب بن منبه اليماني]
 ٢ [١ بدو الخلق حين انشا به الله . . . فكيف]
 ٣ [والارض الى ان انزلت التوره على موسى]
 ٤ [قال وهب انه قرا اثنين وسبعين كتابا من كتب]
 ٥ [الانبيا والكتب التي انزلت من السما على جميع الانبيا ما به كتاب واربعة كتب]
 ٦ [منها على شيث بن ادم كتاب في خمسين صحيفة وعلى ادريس كتاب في ثلثين]
 ٧ [صحيفة وعلى ابراهيم كتاب في عشرين صحيفة وعلى موسى التوره وعلى داود]
 ٨ [الزبور وعلى عيسى الانجيل وعلى محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم الفرقان .]
 ٩ [(صحف ابراهيم) به في اول ليلة من شهر رمضان]
 ١٠ [(التوره) من شهر رمضان بعد صحف ابراهيم يتسع ما به عام]
 ١١ [(الزبور) من شهر رمضان بعد التوره بخمس ما به عام]
 ١٢ [(الانجيل) من شهر رمضان بعد التوره بالف و [؟ عام]
 ١٣ [وانزل الفرقان على محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم لاربعة وعشرين ليلة خللت من شهر]
 ١٤ [رمضان] خمس وعشرين عاما وكـ . . .]
 ١٥ [في ليلة القدر ما يكـ . . .]
 ١٦ [محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم]
 ١٧ [١ فاذا كل ليلة القدر من . . .]
 ١٨ [فانزل عليه القران في عشر . . .]
 ١٩ [محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم]

TRANSLATION, RECTO

1. [. . .] Sinān on the authority of my grandfather on the authority of Wahb ibn Munabbih the Yamanite.
2. [. . .] the beginning of creation when Allah caused it to rise. . . .
3. [. . .] and the earth until the Pentateuch was sent down to Moses
4. [. . . Wahb said that he had read seventy-two books of the books of
5. [the prophets. And the books that were sent down from heaven to] all the prophets were a hundred and four books.
6. [Of these to Seth the son of Adam a book of fifty] leaves and to Idrīs a book of thirty
7. [leaves and to Abraham a book of twenty leaves and] to Moses the Pentateuch and to David the
8. [Psalms and to Jesus the Gospel and to Mohammed—may Allah bless him] and give him peace—the Furqān.
9. [. (the leaves of Abraham). . were sent] down on the first night of the month of Ramaḍān.
10. [. (the Pentateuch). .] of the month of Ramaḍān after the leaves of Abraham by nine hundred years.
11. [. (the Psalms). .] of the month of Ramaḍān after the Pentateuch by five hundred [years.]
12. [. (the Gospel). .] of the month of Ramaḍān after the Pentateuch by a thousand and [? years.]
13. [And the Furqān (was sent down) to Mohammed—may Allah bless him and grant] him peace—on the twenty-fourth of [the month of]
14. [Ramaḍān after the.] and five and twenty years. And.
15. [.] in the Night of Power. What.
16. [. Mohammed—may Allah bless him and grant him peace.
17. [.] so that every Night of Power of.
18. [.] and the Qurʾān was sent down to him during twen[ty (years)]
19. [. . . Mohammed—may Allah bless him and grant him peace.

COMMENTS

The attempt to reconstruct most of the text in full was given up when the parallels available failed to yield complete and exact duplicates of the surviving text of the papyrus. However, where possible, the closest parallels have been introduced tentatively into the reconstruction so as to clarify the separate themes and give continuity to some of the text. Judged by the simplest and most obvious construction called for in lines 5-8 and 13 of recto and lines 2-6 of verso, the papyrus and text preserved is about half the size and content of the original folio.

Line 1.—The second *ʿan* of the *isnād* calls for an explanation. As a rule, when ʿAbd al-Munʿim is cited, his authority is traced back to “his (maternal) grandfather, Wahb.” When he himself is the direct narrator, the phrase is “my grandfather Wahb.” It would seem, therefore, that in either case this second *ʿan* is superfluous and may be a scribal error. However, in the face of the incomplete *isnād*, one cannot be sure of this. The “my grandfather” in question may have been ʿAbd al-Munʿim’s paternal grandfather, that is, Sinān, who could have received traditions from his contemporary Wahb. But again it must be pointed out here that Sinān is not met with elsewhere in this capacity. Another alternative is that the immediate transmitter is not ʿAbd al-Munʿim himself but perhaps a son of his.¹⁰ It is obvious that the question must wait on the completed *isnād*. Note the further reference to Wahb as the authority in verso, lines 1 and 18.

Lines 2-3.—For such brief and incidental reference to the creation cf. *Tijān*, page 3, lines 3-4; it is to be remembered that Ibn Hishām’s ultimate authority for the *Tijān* is Wahb ibn Munabbih himself.

Lines 4-8.—The word for “seventy” is

¹⁰ Cf. Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-Tijān* (Hyderabad, 1347/1928-29), pp. 1-2.

clearly written and fully pointed. These lines deal with the books sent down to the prophets from Adam to Mohammed and with the number of these books that Wahb is said to have read. The total number of “books” varies from 163, as given on the first page of the *Tijān*, to 104, as found in most of the other sources.¹¹ These latter again differ among themselves as to the distribution among the different prophets, though Idrīs is always credited with 30, as here in line 6. The *Tijān*, Maqdisi, *Fihrist*, and Thaʿlabī draw a distinction between *kitāb*, or book, and *ṣaḥīfah*, or leaf. This is also done in lines 6-7, which assign Idrīs a “book of thirty leaves.” According to these five, there were, in addition to the four books of lines 7-8, 100 leaves in all sent down to the prophets (names and number of prophets differ). Judging by the spacing of the papyrus, the most likely distribution is that which allots 50 leaves to Seth, 30 to Idrīs, and 20 to Abraham. This is the distribution found in *Maʿārif*, page 27, and curiously confirmed in *Tijān*, page 2; both sources, it is to be noted, trace back, as here, to Wahb. However, in phraseology the text comes closest to that found in Maqdisi, III, 2, which, together with the passage from *Maʿārif*, forms the basis of the reconstruction of these lines.

The number of books said to have been read by Wahb is variously given as 70, 72, 92, and 93. Some of the difference is due to the probable confusion of the Arabic “seventy” with “ninety,” which are readily confused as written but unpointed words. However, Ibn Saʿd, one of the earliest sources, states that Wahb claimed to have read 92 sacred books, of which 72 were in general circulation and accessible

¹¹ E.g., *Maʿārif*, p. 27; Tabarī, I, 153, 349-50; Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* (“Les Prairies d’Or”), ed. C. Barbier de Meynard (9 vols.; Paris, 1861-77), I, 69, 73, 95, 108; Maqdisi, III, 2; *Fihrist*, p. 22; Thaʿlabī, *Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* (Cairo, 1314/1896), p. 57; Kisāʾī, *Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, ed. I. Eisenberg (Ludguni Bata-vorum, 1923), pp. 69-71, 80-81.

in places of worship, while the other twenty were known only to a few.¹²

Lines 9-14.—The passage combines two sets of traditions. The first has reference to the belief that the five major sacred scriptures were all sent down from above in the month of Ramaḍān. Though agreed on the month, the specific day of the month assigned to each of the revelations varies considerably.¹³ The second set of traditions deals with the time intervening between these scriptures or the ages of the prophets to whom they were sent.¹⁴ Though traditions in each of these two groups are numerous, a combination of the two sets—such as the papyrus presents—seems to be comparatively rare. So far, but one such combination has come to my attention, though others most probably exist. In view of the differences as to the day of the month and the number of years involved, it is best not to attempt a reconstruction of the papyrus text. However, since parallel passages combining both sets of traditions seem to be rare, the text of the only one available is herewith reproduced for the clarification of the theme.

روى ان صحف ابراهيم نزلت في اول
ليه من شهر رمضان وانزلت التوراه

¹² Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt* (9 vols.; Leiden, 1905-40), V, 395-96. For treatment of these themes cf. Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48; Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 439 and 441; Otto Pautz, *Muhammed's Lehre von der Offenbarung* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 120-23; Fritz Trummer, *Ibn Sa'd's Geschichte der Vorislamischen Araber* (Stuttgart, 1928), pp. 56-57.

¹³ E.g., Ibn Sa'd, I, 129, I², 93, and II², 3-4; Ibn Hanbal, *Masnad* (6 vols.; Cairo, 1313/1895-96), IV, 107; Birūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, trans. Edward Sachau (London, 1879), p. 331; Maqdisī, IV, 140-41; Tha'alabī, pp. 113-14; Kisā'ī, pp. 68-69; Māwardī, *A'lām al-Nubūwah* (Cairo, 1319/1901), p. 161; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, and Baghawī, *Ma'alīm al-Tanzīl* (Cairo, 1343/1924), I, 406-7; Suyūṭī, *Itqān* (Cairo, 1318/1900), I, 42; Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-Ummāl fī Sunan al-Aqwāl wa al-Af'āl* (8 vols.; Hyderabad, 1312-15/1894-97), I, 279, No. 3756.

¹⁴ E.g., *Ma'ārif*, p. 28; Ibn Sa'd, I, 26; Tabarī, I, 8 ff., 1068-69, 1072; Mas'ūdī, IV, 106-8; Hamza al-Isfahānī, *Annalium*, ed. and trans. L. M. E. Gottwaldt (Lipsiae, 1844), I, 11-12, 84-85; Birūnī, pp. 16 ff., 48 ff.; Māwardī, pp. 33-34.

لست ليال خلت من شهر رمضان
بعد صحف ابراهيم بسبعماية سنه
وانزل الزبور لاثني عشر ليله خلت
من شهر رمضان بعد التوراه بخمس
مايه عام وانزل الانجيل لثمانيه عشر
ليه خلت من شهر رمضان بعد
الزبور بستماية سنه وعشرين عاما
وانزل القران لسبع وعشرين ليله
من شهر رمضان بعد الانجيل بست
مايه وعشرين عاما . 15

Lines 14-19.—Here again two closely related and frequently overlapping sets of traditions are involved. The first deals with the *Lailat al-qadr*, or the Night of Power, which is placed in the month of Ramaḍān, though again assigned to different days of that month, with the preference given to some night in the last third of the month. It is also associated with a special revelation of the Qur'ān.¹⁵ The second set, lines 17-19, deals with subsequent revelations during every night of Ramaḍān over a period of years covering most of Mohammed's prophetic career.¹⁷ It is impossible to tell with certainty if *Furqān* and *Qur'ān* are used interchangeably in the papyrus, though the probability is that they are so used.¹⁸

¹⁵ Ibn al-'Arabī, *Muḥāḍarat al-Abrār* (Cairo, 1906), I, 77.

¹⁶ E.g., Ibn Hishām, *Sirāh*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1859), p. 155; Tabarī, I, 1149-54; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Krehl (4 vols.; Leiden, 1862-1908), I, 501-3, and III, 192; Ibn Hanbal, V, 324, 369, and VI, 12; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan* (2 vols.; Lucknow, 1305/1888), I, 196-99; Birūnī, pp. 330-31; Māwardī, p. 161; *Itqān*, I, 42; *Kanz al-Ummāl*, I, 148. Cf. also Pautz, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-82.

¹⁷ E.g., Bukhārī, I, 475, and II, 310, 410; Ibn Hanbal, I, 230-31, 288, 363, 366-67; Ibn Kathīr and Baghawī, I, 406-7.

¹⁸ E.g., Ibn al-'Arabī, *Futūḥat al-Makkiyyah* (4 vols.; Cairo, 1911), III, 94-95.

VERSO, TEXT

- ١ [ذكر وهب عن بن عباس
- ٢ صلى الله عليه وسلم وكانت الانبيا [مايه الف واربعه وعشرين الف نبى الرسل
- ٣ منهم ثلث مايه وخمسه اعشر منهم [خمسه عبرانيون ادم وشيث وادريس ونوح
- ٤ وابراهيم وخمسه من العرب هود وصالح واسماعيل وشعيب ومحمد صلوات الله عليهم
- ٥ واول النبي من بنى اسرائيل موسى واخبرهم عيسى وقد قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه
- ٦ وسلم لاصحابه يوم بدر انتم على عدّه [اصحاب طالوت وعلى عدّه الرسل فمن الانبيا
- ٧ من يسمع الصوت فيمليه ومنهم من يوحي اليه ومنهم من يكلم
- ٨ ياتني كما ياتي الرجل صاحبه في ثياب بيض
- ٩ راسه كالحنك وشعره كالمرجان
- ١٠ عليه وساجان من درمنضو
- ١١ الخضره وصورته التي صور عليه
- ١٢ وقد قال له النبي عليه السلام اشتي ان اراك في صورتك التي تكون عليها
- ١٣ فسد ما بين الاقنين و
- ١٤ من بنى اسرائيل غير خمسه اعشر نبيا منهم
- ١٥ وابراهيم واسماعيل واسحاق ويعقوب
- ١٦ [صلى الله عليه وسلم ك
- ١٧ [الله على انبيا الله وعليهم
- ١٨ [ذكر وهب عن بن عباس ان اول من خلق الله القلم
- ١٩ [قلمه برق كتابه نور ينظر الله تعالى فيه كل يوم ثلاثايه نظره
- ٢٠ [حي و] ميت ويذل ويعز ويرفع اتوا

TRANSLATION, VERSO

1. [Wahb mentioned on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās. [Mohammed]
2. may Allah bless him and grant him peace. And the prophets were [a hundred and twenty-four thousand. The Apostles]
3. among them were three hundred and fifteen. Of these [five were Hebrews—Adam, Seth, Idrīs, Noah,]
4. and Abraham; and five were Arabs—Hūd, Ṣalīh, Ishmael, Shuʿaib, and Mohammed—may Allah's blessings be upon them.]
5. The first prophet of the Children of Israel was Moses and the last of them [Jesus. The Apostle of Allah—may Allah bless him]
6. and grant him peace—said to his Companions on the Day of Badr, "You are of the same number as that [of the company of Tālūt and as that of the Apostles. Among the prophets]
7. is he who hears the voice and heeds it, he to whom re[velation is made (in a dream or trance), and he who is (directly) spoken to
8. comes to me as a man comes to his friends in gar[ments white
9. His head like a mass of curls and his hair as [coral
10. on it, and two headbands of beautiful pearls [. . . .
11. green. And the form on which he was formed [. . . .
12. And the Prophet—peace be upon him—said to him, "I desire to see you in your own form [. . . ."
13. and he filled the space between the two horizons. And [. . . .
14. of the children of Israel except fifteen prophets. Among these [were
15. [and Ab]raham and Ishmael, and Isaac and Jaco[b
16. [Mohammed] may Allah bless him and grant him peace [. . . .
17. [. . . .] Allah on the prophets of Allah and on the[m.
18. Wahb mentioned on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās that the first thing that Allah created was the [pen
19. his pen is lightning and his book is light. Allah most high looks [into it every day three hundred times [. . . .
20. and causes to die and to live, humbles and exalts, and lifts up people [. . . .

COMMENTS

Lines 1 and 18.—Cf. above, page 174.

Lines 2-5.—The source of the tradition and the sequence of the themes of lines 1-10 is the same as that of Maqdisi, III, 1, though again the text is not identical. The reconstruction of lines 2-5 makes use of this passage along with that of *Ma'ārif*, page 27. The number of the prophets varies, growing larger with time.¹⁹ The distinction between "prophet" and "apostle" began early to engage Moslem religious thought.²⁰ The listing of "Hebrew" and "Arab" prophets is frequently met with, though with Ibn Qutaibah the distinction is that of Syrian and Arab.²¹ The number of Israel's prophets differs, though there seems to be general agreement as to Moses and Jesus being the first and the last of these, respectively.²²

Lines 5-6.—These lines have reference to the well-known belief that Gabriel and a host of angels fought on the side of the Moslems at the fateful Battle of Badr. The subject creeps in here because the number of the Moslem warriors was supposed to be the same as that of the apostles and the companions of Tālūt.²³ This latter appears in the Qur'ān, now in the role of Saul, now in that of Gideon and his band.²⁴

Lines 6-7.—The reconstruction of this and the preceding follows mainly, but

¹⁹ Cf. Ibn Sa'd, I, 10, 27; Ibn Hanbal, V, 265-66; Tabarī, I, 174; Māwardī, pp. 36-37; Tha'alabī, pp. 15-16, 56; *Kanz al-Ummāl*, VI, 120-21; A. J. Wensinck, "Muhammed und die Propheten," *Acta orientalia*, II (1924), 169-70.

²⁰ See preceding note and cf. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-75; Pautz, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 220-30.

²¹ See n. 19 above; *Ma'ārif*, p. 27.

²² E.g., Tabarī, I, 720; Maqdisi, III, 124; Māwardī, p. 34.

²³ Ibn Sa'd, II, 9, 12-13; Tabarī, III, 132; *Kanz al-Ummāl*, V, 264-74, esp. No. 5340.

²⁴ Qur'ān (Cairo, 1347/1928), Sūrah 2:247-49, and Bell's translation (2 vols.; Edinburgh, 1937 and 1939), I, 36-37.

not wholly, the text found in Maqdisi, III, 1-2. These three methods of communication with the world above are generally accepted in Islam.²⁵ Mohammed, it would seem, experienced all three. The theme is well explored by the numerous biographers of Mohammed, Eastern and Western.

Lines 7-11.—Inasmuch as the sequence of themes is still that found in Maqdisi, III, 18, the temptation is to continue to use this source for the reconstruction of the text. But Maqdisi's text so far, close as it is, nevertheless is different from that of the papyrus. Furthermore, Maqdisi himself cuts this passage short as though losing patience with the fantastic description of Gabriel. It is, therefore, best to reproduce the passage here for clarification of theme and for possible comparisons rather than to venture on a doubtful reconstruction.

وفي الحديث ان جبريل ليأتيني كما
يأتي الرجل صاحبه في ثياب بيض
مكفوف باللولو واليواقيت راسه
كالحبك وشعره كالمرجان ولونه
كالثلج جناحه اخضران ورجلاه
مغموستان في الخضره وكيت وكيت

It is in the tradition that (Mohammed said) Gabriel comes to me, as a man comes to his friend, dressed in white garments, bordered with pearls and various (other) gems. His head is as a mass of curls, his hair is as coral and his colour as that of snow. His two wings are green and his feet are dipped in green and so on and so on.

²⁵ E.g., *Kanz al-Ummāl*, VI, 115, No. 1780, and 301, No. 5152. Note that the first tradition derives from Ibn 'Abbās, as does the papyrus text.

For the *hubuk* of the passage the papyrus has *hibāk*. The first is associated with both "head" and "hair" and seems to mean either wavy hair or twisted curls hanging down one's back. It is used seemingly in both these senses in connection with the description of the Dijjāl, or false prophēt, Musailimah al-Kadhdhāb.²⁶ The hair is sometimes compared to coral and sometimes to saffron.²⁷

The reading of the second word—entirely unpointed—of line 10 offers some difficulties. An attempt to read it as two words led nowhere. If the first letter is read as *sīn* only, then the most likely reading is the dual *sājān*, to mean "two headbands." Yet it looks as though what precedes the first *alif* can be read as two letters—a *sīn* or *shīn* preceded by one of the single-toothed letters, *bāʾ*, *tāʾ*, *thāʾ*, *nūn*, or *yāʾ*. Playing around with this combination, the only reading that seems to be at all possible is *taskhan*, or *taskhān*, itself arabicized from the Persian *tashkan*, a special headdress or hood used by Moslem Persian scholars and theologians as it was formerly used by the priests of the fire-worshippers, the *Muwābadhah*. The difficulty with this reading is that the dictionaries do not present us with this form of the word. The plural, *tasākhīn*, is used sometimes for shoes, but this is supposed to be an error made by those who did not know the Persian source of the word.²⁸

²⁶ Ibn Ḥanbal, IV, 20, and V, 372; cf. also Butrus Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* (2 vols.; Beirut, 1286/1870), I, 336.

²⁷ E.g., D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale* (Paris, 1776), p. 341; 'Abd al-Rahīm ibn Aḥmad, *Daqā'iq al-Akhhār* (Cairo, 1343/1924), p. 5; Hammer-Purgstall, "Geisteslehre der Moslimen," in *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Phil.-Hist. Classe*, III (1852), 193.

²⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Nihāyah fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* (4 vols.; Cairo, 1311/1893-94), I, 114-15; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisan al-ʿArab* (20 vols.; Būlāq, 1300-1308/1882-1911), XVII, 69; Murtadā al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs* (10 vols.; Cairo, 1307-8/1888-90), IX, 233; Dozy, *Noms des vêtements* (Amsterdam, 1845), pp. 200, 378-79.

The last word of line 10 contains the letter *qād* and not *zā*; hence the reconstruction of the word as *mandūr* over against the more frequently met with *manẓūm*, that is, strung (pearls).

The reference to Gabriel's green feet is met with in the sources, where they are compared to green emerald.²⁹ It is, of course, impossible to tell if the word "green" of line 11 is to be identified with the word "green" in the passage from Maqdisī.

Gabriel is said to have been in the habit of visiting Mohammed in human form, as other angels are said to visit prophets.³⁰ He generally assumed for the purpose the appearance of Dīḥyah ibn Khalifah the Kalbite.³¹ Presumably, it was on these occasions that he came dressed in white, that color being then,³² as now, much in favor with Moslem men. However, neither the papyrus text nor the passage quoted are concerned with Gabriel's human form. They purport, instead, to describe his angelic form—a theme on which the traditions give numerous vents to the imagination. Colors, jewels, and several garments come in for a share of attention in addition to details of his own angelic form from head to foot, with the varying number of his wings figuring quite prominently. The description grows in detail and splendor with time and is made use of in a mystical allegorical sense.³³

²⁹ E.g., Ibn Sa'd, III, 6; *Kanz al-Ummāl*, VI, 115, No. 1782.

³⁰ Magdasī, I, 170.

³¹ E.g., Ibn Sa'd, II, 17, IV, 184, and VIII, 46; Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 27, 51-52 and IV, 164; Bukhārī, II, 313, 412; Maqdisī, I, 173; *Kanz al-Ummāl*, VI, 115, No. 1783.

³² E.g., Ibn Sa'd, I, 147-51; Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 363.

³³ E.g., Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 395, 398, 407, 412, 460, and VI, 120; Ibn Sa'd, I, 113, 129, 143; Maqdisī, I, 173, and IV, 161; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (2 vols.; Cairo, 1319/1901), I, 88-89, 97-98; Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (13 vols.; Cairo, 1931-34), XII, 172; Mirkhond, *Rauzat-us-safa* ("Garden of Purity"), trans. Rehatsek (London, 1891-94), II, 212; *Dabistān*, trans. David Shea and

Lines 11-13.—These lines have reference to the only two occasions on which Mohammed is said to have seen Gabriel in his true form—at al-Ḥirāʾ and during the *Mirāj*, or the Night of Ascent into heaven.³⁴ As the papyrus text and its literary variants state, Mohammed asked specifically for this privilege.³⁵

Anthony Troyer (Washington and London, 1901), pp. 398-99 (which description is credited to Ibn Sīnā); D'Herbelot, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-41; Asin Palacios, *La Espiritualidad de Algazel y su Sentido Cristiano* (4 vols.; Madrid-Granada, 1934-40), III, 240-41.

³⁴ Ibn Saʿd, I, 113, 143; Ibn Hishām, pp. 152-53; Tabarī, I, 1150; Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 407, and VI, 236, 241; Bukhārī, II, 313, and III, 340; Pautz, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43, 229; B. Schrieke, "Die Himmelsreise Muhammeds," *Der Islam*, VI (1915-16), 1-30; Josef Horowitz, "Muhammed's Himmelfahrt," *Der Islam*, IX (1918), 159-83.

³⁵ Cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 322, 407; Maqdisī, II, 11, and III, 173; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Muḥādḍarat*, II, 166; Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, XII, 170.

Lines 13-17.—These lines would seem to be dealing with the prophets of Israel and their number.³⁶

Lines 18-20.—The "pen" that was the first thing created was, of course, not conceived as an ordinary instrument of writing but as "light" and the means of spiritual and intellectual illumination.³⁷ Though a text identical with that of the papyrus is yet to be discovered, a number of passages are met with that include close parallels to parts of these lines.³⁸

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³⁶ Cf. Maqdisī, III, 1; Māwardī, pp. 27-32, 91; Ibn Kathīr, I, 341.

³⁷ E.g., Sūrah 96:4-5; M. Horten, "Das Buch der Ringsteine Fārābī's," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XVIII (1904-5), 287; see also following note.

³⁸ E.g., Tabarī, I, 29-38; Maqdisī, I, 161, 164; Thaʿlabī, pp. 10 and 114; Kisāʾī, p. 6; *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, III, 211-12.

TWO OSTRACA FRAGMENTS OF THE SEPTUAGINT PSALTER

ALLEN WIKGREN

TO THE many early fragments of biblical text which have been accumulating during the past few decades may be added one Greek portion of Psalm 20 and one Greek-Coptic portion of Psalm 30 from a collection of ostraca recovered at Medinet Habu by an expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in 1931-32 and now in process of decipherment and publication.¹ It seems worth while to make the Psalter documents more quickly and perhaps more readily available here for what value they may have in regard to the rather meagerly attested text of Upper Egypt² and to early Christian psalmody.³ The ostraca doubtless served as amulets, a use for which several parts of the Psalter were especially popular.

MH Ost 1269 (Pl. V, A; and Fig. 1) contains Ps. 20:1b-5a in twelve lines of text and is probably to be dated in the sixth or seventh century A.D. The ostrakon measures 9.7 × 5.7 cm. high and is fragmentary at top and bottom. The pottery is ribbed and is composed of fine, medium-fired clay of red-orange buff body color. The script is a black, vertical, and squarish uncial, 0.2-0.5 cm. high and written irregularly by an undisciplined hand. Tau is sometimes raised above the other letters; the top line of pi does not extend. The spelling is often atrocious and gives

evidence that the writer was relatively illiterate and was trying to write the text from memory. It is, in fact, simpler to give the complete document twice than to provide an apparatus of the necessary orthographic corrigenda.

We give, then, the text as it actually appears and as restored and corrected (Fig. 1). The restoration here, as well as in Psalm 30, follows the critical edition of Alfred Rahlfs⁴ unless otherwise indicated.

There is no notable variation here from Rahlfs's text unless one assumes the two questionable readings in verse 3 and *ὑστέρησας* as original in the same verse. Of the other variants, two are liturgical and one is assignable to Sahidic influence. The text of the ostrakon is therefore that of the great uncial Psalters and of the Sahidic version. There is, of course, not enough evidence for distinguishing more exact affinities, though there is nothing to contradict an assumption from the provenance of the document that its text is that of Upper Egypt.⁵

MH Ost 1175 (Pl. V, B, and Fig. 2) is a bilingual document of the seventh or eighth century A.D. containing in the upper portion a fragment of Ps. 30:2-8 in Greek and beneath this a fragment of verses 1-6 of the same psalm in Sahidic. The Greek text occupies twelve lines, the Sahidic six. The ostrakon measures 9 × 11.5 cm. high and is fragmentary at the top right, right, and bottom left. It ap-

¹ "Oriental Institute Publications," *The Excavations at Medinet Habu*, Vol. X: *The Medinet Habu Ostraca*.

² See F. G. Kenyon, *Recent Developments in the Textual Criticism of the Greek Bible* (London, Oxford University Press, 1933).

³ See W. Till and P. Sanz, "Eine Griechisch-Koptische Odenhandschrift," in *Monumenta Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, V (Rome: Pontifical Institute, 1939), 112 ff.

⁴ *Septuaginta Societatis Scientiarum Göttingensis auctoritate*, Vol. X: *Psalmi cum Odis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931).

⁵ For an identification and discussion of the various text types or recensions see Rahlfs, *op. cit.*, and *Septuaginta-Studien*, 2. Heft: *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907).

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>2 [Κ(υρ:)]ε, εν τη θυ]N[αμει σου
ευφρανθησεται
[ο βασιλευ]Σ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΠΗ ΤΩ [σωτηριω
σου αγα-</p> <p>3 [λλ:ασετα]Ι ΣΦΟΔΡΑ. ΤΗΝ [επι:θυ]ΜΙΑΝ
[της ψυχης] ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΔΩΚΑΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ
[δεησιν(?) τω]N ΧΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΟΥΧ
ῬΥΣΤΗ-</p> <p>4 [σας αυτο]N, ΟΙΔΙ ΠΡΟΕΦΘΑΣΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ
[εν ευλογ]ΙΗΣ ΧΡΥΣΤΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΣΟΥ.
[Διαψαλμα.] ΗΘΗΚΑΣ ΗΠΗ ΔΗΝ ΚΗΦ-
[αλην αυτο]Υ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΗΚ ΑΗΘΟ-</p> <p>5 [υ τιμιου.] ΖΩΗΝ ΙΤΗΣΣΑΔΩ ΣΕ Κ-
[αι εδωκας] ΑΥΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΡΟΤΗΤΑ
[ημερων εις τον αιω]NΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ
[τον αιωνα του αιωνος. αμην(?).]</p> | <p>[Κ(ύρι:)ε, ἐν τῇ θυ]ν[άμει σου
εὐφρανθῆσεται
[ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ [σωτηρίῃ
σου ἀγα-</p> <p>[λλιδάσετα]: σφόδρα. τὴν [ἐπι:θυ]μίαν
[τῆς ψυχῆς] αὐτοῦ ἔδωκας αὐτῷ καὶ τ(ῇ)ν
[δέησιν(?) τῷ]ν χειλέων αὐτοῦ οὐχ
ῤύστη-</p> <p>[σας αὐτό]ν, ὅτι προέφθασας αὐτόν
[ἐν εὐλογ]ίαις χρηστοτήτος σου
[Διάψαλμα.] Ἦθηκας ἐπὶ τὴν κεφ-
[αλὴν αὐτο]ῦ Στέφανος ἐκ λίθο-</p> <p>[υ τιμί]ου. Ζωὴν ἡτήσατό σε, κ-
[αὶ ἔδωκας] αὐτῷ μακρότητα
[ἡμερῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶ]να καὶ εἰς
[τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος. Ἀμήν(?).]</p> |
|--|---|

3. ΨΥΧῆς: Rahlfs; Read perhaps καρδίας with G^{Lat} 55 1219 Vg Sa Syr^{Paul} of Tella Thāt MT. δέησιν: N B A Bo Sa 2037 etc.; θέλησιν: Rahlfs. οὐχ ῤύσ-
τησας (corrected to οὐχ ῤέστησας): The reading may have originated through
a transposition of the letters of a possibly original ὑστέρησας (read here by
Holmes-Parsons 275 for the usual ἐστέρησας). The line over the ρ may repre-
sent either a rough breathing or, more likely, a Coptic vocalization. 4.
σου: Omitted in all evidence cited by Rahlfs and H-P; but it is read by Sa,
e.g., the London Psalter, one of the two MSS used by Rahlfs for Sa (ἸΤΕΚ -
ΜΗΤΧΡC), and the Borgian papyri edited by Ciasca (ἸΤΕΚΜΗΤΧΡCΤOC). Διάψαλμα:
Considerations of space and its omission where usually read at the end of vs.
3 make this reading quite probable here. So Sa and Aug. στέφανος: Read
στέφανον. 5. αὐτοῦ: Read αὐτῷ. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κτλ.: A common liturgical
addition read here by N B^{cor} B G^{Lat} Sa Aug Tert Cyp; but except for N, which
reads τόν(2), the articles are omitted. Cf. vs. 7, where N has the common
form with all of the articles. In the ostrakon there seems to be space for
the articles. εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος: Rahlfs.

Fig. 1

PLATE V

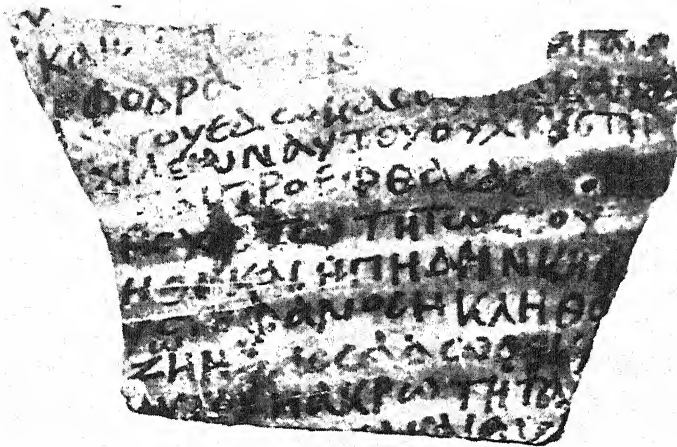


PLATE V



B

- 2 [Ἐπὶ σοί, Κύριε, ἤλπισα, μὴ κατασυχυνθείην εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.]
 3 [ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου ῥῶσαί με καὶ ἐξελοῦ με. Κλῖνον πρὸς με]
 τὸ [οὖς σου, τάχυνον τοῦ ἐξελεῖσθαι με.]
 γενο[θ μοι εἰς θεὸν ὑπερασπιστὴν καὶ εἰς οἶκον]
 4 καταφ[υγῆς τοῦ σώσαί με. "Οτι κραταί-]
 ωσις (καὶ) κα[ταφυγή μου εἶ σὺ καὶ ἔνεκεν]
 τ(οῦ) ὀνομήμα[τός σου ὁδηγήσεις με καὶ δι-]
 5 αθρέψεις μοι· [ἐξάξεις με ἐκ παγίδος ταύτ-]
 ης, ἧς ἔκρυψάν μ[οι, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ὑπερασπιστής]
 6 μου, Κ(ύρι)ε. Εἰς χεῖράς σο[υ παραθήσομαι τὸ πνευμά]
 7 μου· ἐλυτρώσω με, Κ(ύρι)ε [ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας. Ἐπί-]
 σηςας τοὺς διαφυλάσσοντας ματαιότητας]
 8 οὐκ κενῆς· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τ[ῷ Κυρίῳ ἤλπισα. Ἀγαλλιάσο-]
 2 μαι (καὶ) εὐφρανθήσομ[αι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλέει σου. αἶκα z-]
 τῇ ἐπχοεῖς ἡπῆρταχ[ι] ᾠ[ι]πε ᾠαεuez. καzμῇ νῆτοzχοῖ]
 3 zῆτεκαῖκαῖουσνη: pike ᾠ[πεκμααχε εροῖ νῆδεπη ετοz-]
 4 χοῖ: xe-ῆτοκ-πε παταxρῶ[ατω παμα ἡπωτ:]
 [ετв]ε πεκραλ κῆαxι μο[ε]ιτ zηт ατω]
 5 [νῆοακoуᾠτ.]. κῆaнт εвол zῆ[τεῖδοpῶῶ]
 [εнтaγzонῶ εροῖ.] xe-ῆτοκ-πε тaλ[αᾠте.]
 6 [тῆαῖoῖaε] ἡπαпῆa εη[εκῑz]
 7 [ακcωте ᾠ]μοῖ пx[oεic]
 [пнoуте] ῆтᾠ[е.]

2. ἐπχοεῖς (ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ) for εροκ πχοεῖς (ἐπὶ σοί, Κύριε): No evidence. Perhaps an assimilation to the Greek of vs. 8. 3. Omit after ετογχοῖ (apparently by homoioteleuton, although possibly because of space limitations): ᾠπε καὶ εγκoυτε ἡαᾠτε ατω εγῆῖ ἡμα ἡπωт ετογχοῖ (γενοῦ - με). 4. κραταίωσις: K A U 39 55 156 1098 1219 Greg. Nyss. ii. 498 H-P; without μου with K U R^{Lat}; κραταίωμα: Rahlfs. ὀνομήματος: Read ὀνόματος. μοι: Read με. 5. Κύριε: K^{cor} A R^{cor} Roman Psalter and a majority of Western Psalters 1098 Jer H-P; omit: Rahlfs. 6. διαφυλάσσοντας: A U R 55 1098 2013 Lucianic MSS H-P; φυλάσσοντας: Rahlfs.

Fig. 2

pears to be of the same texture and color as the other ostrakon, though fired more lightly and of a grayish exterior appearance due to discoloration. The Greek script is a sprawling cursive averaging about 0.5 cm. in height and typical of the Arabic period. The Coptic is similar, although exhibiting the customary use of more uncial forms, and appears to have been written by the same hand. The writing becomes a bit crowded toward the bottom of the potsherd. The orthography of this document is generally accurate.

In our reproduction (Fig. 2) the line division of the Coptic is somewhat arbitrary, and the versification is made to accord with the Greek. The Coptic text has been collated with the London Psalter edited by E. A. W. Budge (ΠΧΩΩΜΕ ΝΝΕΤΑΛΜΟC: *The Earliest Known Coptic Psalter* [London, 1898]) and with the Vienna papyri edited by Carl Wessely ("Sahidische-griechische Psalmen fragmente" in *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* [Vienna, 1908]). The latter also gives an apparatus of readings from the other main uncial Psalters available to him: B(erolinensis), T(urin), R (Borgian Fragments), L(ondon), and Lagarde.

The Greek text here has three variants from Rahlfs, all supported by early and scattered evidence. In fact, two of them, as we have indicated, were read by Holmes and Parsons. The main early support for these readings may be summarized together with Rahlfs's characterizations of it as follows: A (mixed)—3; U (Upper Egypt)—3; 1098 (Hexaplaric)—3; S (Lower Egypt)—2; R (Western)—2(?).

Or, it may be more instructive to note the number of disagreements in this section. The totals are: B (Lower Egypt)—4; S—2; R—1(?); A—1; U—1.⁶ The Sahidic is in disagreement twice, and the other two readings cannot be distinguished in the translation. With the possible exception noted in the apparatus, the Sahidic of the ostrakon is exactly that of the earliest Coptic Psalter.⁷

Our Greek text is, then, primarily that of Upper Egypt, with an admixture of readings of which the B text of Lower Egypt is here least in evidence among the early recensions. While this evidence is too limited for valid comparisons, it may be noted that Rahlfs's findings placed the Western text, as represented in R and the Old Latin, somewhat below that of Upper Egypt in its agreement with the text of Lower Egypt (B, Bo, S, Aeth). Yet the ostrakon appears to be characteristic of the Upper Egyptian fragments, which join with the Sahidic version in attesting an early pre-Hexaplaric text that has been subject to a certain amount of mixture and revision.⁸

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⁶ The uncertainty about R is due to a disagreement between Rahlfs and Swete on its citation for διαφύλασσοντας. MS 2013, an important early witness to the Greek text of Upper Egypt, is fragmentary to 30:5 and hence can be cited in only one supporting reading.

⁷ The Κύριε of vs. 5 in the Coptic would come in a lacuna on the ostrakon and is therefore uncertain; but general Sahidic evidence is against it.

⁸ Cf. E. Brightman, "The Sahidic Text of the Psalter," *Journal of Theological Studies*, II (1901), 275-76, who pointed out here the agreement of the London Psalter, then newly discovered, with the contemporary Greek papyrus fragments in the British Museum designated "U." More detailed evidence and discussion were supplied by Rahlfs in both of the works which we have cited.

NUMBER IDIOMS IN OLD BABYLONIAN

ALBRECHT GOETZE

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THE following discussions of the various problems connected with numerals in Old Babylonian are prompted mainly by two circumstances. The first is the sketchy way in which numerals are treated in the current grammars and in the literature¹ on grammar; the second, the gratifying fact that the available material has recently increased, thanks above all to the publication of numerous mathematical tablets.

These tablets contain a considerable number of phonetic spellings which are particularly welcome since the uncertainties connected with the form and the syntactical construction of numerals are to a large extent due to the predilection of the scribes for employing ideograms for the numbers as well as for that which is counted.

The scope of this article has on purpose been limited to Old Babylonian. It is my firm belief that no grammatical problem can be fruitfully treated for Akkadian generally, unless the conditions prevailing in the various dialects have been accurately described beforehand.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—The abbreviations used in this article are those customary among Assyriologists; see particularly the list given in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*. In addition, I had occasion to use some not listed there; they must be explained here.

1. Museum signatures consisting of an abbreviation and a following number. When no specific reference follows, the respective tablets are unpublished:

AO	Ancien, Orient; signature of the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
BM	British Museum, London.
HE	Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris.
JRL	John Rylands Library, Manchester.
MLC	Morgan Library Collection, deposited at Yale University.
NBC	Nies Babylonian Collection, Yale University.
Or. Inst.	Oriental Institute, Chicago.
UOBO	University of California Babylonian Collection.
VAT	Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Tontafel; signature of the Berlin Museum.
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection, Yale University.

2. Books:

Boyer	G. BOYER, <i>Contribution à l'histoire juridique de la 1^{re} dynastie babylonienne</i> (Paris, 1928).
Fish	T. FISH, <i>Letters of the First Babylonian Dynasty in the John Rylands Library, Manchester</i> (Manchester, 1936).
Fr	TH. FRIEDRICH, <i>Altbabylonische Urkunden aus Sippara</i> (BA, Vol. V, No. 4 [Leipzig, 1906]).
G	M. J.-E. GAUTIER, <i>Archives d'une famille de Dilbat ...</i> (Mémoires ... de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, Vol. XXVI [Le Caire, 1908]).
Gilg. M	B. MEISSNER, <i>Ein altbabylonisches Fragment des Gilgamesepos</i> (MVAG, 7, 1 [1902]).
Gilg. P	S. LANGDON, <i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> (UMBS, Vol. X, No. 3 [Philadelphia, 1917]).
Gilg. Y	M. JASTROW and A. T. CLAY, <i>An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic</i> (YOS, Res., Vol. IV, No. 3 [New Haven, 1920]).
Holma	H. HOLMA, <i>Zehn altbabylonische Tontafeln in Helsingfors</i> (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, Vol. XLV, No. 3 [Helsingfors, 1914]).
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i> (Cincinnati).
Kish	H. DE GENOUILLAC, <i>Premières recherches archéologiques à Kish</i> , Vol. I (Paris, 1924); Vol. II (Paris, 1925).
MCT	O. NEUGEBAUER and A. SACHS, <i>Mathematical Cuneiform Texts</i> (American Oriental Series, No. 29 [1945]).
RFH	T. J. MEEK, "Old Babylonian Business and Legal Documents (The Robert Francis Harper Collection)," <i>AJSL</i> 33 (1917) 206 ff.
Riftin	A. P. RIFTIN, <i>Staro-babilonskie juridičeskie i administrativnye dokumenty v sobraniyakh SSSR</i> (Moscow-Leningrad, 1937).
Stunec	M. A. STUNEC, "Hammurabi Letters from the Haskell Museum Collections" (unpublished dissertation [Chicago, 1927]).
TMB	F. THUREAU-DANGIN, <i>Textes mathématiques babyloniens</i> (Leiden, 1938).
YBT	"Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts."

¹ The following recent contributions to the problems treated in this article are worthy of note: von Soden, *ZA NF* 7 (1933) 131-33; I. J. Gelb in *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity* (OIP XXVII [1935]) 59-61; Gordon, *RA* 31 (1934) 53-60. Consult furthermore the glossaries of MKT, MCT, and TMB.

I. CARDINAL NUMBERS

FORM²

	(a) Status Normalis ³	(b) Status Absolutus ⁴		(c) Multiplicative ⁵
"1".....	ištiānum, ištēnum	ištēn ⁶	ištiat	ištiššu
"2".....	šittān ⁷	šinā	šittā	šinē-šu, šinī-šu
"3".....	šalāštum ⁸	šalāšta	šalāš	šalāšī-šu
"4".....	erbētum, ⁹ erbūm erbettum	erbēt	erbē	erbē-šu
"5".....	hamištum	hamšat	hamiš	hamšī-šu
"6".....	?		šišša	
"7".....	sebētum ¹⁰ sebettum	sebēt	sebē	sebē-šu
"8".....	?		samāni ¹¹	
"9".....	?	tīšet ¹²		
"10".....	ešertum		ešer ¹³	ešrī-šu
"11".....	?	ištēnšeret ¹⁴		ištēšerī-šu
"13".....	?			šalāšerī-šu
"14".....	?			erbēšerī-šu
"17".....	?		sebēšer	
"20".....	?	ešrā		

² As a matter of principle the reconstruction of forms that do not occur in actual texts has been avoided.

³ I use the term "status normalis" in order to get away from the other terms "emphatic state" or "status determinatus," which imply a meaning which the form does not have in Akkadian.

⁴ This term is taken from the grammar of Aramaic. Ungnad, in his *Babylonisch-Assyrische Grammatik*, calls the same form "status indeterminatus." It is open to the same criticism as the opposite.

⁵ This form seems to consist of an accusative plus -šu, "its." The accusative is in the singular with "one," in the dual with "two," and in the plural with the other numbers.

⁶ *ištēn* is contracted from *ištiān*; cf. *iš-ti-a-na* as a variant of *iš-te-in* in BM 102404 (CT XXXVII 1 ff.) II 43 and *iš-ti-a-num* CT XV 3 I 8. The reason for consistent contraction in the masculine, and equally consistent lack of contraction in the feminine, is hard to make out. Perhaps the feminine in -at is a younger formation; (cf. Hebr. *āšīš*). It may have replaced an older formation with the suffix -ay. Akkadian *wēdum* is not a numeral but an adjective; i.e., it agrees with its noun in status, gender, number, and case. Its meaning is "sole, single." Occurrences: e.g., *ma-ar šī-īp-ri-im we-du-um* "a single messenger" YBT X 21 4; *re-di-im we-di-im*, "(of) one *rēdūm*," YBT X 31 IX 6. As any adjective it may be used without accompanying noun; e.g., *a-na we-di-im*, "to a single one," YBT X 31 I 29; *we-di-i*, "(of) a single one," YBT X 35 30. The word is fairly frequent in proper names; see J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung* 51-52. Etymologically this is PS **waḥdu*; cf. Hebr. *yāḥad*. Etymologically **aḥadu* seems to be contained in the adjective *ašarēdum*, "first as to rank"; thus already in Old Babylonian, e.g., CH IV 23; YBT X 24 12.

⁷ This is the regular Akkadian development of **šinātān* with syncopation of the second short vowel in front of the final syllable. When the form is contrasted with Hebr. *šatayim*, one may doubt that **šinātān* was inherited.

⁸ The loss of the *a* of the feminine suffix -atu is already Primitive Semitic; see Hebr. *šālōštaxam* and Eth. *šalāštū*.

⁹ *Erbūm* is from **arba'um*. Cf. the Old Akkadian *kibrātum arba'um* (contrary to Old Babylonian usage consistently with the status normalis of the noun). The length of the second *e* in *erbētum* is guaranteed by the variant *erbettum* which exhibits doubling of the following consonant instead. The variant seems to point to an old feminine **arba'itu* without an *a* in front of the feminine *t* (cf. Eth. *arba'itū*).

¹⁰ The formation is the same as in *erbētum*. For PS we have probably to reconstruct **saba'itu* (cf. Eth. *sabā'itū*). Regarding the peculiar sibilant in this word see for the time being my remark in MCT 146 n. 343.

¹¹ The sibilant is that of the preceding numeral.

¹² This seems to presuppose a PS **tis'atu*.

¹³ The form under which the cardinal "ten" appeared in PS, when standing by itself, was masc. **ašr(u)*, but fem. **ašarat(u)*; thus Arab. *ašrun* and *ašaratun*, Hebr. *āšer* and *āšārāh*. Akkadian *ešer* and *ešertum* represent the same forms; for the masculine note particularly the multiplicative *ešri-šu* and the dual *ešrā*, "twenty." In those cases where a digit follows PS vocalized differently, the masc. being **ašar* and the fem. **ašrat* (or more archaically **ašray*); thus Arab. *ašara* and *ašrata*, Hebr. *āšār* and *āšrē*. In Akkadian the

[Footnotes 13 and 14 continued on following page]

CONSTRUCTION

In discussing the number idioms of Old Babylonian, it will prove advantageous to differentiate according to the number and the meaning of the words of which they consist. The types that can be set up are as follows:

- (I) Single cardinal number—that which is counted
- (II) Single cardinal number—higher unit number—that which is counted
- (III) Single cardinal number—measure—that which is measured

The following general statement is in order:

In all three idioms the numeral is like an adjective closely associated with the second word of the respective idiom. Different from the adjective, however, it does not agree with it in status, gender, and number. The case form employed is always the same for all members of the same idiom; it depends on the syntactical position the idiom as a whole occupies in the respective sentence.

With respect to status, gender, and number, the following specific rules can be established.

Idiom (I)

1. The cardinal is in most occurrences in the absolute state and may be placed either before or after the noun that specifies that which is counted.
2. The normal state of the cardinal, which occurs less frequently, implies determination of the cardinal; it should be translated in English with the article.
3. The cardinals "one" and "two" show masculine form with masculine nouns, feminine form with feminine nouns. The cardinals from "three" to "nineteen" exhibit inverted agreement. For the cardinals from "twenty" to "ninety-nine" no precise rules can be formulated as yet for lack of material.
4. The noun which specifies that which is counted (whatever its position in the idiom) appears in the normal state whenever the cardinal is in the absolute state; it appears in the absolute state whenever the cardinal is in the normal state.
5. The cardinal "one" is naturally followed by a singular. The cardinal "two" is followed by a dual in the older construction; but the dual is largely superseded by the plural. All other cardinals are followed by plurals.

Idiom (II)

6. The cardinal follows the rules just given. The higher unit is in the absolute state of the singular except the words for the decades, which are in the form in *-ā*. That which is counted is in the normal state of the plural.

vocalization of plain "ten" seems to have been carried through; i.e., the actual forms are *ešer* and (*e*)*šeret*. For the lack of syncopation in the latter I have to refer to an article soon to appear in *Orientalia*.

The lack of the initial *e* in all known cardinals from "eleven" to "nineteen" is not easily explained; various factors have probably contributed to that result. With "fourteen" and "seventeen" a contraction may be involved; theoretically the form should be *erbē + ešer(et)* and *sebē + eser(et)*. The actually encountered forms of "thirteen" and "fifteen" may have been shortened by haplogy, theoretically expected **šalāšešer(et)* and **hamišešer(et)* becoming *šalāšer(et)* and *hamišer(et)*. With "sixteen" and "nineteen" the situation was probably analogous, since one would construe **šiššešer(et)* and **tišešer(et)*. The cardinal "twelve," to judge from the ordinal *šinša/erūm* (see below), seems to have used a singular absolute **šin* rather than the dual absolute *šinā* as its first part. Hence, in **šinešer* the *e* had to drop out through normal syncope; **šinšer* then called **šinšeret* into existence. This leaves only "eleven"; it apparently followed the analogy of all the other units in the decade.

¹⁴ Even from the few examples that are available it seems evident that the numbers from "11" to "19" inflect only the second element, i.e., that denoting "ten." The two elements are fused into a unit by various "shortenings."

Idiom (III)

7. The cardinal follows the rules just given. The measure is in the absolute state; the usage of number (singular or plural) differs from measure to measure, and a general rule cannot be given. The thing measured follows in the normal state and is grammatically an apposition.¹⁵ Words that refer to materials in a general way are in the singular; objects that are viewed individually are in the plural.

Cardinal and measure are often pronounced as a unit and spelled as such.

8. Special conditions prevail when the thing measured is omitted and the measure terminates the idiom. Measures of length, of area, and of weight are found in such abbreviated idioms. The construction may follow the rules given under (4) or under (7).

SELECTED OCCURRENCES OF IDIOM (I)

"1"

- (a) *iš-ti-a-num ša-du-ú i-lī*, "the one mountain of the gods," BM 93828 (CT XV) I 8.
iš-ti-nam ú-la-ab-bi-is-sú, "she clad him with the one (half)," Gilg. P 68.¹⁶
- (b) *iš-te-en a-wi-lam*, "one man" (acc.), TCL XVII 12 8.
iš-te-en ta-ak-lam, "one trustworthy man" (acc.), VS XVI 57 5.
iš-ti-a-at il-tum, "one goddess" (nom.), Ag. A (VS X 214) VI 21.
iš-ti-a-at lu-bu-ša-am, "one garment" (acc.), YBC 4990 rev. 4.
iš-te-en ta-ki-il-ka, "one man you trust," LIH 78 15.
ge-er-ra-am iš-te-en, "one trip" (acc.), YBT II 59 16.
i-na bi-tim iš-te-en, "in one house," YBT II 117 24.
lu-ba-ar-tam iš-ti-a-at, "one garment" (acc.), YBT II 106 18.
ša ša-at-tim iš-ta-a-at, "for one year," CH XVI 56.¹⁷
še-bu-ti iš-ti-a-at, "one wish of mine," VS XVI 21 15-16.*
- (c) *iš-ti-iš-šu*, "once," CT VI 39b 1.
iš-ti-šu-ú, "once," AO 8862 (MKT I 108 ff. = TMB 64 ff.) III 35.
a-na iš-ti-iš-šu, "for one (the first) time," CH XIIr 30.
- Furthermore: *iš-ti-na-a ip-tù-ur*, "it dissolves singly," YBT X 33 V 43.¹⁸

"2"

- (a) *ši-it-ti-in*, "the two parts," i.e., two parts out of three (acc.), CH XVI 66.
ši-it-ti-šu-nu, "two-thirds of them" (nom.), BIN VII 8 6.
- (b) *ši-na ta-ak-lu-tim*, "two trustworthy men" (acc.), YBC 5476 25.
2 šu-ḥa-re-e, "two young men" (acc.), TCL XVIII 145 8.
eḡel ši-ta mi-it-ḥa-ra-ti-ia, "the area of my two squares," BM 13901 (MKT III 1 ff. = TMB 1 ff.) II 3, 11, 19, 27, 36, 44.
2 ši-pi-tum, "two feet" (nom.), YBT X 50 1.
2 tu-up-pa-ti-ia, "two tablets of mine" (acc.), TCL XVII 19 6.
2^aše-eḡ-ḥe-re-ti-šu, "two small girls of his" (acc.), VS XVI 56 14.

¹⁵ This was first recognized by A. Walther, ZDMG 69 425.

¹⁶ Translate: "She tore her garment apart, and clad him with the one half of it. With the other half of the garment (*li-iḡ-ša-am ša-ni-a-am*) she clad herself."

¹⁷ The passage in *li-iḡ-bu ša-at-tim iš-ti-a-na* (var. *iš-te-in*), "in the course of a single year," BM 102404 (CT XXXVII 1 ff. II 2-3) (text in the so-called hymnal-epic dialect) differs as to the grammatical agreement of noun and numeral.

¹⁸ This is in parallelism with *a-na ši-na-a?* (11), *ši-na* (18, 26, 34); *a-na ḡam* (14, 17), *šu-lu-ša(-a)* (22, 28, 37); *ru-bu-ḥa(-a)* (24, 31, 39).

su-mu-ú ši-na, "two red dots" (nom.), YBT X 51 I 15, 33.

al-pi še-na, "two oxen" (acc.), Bism. 10 (AJSL 32.286) 8.

qar-ra-da-an 2-na, "two warriors" (nom.), YBT X 31 IX 25-26.

ti-ki-ip-ta-an 2-ta-ma, "two layers" (nom.), YBT X 31 IX 22-23.

a-na ši-na hepūm, "divide by two," MKT and MCT *passim*.

a-na še-na zu-za-ma, "divide (ye) into two parts," TCL VII 23 20.

ši-na ip-tù-ru, "they dissolve twofold," YBT X 33 V 18, 26; cf. 34.

a-na ši-na-ma ip-tù-ur, "it dissolves into two," YBT X 33 V 11.

iš-te-a-at ù ši-it-ta, "one or two" (acc.), UCP IX/4 29 21.

šakaku imittim . . . ši-na-a-ma, "the weapons at the right . . . (are) two in number," YBT X 46 IV 7, 11.

ma-ra-tum ši-ta, "the gall bladders are two in number," YBT X 31 I 47, X 45-46.

di-ik-ša-an ši-na, "the fissures are two in number," YBT X 31 X 50-51.

(c) *ši-ni-šu*, "twice," CT VI 39b 1; TCL I 31 4.

a-na ši-ni-šu, "for a second time," CH XIIr 33; YBT X 26 III 28.

a-di ši-ni-šu, "for a second time," TCL I 54 16; CT XXIX 31 f. 5.

"both"

(b) *še-lu ki-la-lu-un*, "both ribs" (nom.), YBT X 48 25.¹⁹

i-sà-šu ki-la-lu-un, "both its jaws" (nom.), YBT X 47 12.

al-pi ki-la-a-li-in, "both oxen" (acc.), RA 30 99 8-9.

ki-ša-di-ša ki-la-le-en, "both its banks" (acc.), LIH 95 23.

i-ni-in ki-la-(at-)ti-in, "(of) both eyes," YBT X 51 I 10, 14, 20.

ki-la-al-lu-un, "both?" (nom.), Gilg. P 44.

ki-la-lu[-un], "both" (nom.?), RA 35 22 obv. 18.

ki-la-la-an, "both" (nom.), CT VI 37a 13.

ki-la-li-in, "both" (acc.), CT XXIX 2a 15.

ki-la-lu-ku-nu, "both of you" (nom.), YBT II 112 26.²⁰

ki-la-la-šu-nu, "both of them" (nom.), CH IXr 59.

ki-la-le-šu-nu, "both of them" (acc.), CH Xr 22.

a-na ki-la-le-ni, "to both of us," VS XVI 118 10.

ki-la-a-ti-ši-na, "both of them (women)" (acc.), RA 24 36 II 6.

"3"

(a) *ša-la-aš-ta-am kasap igi-gál-la-a*, "the three parts silver" (acc.), BIN VII 220 5-6.

ša-la-aš-tu-šu-nu, "the three of them" (nom.), YBT X 33 V 18 ff.²¹

(b) *ša-la-aš KI.LI*, "three . . ." (acc.), TCL XVII 61 34.

eqel ša-la-aš mi-it-ḥa-ra-ti-ia, "the area of my three squares," BM 13901 (MKT III 1 ff. = TMB 1 ff.) III 29, 39, IV 17.

3 ši-pi-tum, "three feet" (nom.), YBT X 50 2.

a-na 3 aḥāni^{a-ni}, "to three brothers," VAT 7531 (MKT I 289 ff. = TMB 98-99) obv. 4.

3 ni-pa-ti-ka, "your three pawns" (acc.), Kish D 39 14, 18.

¹⁹ This curious form is also found in the Middle Assyrian laws KAV 1 I 87. It, then, is by no means a scribal error there (Driver-Miles, *The Assyrian Laws* 385). The reason for the (dialectic?) change from *kilālān* (see presently) to **kilālōn* is obscure.

²⁰ See, furthermore, *ki-lal-lu-šu-nu* in *ana itti-šu* (ed. Landsberger) 6 I 12.

²¹ *Ša-la-aš-ti-šu-nu*, "the three of them," *ibid.* 6 I 13.

3 *šu-ul-mu*, "three . . ." (nom.), BM 22446 (CT V 4 ff.) 51.

3 *ka-ab/p-lu-šu*, "its three legs(?)" (nom.), CT II 1 6.

ša-ma-a-tum ša-la-a-aš, "three rainstorms" (nom.), TCL XVII 5 21.

pu-ḥa-di-ši-na ša-la-aš-ta ma-ru-tim, "three fattened lambs of theirs" (acc.), YBC 5476 12-13.

ma-ra-tum . . . šalāš²², "the gall bladders . . . (are) three in number," YBT X 31 I 51, X 49.

(c) *ša-la-ši-šu*, "three times," CT XXXIII 23 5.

a-di ša-la-ši-(i)-šu, "for a/the third time," CT II 12 26; VS XVI 70 9; YBT X 11 I 14.

ki-ma ša-la-ši-šu, "for a third time," VS XVI 196 11-12.

a-na ša-la-ši-šu, "for third time," YBT X 26 III 23, 30.

"4"

(a) *ki-ib-ra-at er-bé-e-em*, "the four quadrants" (acc.), AO 4479 (RA 22 170-71) 50.²²
ki-ib-ra-at er-bé-tim, "(of) the four quadrants," CH II 4; YBT IX 35 126.
pa-a-at er-bé-et-tam, "the four sides" (acc.), BM 13901 (MKT III 1 ff. = TMB 1 ff.) IV 11, 12.

pa-a-at 4-BI, "the four regions," YBT X 56 III 11.²³

ša-ar er-bé-tim, "(of) the four points of the compass," CT VI 31a 6.

a-na ša-ar er-bé-et-ti-šu, "toward the²⁴ four points of the compass," BM 22447 (CT III 2 ff.) 28.

ša-a-ar er-bé-ti-ša, "at the four points of the compass," YBT X 36 I 29, 31.

ša-ar er-bé-et-ti-šu, "id.," UCBC 755 (UCP IX 367 ff.) 13.

ša-ar er-bé-ti-ša, "id.," AfO 5 215 1.

i-na 4-i-tim-ma, "among the four," TCL XVII 10 17.

(b) *er-bé-ud²⁵ ša-ri*, "four winds" (what case?), RA 35 23 rev. 13.

er-bé ú-ba-a-na-tim, "four fingers" (acc.), YBC 8958 I 25.

4 ši-pi²⁶-tum, "four feet" (nom.), YBT X 50 3.

qú-ú er-bé-et, "four strings" (nom.), YBT X 42 III 23.

a-na er-bé-et ta-za-az, "you shall divide into four parts," Pa (MCT 98-99) obv. 3.

šēpū . . . er-bé-et, "the feet . . . (are) four," YBT X 20 I 28.

alpū²⁴ . . . [er]-bé-et-ma, "the oxen . . . (are) four," TCL XVII 6 15 ff.

er-bé-et i-sú-šu, "four (are) its jaws," YBT X 56 I 44.

(c) *er-bé-e-šu*, "four times," AO 8862 (MKT I 108 ff. = TMB 64 ff.) III 38.

a-na er-bi-i-šu, "for a fourth time," YBT X 26 III 25, 32.

²² As far as the masculine form of the numeral is concerned, this is still close to the Old Akkadian idiom *šar kibratim arbaim*; it differs, however, inasmuch as it uses the absolute state of the noun. It is worthy of mention that the Sumerian equivalent *lugal.ub-da.lim mu-ba* contains at its end a *-be* which has the force of determination (see A. Poebel, *Sum. Gramm.* § 307-8).

²³ This is another example for the determinating *-be* of the Sumerian language.

²⁴ One may ask whether the Akkadian suffix *-šu* is a reflex of the Sumerian *-be* just mentioned. This is not impossible, although Akkadian shifts between the masculine *-šu* and the feminine *-ša* according to the gender of the subject.

²⁵ The value which is theoretically required is *to* (*erbetta*); cf. *se-bé-ud* quoted below.

²⁶ This text contains in successive lines all the expressions from 2 *ši-pi-tum* to 10 *ši-pi-tum*. However, with the numerals from "4" to "9," it spells faultily *ši-e-tum*.

"5"

- (a) *wa-ki-il ha-mu-uš-ti-ia*, "the foreman of the gang of five I am in," NBC 5592 10.²⁷
ru-ub-bu ha-am-ša-a-tim, "the leaders of the gangs of five," Kish D 12 rev. 8.
 (b) 5 *ši-pi²³-tum*, "five feet" (nom.), YBT X 50 4.
a-na 5 ahāni^{a-ni}, "to five brothers," VAT 7531 (MKT I 289 ff. = TMB 98-99) rev. 4.
 5 *šū-ha-ri-ka*, "five young men of yours" (acc.), VS XVI 133 9.
ma-ra-tum hamiš^{is}, "the gall bladders (are) five in number," YBT X 31 II 13.
 (c) *ha-am-ši-šu-ú*, "five times," Bism. 7 (AJSL 32 283) 5; AO 8862 (MKT I 108 ff. = TMB 64 ff.) III 39.

"6"

- (a) *ši-šu re-di*, "six redū" (acc.), TCL XVIII 114 32.
 (b) 6 *ši-pi²³-tum*, "six feet" (nom.), YBT X 50 5.
 6 *erū-si-ka-tim*, "six metal pegs" (acc.), VS XVI 89 13.
i-na li-ib-bu 6 ne-pi-a-tim, "from among six pawns," CT IV 11a 1.
 6 *karpa¹na-aš-pa-ku*, "six pitchers" (nom.), TCL X 16 18, 21.

"7"

- (a) *se-bé-te²⁹ ba-bu*, "the seven gates" (nom.), BRM IV 2 I 10.
Warad-se-bé-tim, proper name with the meaning "servant of the Seven," TCL I 70 11.
[hur-]ša-ni se-bé-tam, "the seven mountains" (acc.), UET 146 II 12.
 (b) *se-bé-e-et w[a-ar-ḫi[?]]*, "(for) seven months," BRM IV 2 VI 1.
se-bé-et u₄-mi³⁰[[im]], "(for) seven days," Gilg. M II 8.
mu-ut-ta-bi-lu se-bé-ud³¹ qa-ab-li, "leader in seven battles," RA 35 20 obv. 38, 40.
se-bé mu-ši-a-tim, "(for) seven nights," Gilg. M II 8.
UD 6 u 7 mu-ši-a-tim, "(for) six days and seven nights," Gilg. P 46.
se-bé a-ša-am-š[a-tim], "seven hurricanes" (acc.), RA 35 21 rev. 36.
 7 *ši-pi³²-tum*, "seven feet" (nom.), YBT X 50 6.
 7 *gu-lu-li*, "(of) seven . . .," RA 35 21 rev. 37.
ma-ra-tum sebē³, "the gall bladders (are) seven in number," YBT X 31 XIII 19-20.
 (c) *se-bé-šu*, "seven times," AO 8862 (MKT I 108 ff. = TMB 64 ff.) IV 10.

"8"

- (b) *sa-ma-ni ša-na-tim*, "(for) eight years," Ašduni-Erim (RA 8 65) I 8-9.
 8 *awilē^{meš} an-nu-ti-in*, "these eight men" (acc.), LIH 13 16.
 8 *ši-pi³²-tum*, "eight feet" (nom.), YBT X 50 7.

²⁷ Theoretically one expects **hamišum*. It seems that in Old Babylonian, as in Old Assyrian (cf. Eisser-Lewy, *Die altass. Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe I/II* 141 n. b, 255 n. a), *hamišum* is interchangeable with *hamušum*. The phenomenon is probably due to phonetic change (cf. I. J. Gelb, OIP XXVII 59-60).

²⁸ See above, n. 25.

²⁹ This ending is inexplicable to me; I should expect *sebe(t)um*. The younger recension (see Babyloniaca 12 1 ff.) reads here: *Sebettum eli ummāni uddilū [bābi]*, "the Seven kept [the gates] locked against the people."

³⁰ Although this construction coincides with that of the other Semitic languages, it seems faulty nevertheless. First, it would be the only case in which the thing counted follows the numeral in the singular genitive. Second, it is irreconcilable with UD 6 in Gilg. P 46.

³¹ Cf. above, n. 24.

³² Cf. above, n. 25.

"9"

- (a) *a-na ti-ši-it zu-uz*, "divide into nine parts," VAT 7621 (MKT I 290-91 = TMB 99-100). 2. A variant (l. 3) reads *te-ši-it*.
aš-šum 9 ummānātīm^{tim}, "concerning nine units of men," UCP IX/4 25 5.
9 ši-pi³²-tum, "nine feet," YBT X 50 8.

"10"

- (a) *ešertum*, "the ten (men), decemviri," is the probable reading of Sum. *n a m . X*.³³
 (b) *e-ši-ir tu-ḫa-la-tim*, "ten (units of) unripe dates" (acc.), VS XVI 146 23.
10 ši-pi-tum, "ten feet" (nom.), YBT X 50 9.
ša 10 aš-la-a-tim, "belonging to ten groups," TCL VII 21 27.³⁴
 (c) *eš-ri-šu*, "ten times," BIN VII 53 7.
iš-ri-šu, "ten times," JRL 901 (Fish 48) 28.
a-di eš-ri-šu, "for the tenth time," CT IV 35b 8; JRL 892 18.

"11"-"19"

- (b) 11 *a-wi-lu-ú*, "eleven men" (nom.), Holma 9 13.
 11 *a-wi-le-e*, "eleven men" (acc.), Holma 9 22.
ša 11 u₄-mi, "of eleven days," TCL XVIII 103 14.
a-na iš-te-en-ši-re-et, "by eleven," BM 13901 (MKT III 1 ff. = TMB 1 ff.) I 35.
 (c) *iš-ti-ši-ri-šu*, "eleven times," AO 8862 (MKT I 108 ff. = TMB 64 ff.) IV 11.
 (b) 12 *ti-ra-nu*, "twelve convolutions of the entrails" (nom.), YBT X 2 7, 17; 8 23.
 (b) 13 *awilē^{mes} we-du-tim*, "thirteen men" (acc.), TCL VII 30 4.
 (c) *ša-la-ši-ri-šu-ú*, "thirteen times," AO 8862 (MKT I 108 ff. = TMB 64 ff.) IV 12.
 (b) 14 *ti-ra-nu*, "fourteen convolutions of the entrails" (nom.), YBT X 8 36.
 (c) *er-bé-ši-ri-šu-ú*, "fourteen times," AO 8862 (MKT I 108 ff. = TMB 64 ff.) IV 13.
 (b) 15 *ú-šu-um-mi*, "fifteen dormice"³⁵ (acc.), TCL XVII 13 20.
 (b) 17 *gi-ir-ši-ip-pu^{mušen}*, "seventeen g. birds" (nom.), CT XXXIII 47b 2.
 (b) 19 *karpa^{na}-aš-pa-ku*, "nineteen pitchers" (nom.), TCL X 16 27.

"20"-"99"

- a-di eš-ra-a*, "till the twentieth (day of the month)," YBC 6468 15.³⁶
 21 *me-e širim*, "twenty-one (prescriptions dealing with) *mū* of the body," YBC 4644 col.
 30 *ina-pa-ši(?) i³urkarinnī^{ba} dam-qú-tim*, "thirty good *n.* of box-wood" (acc.), Or. Inst. 3533 (Stunck 1) 19-20.
 40 *u₄-mi*, "forty days," Ašduni-Erim (RA 8 65) II 10.
 41 *tú-li-mu-um*, "forty-one (omens dealing with) *tulimum*," YBT X 40 rev. 16.
 53 *te-er-ti iz-bu-um*, "fifty-three omens (of the) *izbum* series," YBT X 56 col.

³³ Phonetic spellings occur in Old Assyrian; see Eisser-Lewy, *Die altass. Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe I/II* 255 n. a.

³⁴ Cf. *māri e-še-re-et*, "ten sons" (acc.), *ana itti-šu* (ed. Landsberger) 3 IV 4.

³⁵ See B. Landsberger, *Fauna* 107-8.

³⁶ This confirms the opinion of Zimmern (ZDMG 58 199 n. 3) and Thureau-Dangin (RA 31 192) that the Akkadians use the cardinal for indicating the position of a day in a certain month.

SELECTED OCCURRENCES OF IDIOM (II)

"60" etc.

The number for "60" appears always as šu-ši regardless of case or gender of the thing counted. It can hardly be doubted that the word represents Akk. *šuššum* which was still known to the Greeks as *σῶσος*.³⁷ Hence, it must be concluded that šu-ši is the absolute state of that word. Theoretically it should be *šuššə*, i.e., there should be a *shwa* at its end. The consistent spelling with only one internal š is perhaps due to the perpetuation of an Old Akkadian spelling that neglected doubled consonants. This interpretation is recommended by the fact that, if it is made, "60" agrees in its construction with the other higher units.

Ú-ĤI-IN 1 šu-ši, "sixty (units) *uhinnu* dates" (acc.), TCL XVIII 88 26.

4 šu-ši *pi-ti-il-ta-am*, "four soss string" (acc.), YBC 10237 11.

5 šu-ši IN.NU.DA, "five soss straw" (nom.), NBC 7883 30.

9 šu-ši 47 *pi-ri-iḫ-ḫu ša ḫa-za-nu-um.sar*, "nine soss (and) forty-seven bunches of the Ḫ. herb" (nom.), Or. Inst. 3528 (Stunck 11) 13.

The numbers in front of šu-ši are nowhere spelled out. To judge from Ass. 523 (ed. Zimolong) III 72 ff., it is likely that the pronunciation was *išēn šuššə*, *šinā šuššə*, *šalāštə šuššə*, *erbēt šuššə*, etc.

"100"

The customary notation ME is an abbreviation of *me-at*, the absolute state of the Semitic word for "hundred." The phonetic spellings that occur vary between *me-at* (e.g., RFH³⁸ 3 *passim*; RFH 4 5 etc.; Riftin 134 11; 135 3) and *me-a-at* (TCL XI 162 1, 6).

Worthy of mention is *a-na ša-la-aš me-at-tim*, "to three hundred" (without specification of that which is counted), Ašduni-Erim (RA 8 65) I 18-19.

"600"

The spelling *ni-ir*, i.e., the *νήπος* mentioned by the Greeks,³⁹ does not occur in Old Babylonian texts. It is known to me only from vocabularies, the most important of which is Ass. 523 (ed. Zimolong); see there IV 13 ff.

"1,000"

The Akk. word for "thousand" is *limum*, its absolute state *līm* or dialectically *līmi*.⁴⁰ The first, spelled *li-im*, appears VAT 7531 (MKT I 289 ff. = TMB 98-99) obv. 18; VS XVI 165 18. The second occurs apparently in the OB texts from Mari (see RA 35 110 n. 1). See furthermore:

šu-ši *li-mi um-ma-na*, "an army of sixty thousand" (acc.), King of Kutha⁴¹ obv. III 4.

2 šu-ši *li-mi um-ma-na*, "an army of a hundred and twenty thousand" (acc.), *ibid.* III 2.

³⁷ Delitzsch, ZAS 16 56 ff.; H. Zimmern, *Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 1901 49.

³⁸ Published by Th. J. Meek AJSL 33 (1917) 203 ff.

³⁹ See Delitzsch's article quoted in n. 37.

⁴⁰ The variation points to an original form **līm²um*.

⁴¹ This text which was published by Scheil and included by P. Jensen in his *Mythen und Epen* (KB VI/1, there 298 ff.) now forms part of the Morgan Library Collection, where it bears the signature MLC 1364.

SELECTED OCCURRENCES OF IDIOM (III)

A. WITH MEASURES OF LENGTH⁴²

ḥa-mi-iš ú-ba-na-tim, "five 'fingers'" (acc.), TCL XVII 62 28, 31.

For the reading *ubān* (status absolutus) note Ass. 523 (ed. Zimolong) II 59 and line 3 of the text published RA 23 33.

a-ma-at pu-ta-am ù a-ma-at šu-up-lam, "(one) cubit width and (one) cubit depth," M (MCT 90) rev. 2. (For the omission of the initial number "1," see also under "B. With Measures of Area," below.)

*ši-ta*⁴³ *a-ma-at*, "two cubits," TCL X 3 2.

1 *qá-na* 2 *qá-na*, "one rod 2 rods,"⁴⁴ VS XVI 52 6-7.

*ḥa-am-ši-it*⁴⁵ *qá-ni*,⁴⁶ "five rods," TCL X 3 1.

For the reading *šubbān* for the measure that equals 10 rods see CT XXII 48 rev. 11.

a-na ša-la-ša-aš-li(-i), "over (a distance of) three cords," AO 8862 (MKT I 108 ff. = TMB 64 ff.) III 27, IV 4, 17.⁴⁷

a-na 1-en bēr-ta-a-an, "over (a distance of) one mile," Gilg. Y 107, 194.

For the reading *bēr* note the spelling *be-er*⁴⁸ O 314 (RA 10 223) rev. 10.

B. WITH MEASURES OF AREA⁴⁹

The smallest unit, the "grain," may be contained in the following passage, unless reference is made there to the volume-grain:⁵⁰

ú-te₄-et, "(one) grain (and)," MLC 1731 (see below, p. 204) 21, 25.

(The omission of the initial numeral is noteworthy; for a similar case, see under A above.)

er-bu-te₄-et, "four grain," *ibid.* 29.

se-bé-še-er UD⁵¹, "seventeen grain," *ibid.* 33.

1 SAR *eqlam^{am}*, "one 'bed' field" (acc.), OE III 3 10.

ša 4 SAR *qà-aq-qá-ra-tim*, "of the plot measuring four 'bed,'" UMBS VII/1 104 13.

3 *iki eqlam^{lam}*, "three acres field" (acc.), HE 112 (Boyer pl. 5) 7.

aš-šum 3 iki eqlim^{im}, "concerning (the) three acres field," TCL I 36 5.

⁴² Scale: 30 *ubān* ("fingers") = 1 *ammāt* ("cubit," about 0.50 m.).—6 *ammāt* = 1 *qana* ("rod").—10 *qana* = 1 *šubbān*.—20 *qana* = 1 *ašlā* ("chain").—180 *ašlā* = 1 *bēr* ("mile").

⁴³ Jean's copy of the text shows some traces after the *ta* and before the *a*. But *ši-ta-at*, as Lautner transliterates (*Symbolae Koschaker* 77 n. 7), is an impossible form. Perhaps an erasure?

⁴⁴ *qá-na* is hardly a pseudo-ideogram (thus P. Kraus, *MVAeG* 36/1 3), but the regular absolutus of *qanūm* < **qanaum*.

⁴⁵ One would expect *ḥamšāt*.

⁴⁶ If this is an absolutus, it might be absolute plural. This tablet presents so many difficulties that one should like to have it collated.

⁴⁷ For the contraction see Sachs, p. 205, n. 5, in this issue.

⁴⁸ Thureau-Dangin's restoration *be-er[-rum]* is unjustified. After the *ir* there is no space whatever for another sign.

⁴⁹ Scale: 180 *še* (i.e., probably *uffet* [see Sachs, pp. 206 f. in this issue], "grain") = 1 *gín* (i.e., *šiqil*, "shekel").—60 *šiqil* = 1 SAR (literally "flower-bed," about 36m.).—100 SAR = 1 *iki* ("acre").—5 *iki* = 1 *ebel* (literally "rope").—3 *ebel* = 1 *bur*.

⁵⁰ See Sachs, p. 208, in this issue.

⁵¹ UD is an abbreviation for *uffet*; see Sachs, p. 205, n. 6.

For the reading *iki*⁵² see *ši-na i-ki-i*, "two acres," Ass. 523 (ed. Zimolong) II 42; *i-ki* in the Esagil tablet⁵³ rev. 10.

For the reading *e-be-el* of *ešē* again Ass. 523 (ed. Zimolong) (II 1) bears testimony.

6 *bur eqlum*^{um}, "six bur field" (nom.), OE III 26 6.

5 *bur eqlam*^{lam} *an-ni-a-am*, "this field five bur in size" (acc.), OE III 44 11.

The reading *bu-ú-ur* for Akkadian is again attested by Ass. 523 (ed. Zimolong) (II 69); see, furthermore, *bu-ur* Ist. A 20 etc. (MKT I 92) rev. VIIb 18 and *bu-ur* BM 92693 (CT XII 1 ff.) III 3.

C. WITH MEASURES OF CAPACITY⁵⁴

1 *qa ši-qú-um*, "one qa š." (nom.), VS XVI 22 36.

5 *qa ši-iq-qá-am*, "five qa š." (acc.), YBT II 144 6.

Testimony for the reading *qa* is afforded by the history of the *qa* sign. Originally ideogram for Sum. *sīla*, it acquired the phonetic value *qa* by its constant use in the number idiom. There *qa*, the absolute state of *qūm*, the Akk. equivalent of *sīla*, was required.

šittā sāt še-a-am, "two seah grain," Sippar 243 (RA 11 77) 11.

erbē sāt še-a-am, "four seah grain," *ibid.* 8.

šittā sāt ṭa-ba-tim, "two seah salt," YBT II 144 7.

For the readings note *šit-ti*⁵⁵ *sa-a-at* Yale Syll. (YBT I 53) 274; *er-bē sa-a-at* *ibid.* 277; *hamiš*⁵⁶ *sa-a-at* *ibid.* 279.

10 *kūr še-a-am dam-qá-am*, "ten kor of good grain" (acc.), TCL XVII 32 9-10.

45 *kūr še-am na-aḥ-lam*, "forty-five kor of sifted grain" (acc.), TCL XI 149 18.

20 *kūr šeum*^{um}, "twenty kor of grain" (nom.), TCL XVIII 110 22.

D. WITH WEIGHTS⁵⁷

7½ < *šiqil* > 15 *ú-te-tim*, "7½ shekel (and) 15 'grain,'" BIN II 93 2.

19½ *šiqil* 15 *ú<-te>-ti kaspum*, "19½ shekel (and) 15 'grain' silver," BIN II 93 7.

10 *šiqil kaspam ṣa-ar-pa-am dam-qá-am*, "ten shekel of good refined silver" (acc.), CT XXIX 31-32 26.

ša 15 *šiqil kaspim*^{im}, "of fifteen shekel silver," UMBS VII/1 4 24.

⁵² Our sources give the Sumerian reading of *gín* as *ik u*. However, the final *u* of this value is almost certainly of the same kind as that in *an šu* or *sang u* besides which *an še* and *sang a* also exist. It seems reasonable to assume that the genuine Sumerian form was *iki*, that it was taken over into Akkadian as **ikium*, which appears in OB as *ikūm*; *iki*, then, is the correct form of the absolute state.

⁵³ The last edition is found in TCL VI as No. 32; the most recent commentary is that of Weissbach in *Das Hauptheiligtum des Marduk in Babylon* (WVDOG 59) (pp. 49 ff.).

⁵⁴ Scale: 180 šē (i.e., probably *uffet* [see n. 49], "grain") = 1 *gín* (i.e., *šiqil*, "shekel").—60 *šiqil* = 1 *qa* (*qūm* is a vessel of about 1 liter capacity).—10 *qa* = 1 *sūt* (i.e., the seah of the Hebrews).—6 *sāt* = 1 *massikta*.—5 *massikta* = 1 *kur* (i.e., the kor of the Hebrews).

⁵⁵ This is, of course, a late spelling in which the final vowel is without significance. In that period final vowels (unless they carried *Schleifton*) were no longer pronounced.

⁵⁶ The Assur duplicate BM 108862 (CT XXXV 1 ff.) IV 31 exhibits the phonetic spelling *ḥa-me-eš sa-a-ti* instead.

⁵⁷ Scale: 180 šē (i.e., *uffet*, "grain"; see n. 49) = 1 *šiqil* (i.e., "shekel").—60 *šiqil* = 1 *mana* (i.e., "mina," about 500 gr. or 1 pound).—60 *mana* = 1 *bīlat* (i.e., "load").

For the reading *šiqil* note *ḥanša ši-qi-il* Ass. 523 (ed. Zimolong) III 6; *ḥanša ši-qil*⁵³ BM 92693 (CT XII 1 ff.) IV 19.

1 *mana šipātīm dam-qá-ti*, "one mina of good wool" (acc.), YBT II 100 17.

15 *mana šipātīm ši-na-ti*, "these fifteen minas of wool" (acc.), VS XVI 189 28.

bi-la-at a-ri bi-la-at zi-i, "a load of a. (and) a load of z.⁵⁹" (acc.), VS XVI 57 22-23.

10 *bilat ú-ru[-ú]* 10 *bilat sí-si-na[-tum]*, "ten loads of u. (and) ten loads of s.⁵⁹" (acc.),

VS XIII 18 4-5.⁶⁰

II. ORDINAL NUMBERS

FORM⁶¹

	masc. <i>maḥrūm</i>	fem. <i>maḥrītum</i>
"1st".....		
"2d".....	<i>šanūm</i>	<i>šanītum</i>
"3d".....	<i>šalšum</i>	<i>šaluštum</i>
"4th".....	<i>rebūm</i> ⁶²	<i>rebūtum</i>
"5th".....	<i>ḥamšum</i>	<i>ḥamuštum</i>
"6th".....	<i>šiššum</i>	?
"7th".....	(See n. 66)	
"8th".....	<i>samnum</i>	<i>samuntum</i>
"9th".....	?	?
"10th".....	?	?
"11th".....	?	?
"12th".....	<i>šinšarūm</i>	?

The underlying pattern from "3d" on is *qatulum*; the *u* is present in all forms where the second vowel remained unsyncopeated.⁶³

CONSTRUCTION

The syntax of ordinal numbers is very simple: they are adjectives and act in every respect like the other adjectives. It is a noteworthy phenomenon that with expressions denoting time the ordinal invariably precedes the noun.

A remark concerning the alleged use of the cardinal *ištēn*, "one," as an ordinal seems to be in order here. It is true that *ištēn* occurs as the first member of enumerations which continue with ordinals. This is the case from Old Babylonian times on; see, e.g., BM 13901 (MKT III 1 ff. = TMB 1 ff.) III 9 ff., 19 ff.; Gilg. P 68-69; TCL XVII 6 7 ff. This usage, however, does not make *ištēn* an ordinal. The statement in the *Assyrische Grammatik* of F. Delitzsch, § 129 of the first edition and § 172 of the second edition, is absolutely correct and adequate.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ For this reading see B. Zimolong, *Das sumerisch-assyrische Vokabular Ass. 523* p. 43 and (with a collation of Gadd's) F. Thureau-Dangin, TMB p. 243.

⁵⁹ Products of the date palm.

⁶⁰ Contrast, with a different construction, VS VII 34 17-18: 5 *bi-la-tim ú-re-e ú sí-si-na-tim*, "five loads, (namely) u. and s."

⁶¹ Again I have refrained from reconstructing forms that do not actually occur.

⁶² The "umlaut" in this form is to be compared with that in *lemun*, *qerub*, etc., i.e., it is conditioned by the *u/o* of the second syllable, probably in combination with other circumstances.

⁶³ Against I. J. Gelb (OIP XXVII pp. 60-61) I maintain the traditional view. The new material has made it clear that ordinals and fractions must be kept apart.

⁶⁴ This implies rejection of the classification adopted by both Neugebauer and Thureau-Dangin in their respective glossaries to the mathematical texts.

SELECTED OCCURRENCES

"1st"

- i-na ša-at-tim maḥ-ri-tim*, "in the first year," CH XIII 60.
mārū^{meš} maḥ-ru-tum, "the children from his first marriage," CH XIIIr 48.
i-na gi-ir-ri ma-aḥ-ri-im, "on the first trip," VS XVI 136 12.

"2d"

- ša-nu-um wa-ar-ḥu-um*, "the second month," BIN VII 40 11.
a-wa-tum ša-ni-tum, "the second affair," TCL XVII 59 6.
[i-na ša]-ni-i ù ša-al-ši-im, "for two and three times," Leiden 956 (Böhl, *Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche Verzameling* . . . , II 33-34).
i-na ša-ni-im u₄-mi-im, "on the second day," RA 33 173 9.

"3d"

- ša-al-ša-am ar-ḥa-am*, "a third month," TCL I 49 8.
i-na ša-al-ši-im u₄-mi-im, "on the third day," YBC 4597 16.
i-na še-li-im ša-al-ši-im, "at the third rib," YBT X 31 IV 28, 36.
i-na ša-lu-uš-tim ša-at-tim, "in the third year," CT IV 24 18.
mu-šu-um ša-lu-uš-ti ma-aš-ša-ar-ti, "at nighttime⁶⁵ during the third vigil," VS XVI 186 7a.
mi-it-ḥar-tum ša-lu-uš-tum, "the third square," BM 13901 (MKT III 1 ff. = TMB 1 ff.) III 21, 38.
ša-lu-uš-tam, "the third part (out of three)" (acc.), CH XVI 69.
ša-lu-uš-ta-šu-nu, "their third part" (nom.), BIN VII 8 7.

"4th"

- i-na re-bi-im u₄-mi-im*, "on the fourth day," NBC 5490 8-9.
a-na re-bi-im u₄-mi-im, "within four days," JRL 899 (Fish 46) 41-42.
i-na še-li-im re-bi-im, "at the fourth rib," YBT X 51 IV 38.
mi-it-ḥar-tum re-bu-tum, "the fourth square," BM 13901 (MKT III 1 ff. = TMB 1 ff.) III 22.
i-na re-bu-tim ša-at-tim, "in the fourth year," CH XIII 24, IIIr 64.

"5th"

- ḥa-am-šu*, "the fifth," AO 8862 (MKT I 108 ff. = TMB 54 ff.) III 39.
i-na ḥa-mu-uš-tim ša-at-tim, "in the fifth year," CH XVI 17-18.

"6th"

- iš-tu ši-ši-im warḥim^{im}*, "from the sixth month," CH XXIIIr 15.

"7th"

Probably *sebūtum*, but the evidence is not indubitable.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ This seems to be a remnant of the adverbial case in *-um* with a dependent genitive, for which see von Soden, ZA NF 7 92.

⁶⁶ Both *se-bu-u* and *se-bu-tum* appear in the Nineveh recension of the Gilgamesh epic (tablet 11 ll. 145 and 228, respectively) and in all probability reflect an Old Babylonian form. The development from **sabu^u-um* to **sebu^u-um* and *sebūm* seems again (cf. n. 61) conditioned by the *u/o* of the second syllable. It must remain uncertain for the present whether *si/ebūtum* in the sequence (*w*)*arḥum*, *si/ebūtum*, *šapattum* (TCL I 50 23; CT VI 6 obv. 20b [cf. S. Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies* 91 n. 1]) belongs here. So much is clear: *si/ebūtum*, more fully

"8th"

sa-am-na-am wa-ar-ḥa-am, "the eighth month," BRM IV 2 VI 2.⁶⁷

i-na sa-am-ni-i e-bu-ri, "at the eighth harvest," CT IV 36a 20.

zi-it-ti sa-am-ni-im, "the share of the eighth (brother)," Strassbourg 362 (MKT I 239 ff. = TMB 82 ff.) obv. 9.

i-na sa-mu-un-tim ša-ti-im, "in the eighth year," Ašduni-Erim (RA 8 65) I 12-13.

"12th"

ši-in-ša-ri-am, "(during) the twelfth (month)," TCL XVII 23 11.

III. FRACTIONS

A. NORMAL SET BASED ON THE OTHER NUMERALS

	FORM	Status Constructus before Noun	Status Constructus before Suffix
	Status Normalis		
"1/2" ⁶⁸	bamtum	bamat	ba-šu
	mišlum	mišil	bama(t)-zu
"1/3"	šaluštum	šalušte	
"1/4"		rabiāt, rabāt ⁶⁹	
"1/5"			hamište-šu?
"1/6"		šiššat ⁷⁰	
"1/7"	sebītum ⁷¹	sebiat	
"1/8"		samnat	
"1/9"		tīšat ⁷²	
"1/10"	⁷³		
"1/13"	šalašerītum	šalašeriat	

si/ebūt šattim (TCL I 115 4; 202 2; VS IX 191a 10, 13), is a festival celebrated at the *am sibūt šattim* which falls in the *warah sibūt šattim*; see UMBS VIII 183 24, 27, 43. This month (also TCL XVII 26 16) is obviously identical with the *warah si/ebūt(m)* (Fr 8 [BA 5 488] 7; VS IX 139 15; Waterman 9 rev. 5, 7). If it should prove true that the name has to do with the numeral "seven," it can only represent the ordinal and not the fraction as H. and J. Lewy (HUCA 17 77) want it. However, the connection with "seven" is uncertain. One factor must be especially mentioned that counsels caution: there exist spellings with an initial *zi* (VS VIII 36 5; CT XXXIII 49a 6, 8). The sign *zi* for *si* may appear normal enough; however, the word for "seven" belongs to that class of words which employ the sign *si* even in Southern Old Babylonian, a dialect which expresses the sequence *samekh + i* invariably by *zi*.

⁶⁷ The fact may be mentioned here that the month *Arah-samnā*, the eighth month of the Neo-Babylonian calendar, is not attested by phonetic spellings in Old Babylonian texts. The name may not have existed then; cf. B. Landsberger, *Der Kultische Kalender* 86 and the Dilbat name *Warad-kinūni* (VS VII 153 33; 183 I 13).

⁶⁸ The multiplicity of available words indicates an original difference in their specific meaning. The etymology suggests that *mišlum* started out with the meaning "equal part." The two other words may have had currency in various parts of the Akkadian-speaking area.

⁶⁹ The normal state should be **rabiātum* < **rabiātum*.

⁷⁰ One would rather have expected **šaššat* < **šadišat*. One may try to explain the *i* in various ways: it might be conditioned by the accumulation of sibilants; it might also be due to the influence of the cardinal.

⁷¹ The construct leaves no doubt that the original form was **sabiātum*. The vowel of the first syllable should coincide with that of the word for "one-fourth." Again influence of the sibilant or of the cardinal?

⁷² The *i* of the first syllable is once more against expectation.

⁷³ See below under the occurrences.

With the exception only of *šaluštum*, all the forms that actually occur follow the pattern *qatilatūm*. Thus the words for fractions are different as to origin from the ordinals. The exception, *šaluštum*, is easily explicable by the peculiar conditions that exist with the ordinal in that case. Originally *šaluštum* meant "the third part out of three, the last third"; it is still often enough used in opposition to *šittān*, "the (first) two parts (out of three)." This meaning was gradually extended so as to denote finally "the third part generally."

The plural forms, fairly frequent, are by no means freely interchangeable with the singular forms, as has been asserted. Whenever they occur, invariably two or more parties or parts are involved.⁷⁴

CONSTRUCTION

The words for fractions are nouns and are construed as such.

SELECTED OCCURRENCES

"1/2"

ba-a-šu hepē, "halve it," *passim* in mathematical texts.

ba-am-ta-am, "one-half," BE VI/1 51 11.

ba-ma-at x, "half of *x*," BE VI/1 51 12; VS IX 164 12; TCL XVII 20 11; TCL XVIII 86 42; YBT II 135 6, 8.

ba-ma-az-zu, "its half," OE III 53 9; YBC 8958 I 20, 21.

mi-iš-lam, "the one half," CH XIVr 5 ff.; 17 ff.

mi-ši-il šīmi-šu, "half of its value," CH XVIIr 64; XVIIIr 93-94; XXIr 25.

mišlānū, "equal parts," CH XIII 49; VS VIII 62 11; G 27 6; Riftin 44 9.⁷⁵

"1/3"

ša-lu-uš-tim, "(of) the third," BM 13901 (MKT III 1 ff. = TMB 1 ff.) I 12.

ša-lu-uš-ti 1, "one-third of one" (acc.), *ibid.* I 11.

ša-lu-uš-ti ū-te-tim, "one-third of an *uttetum*," MLC 1731 (see below, p. 204) obv. 13.

ša-lu-uš-ta-šu, "his third" (acc.), BE VI/1 53 7.

a-na ša-lu-uš, "for one/two-thirds each," CH XIII 50; BE VI/1 53 5; VS VIII 114 9; VS IX 202 6 etc.⁷⁶

"1/4"

ra-bi-a-at mi-it-ḥa-ar-tim, "a quarter of the square" (nom.), BM 13901 (MKT III 1 ff. = TMB 1 ff.) II 37.

ra-bi-at ubānim, "one-fourth of a 'finger'" (gen.), BM 85210 (MKT I 219 ff. = TMB 46 ff.) IV 12.

⁷⁴ Cf. Thureau-Dangin, RA 31 49 ff.

⁷⁵ The discussion of the plural *mišlānū* must be reserved for another article.

⁷⁶ The absolute *a-na ša-lu-uš* may belong to the feminine, just as *sinniš* in *sinniš ū zikar*, "male and female," serves as absolute of *sinništum*.

ra-ba-at ú-te₄-tim, "one-fourth of an *uṭṭetum*," MLC 1731 (see below, p. 204) 9; cf. *ibid.* 3, 10, 22, 35-36.
ra-bi-a-tim, "the fourths" (acc.), Pa (MCT 98-99) obv. 4.

"1/5"

ḥamištu-šu, "one-fifth of it" (nom.), VAT 7535 (MKT I 303 ff. = TMB 93 ff.) obv. 3, 4, rev. 3, 4.⁷⁷
ḥamištu-šu, "one-fifth of it" (acc.), *ibid.* rev. 9.
ḥamišti^{ti}-šu, "one-fifth of it" (acc.), *ibid.* obv. 6, 10, 12.
a-na ḥa-am-ša-a-ti, "on (the rate of) fifths," Riffin 3 5.⁷⁸

"1/6"

ši-ša-at ú-te₄-tim, "one-sixth of an *uṭṭetum*," MLC 1731 (see below, p. 204) 30; cf. 3, 21.

"1/7"

7-bi-tim, "(of) one-seventh," J (MCT 71 ff.) obv. 27.
se-bi-a-at mi-it-ḥar-tim, "one-seventh of the square" (nom.), BM 13901 (MKT III 1 ff. = TMB 1 ff.) III 30.
se-bi-at se-bi-at ubānim, "one-seventh of one-seventh of a 'finger'" (nom.), (MKT I 367 ff. = TMB 208) rev. 6.
se-bi-a-tim im-ti, "fell short by sevenths," BM 13901 (MKT III 1 ff. = TMB 1 ff.) II 12.
se-bi-a-tim i-te-er, "surpassed by sevenths," *ibid.* II 20.

"1/8"

sa-am-na-at ša-lu-uš-ti uṭṭetim, "one-eighth of one-third of an *uṭṭetum*," MLC 1731 (see below, p. 204) 14; cf. 18, 26.

"1/9"

ti-ša-at u-te₄-tim, "one-ninth of an *uṭṭetum*," MLC 1731 (see below, p. 204) 6.

"1/10"

eš-re-tum, "tithe" (nom.), CT VI 40c 2.⁷⁹
eš-re-tim, "tithe" (acc.), BM 22447 (CT III 2 ff.) 65.

"1/13"

ša-la-še-ri-tim, "of the one-thirteenth," VAT 8520 (MKT I 346 ff. = TMB 115 ff.) obv. 7, 9, 15, rev. 8, 10, 15.
ša-la-še-ri-at na-ak-ma-ar-ti x, "one-thirteenth of the sum of *x*," *ibid.* obv. 4; cf. rev. 31.

⁷⁷ I am unable to concede to Thureau-Dangin (TMB 231) that the spelling *i g i . 5 . g á l -ti-šu* indicates a plural form. See von Soden, ZA NF 6 210 sub No. 16b. The vowel in front of the suffix proves nothing; it simply represents a *shwa*.

⁷⁸ Cf. *ana itti-šu* (ed. Landsberger) 4 II 37.

⁷⁹ Plurale tantum (as in Old Assyrian). The alleged singular *e-ši-ir* (P. Kraus, MVAeG 36/1 132) is to be interpreted as the cardinal number "ten" (see above, p. 187).

B. SPECIAL WORDS FOR THIRDS AND SIXTHS

FORM

	Status Normalis	Status Constructus
"1/3".....	(<i>šisūm</i>) ⁸⁰	<i>šisāt</i>
"2/3".....	(<i>šinēpūm</i>) ⁸¹	<i>šinēpiāt, šinēpāt</i>
"1/6".....	(<i>šušsum</i>)	<i>šuduš</i> ⁸²
"2/6".....	(<i>šuššan</i>) ⁸³	
"5/6".....	(<i>parasrab</i>) ⁸⁴	

OCCURRENCES

"1/3"

ši-sà-a-at uttetim, "one-third of an *uttetum*," VAT 7530 (MKT I 287 ff. = TMB 100-101) obv. 9; cf. obv. 13, 19, rev. 5.

(*ši-su-u* Assur text published RA 23 33 line 2).

(*ši-in ši-si-i* Yale Syll. [YBT I 53] 312).

"2/3"

(*ši-ni-pu* Yale Syll. [YBT I 53] 311 with variant *ši-ni-i-pi*; see MAOG IX 1/2 118).

sa-am-na-at ši-ne-pi-at uttetim, "one-eighth of two-thirds of an *uttetum*," MLC 1731 (see below, p. 204) 18, 26.

ši-ne-pi-at uttetim, "two-thirds of an *uttetum*," *ibid.* 17.

[*ši-n*]-*i-ip-pa-a-at er in. ḫ á*, "two-thirds of the men," AO 8862 (MKT I 108 ff. = TMB 64 ff.) IV 20.

ši-ni-pa(-a)-at mi-it-ḫar-tim, "two-thirds of the square" (nom.), BM 13901 (MKT III 1 ff. = TMB 1 ff.) II 45, IV 18.

"1/6"

šu-du-uš ma-ne-e, "one-sixth of a mina," BIN VII 220 8.⁸⁵

"2/6"

(*šu-uš-ša-an* Yale Syll. [YBT I 53] 307 with variant *šu-ša-na* in the duplicates; see MAOG IX 1/2 118).

"5/6"

(*pa-ra-as-rab* Yale Syll. [YBT I 53] 317 according to the duplicates; see MAOG IX 1/2 118).

YALE UNIVERSITY

⁸⁰ The etymology is unknown to me; however, it does not give the impression of being Sumerian in origin. The construct shares with *šinēpūm* the peculiarity that it has the appearance of a feminine.

⁸¹ Although the middle *i/ē* causes a certain amount of difficulty, it seems to me that *šini/ēpūm* is of Semitic origin, and that Sumerian *š a n a b i* is borrowed from Akkadian. The first component is doubtless the absolute obliquus *šinā*. That the second component is the Semitic word for "mouth" (Old Babylonian *pūm*, acc. *pīam*) is not certain, but in view of the Egyptian parallel (K. Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern* 91 ff.) quite likely. The Hebrew *pi-šenayim* gives the same elements in reversed order. It will appear that I consider the Hebrew idiom as genuinely Semitic, i.e., that I do not share the views of E. A. Speiser expressed BASOR 77 18 ff.

⁸² The construct *šuduš* proves that *šušsum* is not identical with the homonymous word for "sixty," the absolute state (and one can safely assume also the construct state) of which is *šuššē* (see above, p. 194). The word for the fraction "one-sixth," then, is of Semitic origin. Since its form tallies with the genuine Semitic formation *qiltu* denoting fractions (O. Brockelmann, *Grundriss* I 491) and since it is isolated in Akkadian, the chances are that it was indeed inherited from Primitive Semitic. This implies that Sumerian *š u š*, "one-sixth" (A. Poebel, *Sum. Gramm.* § 336), is borrowed from Akkadian.

⁸³ This is evidently the dual of the preceding. Again Sumerian *š u š š a n a* (Poebel, *ibid.*) must be borrowed.

⁸⁴ Akk. *parasrab*, attested only in younger texts, but doubtless old, is again good Akkadian. Everybody seems to agree that its basic meaning is "the great fraction," although the syntax involved is not entirely clear.

⁸⁵ Why the writer does not use "ten shekels" I am unable to say.

NOTES ON FRACTIONAL EXPRESSIONS IN OLD BABYLONIAN MATHEMATICAL TEXTS¹

A. SACHS

I

THE point of departure for this paper is an Old Babylonian tablet, MLC 1731 (on deposit at Yale University), which was brought to my attention by Dr. A. Goetze in the form of a pre-

liminary transcription. Goetze, whose interest in the text lay in the phonetic spellings of the numerals, was kind enough to agree to collaborate on a joint article, to which he was to contribute a linguistic

¹ The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

- AB P. KRAUS, *Altbabylonische Briefe aus der Vorderasiatischen Abteilung der Preussischen Staatmuseen zu Berlin*, Part 1 (MVAG 35,2[1931]).
- AH R. C. THOMPSON, *The Assyrian Herbal* (London, 1924).
- AJSL *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*.
- AO Antiquités Orientales, Louvre, Paris.
- AV J. N. STRASSMAIER, *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der assyrischen und akkadischen Wörter . . .* (Leipzig, 1886).
- BAG A. UNGNAD, *Babylonisch-assyrische Grammatik* (2d ed.; München, 1926).
- BDHP L. WATERMAN, "Business Documents of the Hammurabi Period," *AJSL* 29 (1913), 145-204.
- BGL K. VOGEL, *Beiträge zur griechischen Logistik* (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Math.-naturwiss. Abt., 1936, pp. 357-472).
- BIN 2 J. B. NIES and C. E. KEISER, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities* (Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, Vol. 2 [New Haven, 1920]).
- BM British Museum.
- BRM 2 A. T. CLAY, *Legal Documents from Erech Dated in the Seleucid Era (312-65 B.C.)*. (Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, Vol. 2 [New York, 1913]).
- BRVU O. KRÜCKMANN, *Babylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungs-Urkunden aus der Zeit Alexanders und der Diadochen* (Dissertation Berlin, 1931).
- DJ J. OPPERT and J. MÉNANT, *Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée* (Paris, 1872).
- GÄA K. VOGEL, *Die Grundlagen der ägyptischen Arithmetik in ihrem Zusammenhang mit der 2:n-Tabelle des Papyrus Rhind* (München, 1929).
- GÄB O. NEUGEBAUER, *Die Grundlagen der ägyptischen Bruchrechnung* (Berlin, 1926).
- GEM 1 J. TROPFKE, *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik*, Vol. 1 (3d ed.; Berlin, 1930).
- Her. J. L. HEIBERG, *Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia*, Vol. 4 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912).

- KU 6 P. KOSCHAKER and A. UNGNAD, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, Vol. 6 (Leipzig, 1923).
- MCT O. NEUGEBAUER and A. SACHS, *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts* (American Oriental Series, Vol. 29 [New Haven, 1945]).
- Mém. sc. 4 P. TANNERY, *Mémoires scientifiques*, Publiées par J.-L. Heiberg, Vol. 4 (Toulouse and Paris, 1920).
- MGM J. L. HEIBERG, *Mathematici Graeci Minores* (Det Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selskab, Hist.-filol. Meddelelser, Vol. 13 No. 3[1927]).
- Mich. Pap. 3 J. G. WINTER (ed.), *Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection. Miscellaneous Papyri* (Michigan Papyri, Vol. 3 = Univ. of Mich. Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. 40 [1936]).
- MKT 1-3 O. NEUGEBAUER, *Mathematische Keilschrift-Texte* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, Astronomie und Physik, Abt. A, Vol. 3, Parts 1-3 [Berlin, 1935-37]).
- MLC Morgan Library Collection, now on deposit at Yale University.
- MVAG Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft.
- NCBT Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets, Yale University.
- PMA J. BAILLET, *Le Papyrus mathématique d'Akhmim* (Mémoires publiées par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, Vol. 9, Part 1 [Paris, 1892]).
- RA *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*.
- ŠL A. DEIMEL, *Šumerisches Lexikon*, Vols. 1-3 (Scripta Pontificii Institutii Biblici [Rome, 1934-37]).
- TCL 13 G. CONTENAU, *Contrats néo-babyloniens. II. Achéménides et Séleucides* (Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités orientales, Textes cunéiformes, Vol. 13 [1929]).
- TMB F. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Textes mathématiques babyloniens* (Leiden, 1938).
- VAT Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Tontafeln, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.
- VGAMW O. NEUGEBAUER, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der antiken mathematischen Wissenschaften. I. Vorgriechische Mathematik* (Berlin, 1934).
- VS 15 O. SCHROEDER, *Kontrakte der Seleukidenzeit aus Warka* (Vorderasiatische Schrift-

analysis of the numbers. His extensive control of Old Babylonian texts, however, inevitably led to a contribution of such proportions and of such general interest that we mutually agreed that it ought to be published independently.² The accompanying hand-copy of the

tablet (Fig. 1, see also Plate VI), originally prepared by Goetze for our joint paper, appears here with his generous permission.³

Paleography and language indicate that MLC 1731 was written in the Old Babylonian period (ca. 1700 B.C.).

MLC 1731

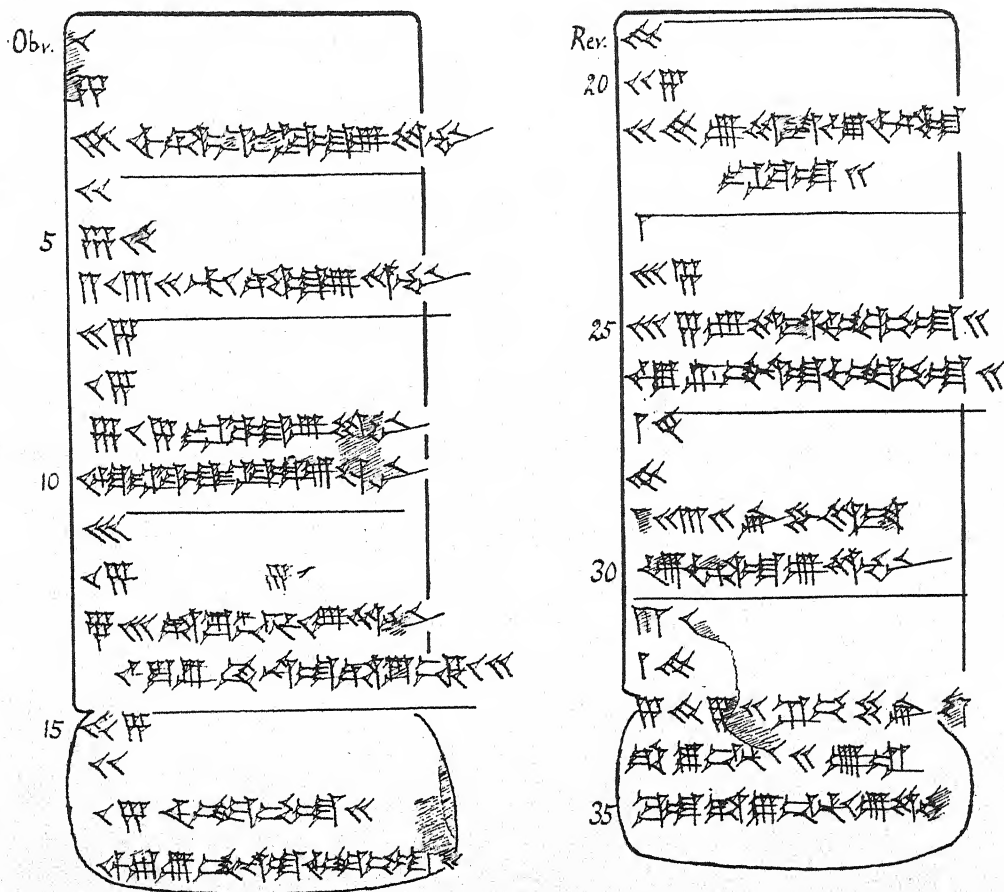


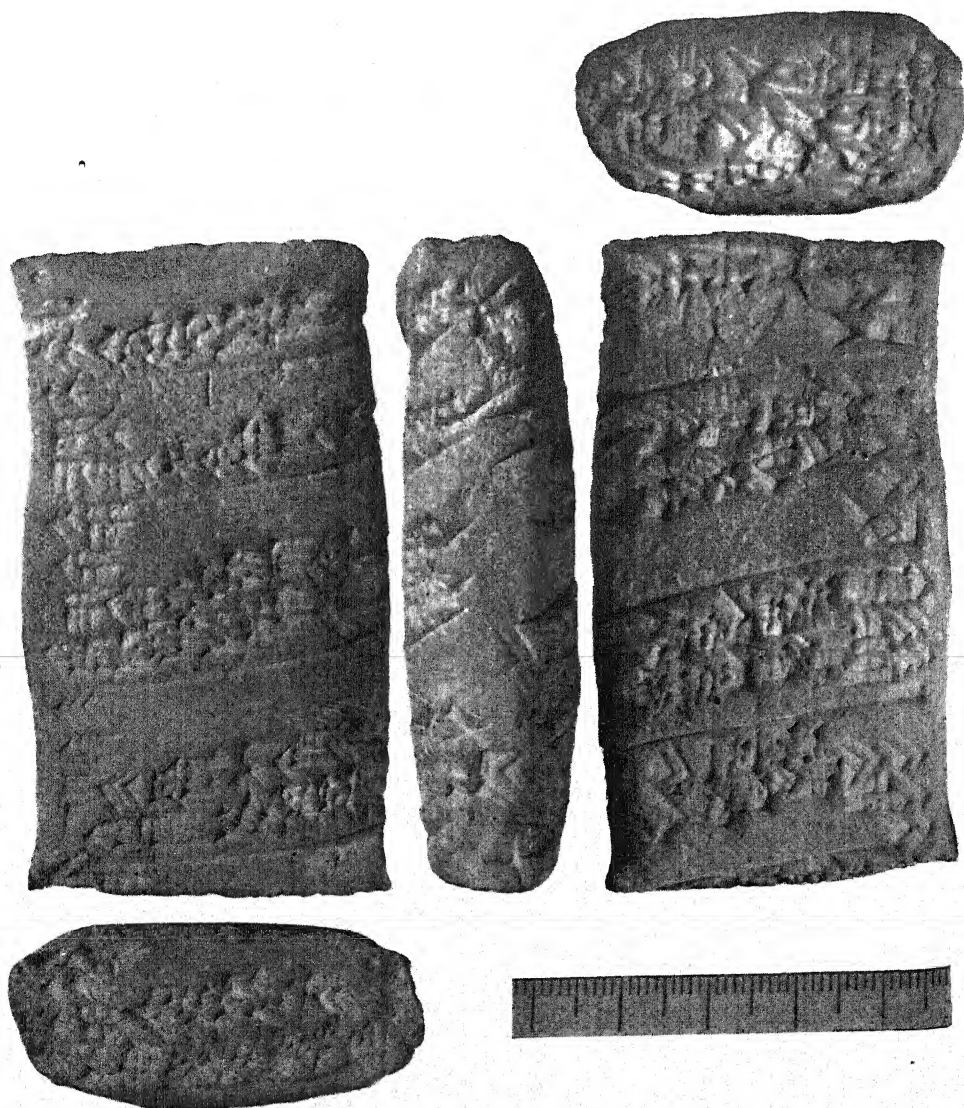
FIG. 1

- denkmäler der Königl. Museen zu Berlin, Vol. 15 [1916]).
 VS 16 O. SCHROEDER, *Altbabylonische Briefe* (Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königl. Museen zu Berlin, Vol. 16 [1917]). Yale Babylonian Collection.
 YBC

² See pp. 185-202 ff. of this issue.

³ The Director of the Pierpont Morgan Library, through the Curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, has kindly granted permission to publish the tablet. I wish to thank Dr. F. J. Stephens, Curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, for allowing me to quote from several unpublished tablets in the Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets at Yale University.

PLATE VI



MLC 1731

The following is a transcription of the text:

OBVERSE	
1	¹ 10
	² 5
	³ <u>50 ši-ša-at ra-ba-at ú-še-tim</u>
2	⁴ 20
	⁵ 6,40
	⁶ <u>2,13,20 ti-ša-at ú-še-tim</u>
3	⁷ 25
	⁸ 15
	⁹ 6,15 ra-ba-at ú-še-tim
	¹⁰ <u>ù ra-ba-at ra-ba-at ú-še-tim</u>
4	¹¹ 30
	¹² 15 ⁴
	¹³ 7,30 ša-lu-uš-ti ú-še-tim
	¹⁴ <u>ù sa-am-na-at ša-lu-uš-ti 20</u>
5	¹⁵ 45
LOWER EDGE	
	¹⁶ 20
	¹⁷ 15 ši-ne-pi-at 20
	¹⁸ <u>ù sa-am-na-at ši-ne-pi-at [2]0</u>
REVERSE	
6	¹⁹ 50
	²⁰ 25
	²¹ 20,50 ú-še-et ù ši-ša-at
	²² <u>ra-ba-at 20</u>
7	²³ 1
	²⁴ 35
	²⁵ 35 ú-še-et ši-ne-pi-at 20
	²⁶ <u>ù sa-am-na-at ši-ne-pi-at 20</u>
8	²⁷ 1,40
	²⁸ 50
	²⁹ 1,23,20 er-bu-še-et ⁵

⁴ The traces of the erasure at the end of this line indicate that the scribe first wrote 7,30 . . . and then discovered that the signs should go at the beginning of the next line.

⁵ A prodding query by Dr. Goetze while the writing *er-bu-še-et* (reflecting a pronunciation *erbütet*) in our text was still fresh in my mind has led to a plausible explanation of a disputed phrase in a published Old Babylonian mathematical text. In AO 8862, first published by F. Thureau-Dangin (RA 29 [1932], 1 ff.), the expression *a-na ša-la-ša aš-li(-i)* occurs three times (III 27, IV 4, and IV 17). From the very beginning, Thureau-Dangin (*ibid.*, p. 7, n. 1) insisted on "three" as the translation of the number in this phrase. When pressed by Neugebauer for his reasons, he outlined them in a letter, an abstract of which was published by Neugebauer, MKT 1. p. 120, n. 20. These reasons

	³⁰ <u>ù ši-ša-at ú-še-tim</u>
9	³¹ 3,10
	³² 1,50
	³³ 5,48,20 se-bé-še-er UT ⁶
UPPER EDGE	
	³⁴ <u>ša-lu-uš-ti 20 ú⁷ ra⁸</u>
	³⁵ <u>ba-at ša-lu-uš-ti ú-še-tim</u>

II

From the metrological and mathematical points of view, this small Old Babylonian tablet is noteworthy because it raises more problems than it answers. Our present inability to offer definitive solutions for some of these puzzles is by

failed to satisfy Neugebauer, who translated "thirty" because of a purely linguistic reason, namely, the final vowel of *ša-la-ša*. The mathematical contexts were of no help in reaching a final decision, since this particular numerical element was not subjected to mathematical operations in the working-out of the problems; in other words, it was of no significance from the mathematical point of view. The situation changed when Neugebauer found a mathematical problem in a contemporaneous Yale text (MKT 1, p. 507) in which, just as in AO 8862, one man was supposed to carry nine sixties (*šu-ši*) of bricks—but this time the distance was expressed, as 30 GAR. Since 1 *ālu* = 10 GAR, Neugebauer suggested that "thirty *ālu*" in AO 8862 was due to a wrong interpretation by the scribe of an original *a-na 30*, which, as the new Yale text showed, should have been interpreted as 30 GAR. It is now possible to offer a less drastic solution which avoids an emendation and at the same time eliminates the apparent linguistic difficulty. We ought to read *ša-la-ša-aš-li(-i)*, analyze it as *šalāšāšli* for *šalāš āšli*, and translate "three *āšli*" (the metrological equivalent of 30 GAR). Support for this analysis is found in such writings as *ki-ma-qi-mi* (reading suggested by H. Waschow for the second word in l. 48 of BM 85194 rev. II, edited MKT 1, p. 148; cf. MKT 3, p. 53) for *ki maqi ūmi*, "how many days," and *er-bu-še-et* for *erbe uffet* in l. 29 of our present text. The latter writing is especially illuminating because it too is a combination of a number and a measure.

⁶ It is difficult to account for the sign *ur* after *se-bé-še-er*. Perhaps it ought to be read *u⁷* and considered an abbreviation for *uffet* in spite of the fact that the first sign of this word is consistently spelled with *u*, not *u⁷*, elsewhere in the tablet.

⁷ For other rare occurrences of the writing *u* instead of *u⁷*, "and," in Old Babylonian texts, see P. Kraus, AB 1, p. 24, discussion of l. 8. Cf. also *bu-še-ša u⁷ ya-ar-ka-ti-ša* in l. 2 of the inner tablet published by Waterman, BDHP, p. 172, No. 22, for which the envelope (*ibid.*, p. 173) has *bu-še-e-ša-a u⁷ ya-ar-ka-ti-ša*.

⁸ The need for room seems to have been the reason for the distribution of the syllables of one word over two lines.

no means due to anything complex in the nature of the problems themselves. In fact, as we shall see, the mathematical structure of the contents is so simple that if the tablet was not written by a student who was still at the elementary stages of his mathematical training, it could easily have been understood by one. The difficulties stem mainly from the fact that the text confronts us with matters which are difficult for us to handle adequately because of the lack of similar material.

The tablet contains nine examples, hereafter referred to as Nos. 1-9, which are separated from one another by horizontal

TABLE 1

No.	x	y	xy
1.....	10	5	50
2.....	20	6;40	2,13;20
3.....	25	15	6,15
4.....	30	15	7,30
5.....	45	20	15,0
6.....	50	25	20,50
7.....	1,0	35	35,0
8.....	1,40	50	1,23,20
9.....	3,10	1,50	5,48,20

lines. Each example consists of four elements: a number in the first line, another number in the second line, a third number in the third line, and a phrase in Babylonian. The three numbers are expressed in the sexagesimal notation.

Fortunately, the numerical relations contained in these examples are simple. If we call the first number x , and the second y , then the third is the product xy . The x 's and y 's rise in value with each new example (except No. 4, where y has the same value as in No. 3), but the increase is not regular. All x 's and y 's are divisible by 5.

Table 1 lists the numerical values contained in the nine examples, the sexagesimal order of magnitude being arbitrary.

We now examine the Babylonian

phrases which occur in each example after xy .

No. 1: $xy = 50$. Translation of the Babylonian phrase: "one-sixth of one-fourth of an *uttetum*." It can be said at once that the Babylonian phrase in this example as well as in Nos. 2, 3, and 8 can be shown to represent the value xy if we simply substitute 20,0 for "*uttetum*" in each case. The same coefficient, 20,0, also occurs in the remaining examples (Nos. 4-7 and 9), where we find the number-sign 20 written instead of *uttetum* for reasons which are far from clear, since the word *uttetum* itself also occurs in four of these five examples (Nos. 4, 6, 7, and 9).⁹ In the present example,

$$xy = 50 = \frac{1}{6} \cdot \frac{1}{4} \cdot 20,0 = \frac{1}{24} \cdot 20,0.$$

No. 2: $xy = 2,13;20$. Translation of the Babylonian phrase: "one-ninth of an *uttetum*." Indeed,

$$2,13;20 = \frac{1}{9} \cdot 20,0.$$

No. 3: $xy = 6,15$, "one-fourth of an *uttetum*, and one-fourth of one-fourth of an *uttetum*." Indeed,

$$\begin{aligned} 6,15 &= \frac{1}{4} \cdot 20,0 + \frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{4} \cdot 20,0 \\ &= \frac{5}{8} \cdot 20,0. \end{aligned}$$

⁹ Some of the writings (e.g., in l. 22) of the number-sign "20" instead of *uttetum* look so much more like two diagonal wedges than two corner wedges that the possibility occurred independently to Dr. Goetze and me that the sign should be read min, "two, the same, ditto." Although it must be admitted that the translation "the same" would work in all cases—e.g., the Babylonian phrase in No. 4 would mean "one-third of an *uttetum*, and one-eighth of one-third of the same (unit, i.e., *uttetum*)"—there are arguments which make the reading "20" more plausible. In the first place, confidence in the significance of paleographical impressions of this sort vanishes when one contrasts the perfect alignment of the corner wedges in ll. 19-21 with the situation in ll. 27-29, where the corner wedges do not slant uniformly; the writing of the last two wedges of "1,23,20" in l. 29 is particularly instructive. In the second place, a sampling of published Old Babylonian texts failed to turn up any examples of min written with diagonal instead of vertical wedges; this argument is admittedly weak, however, since it does not rest on an exhaustive study of the extant material. In the third place, it is inescapable, whether we read min or 20, that the significant numerical value of whatever we may read is 20.

No. 4: $xy = 7,30$, "one-third of an *uttetum*, and one-eighth of one-third of 20,0." Indeed,

$$7,30 = \frac{1}{3} \cdot 20,0 + \frac{1}{8} \cdot \frac{1}{3} \cdot 20,0 \\ = \frac{9}{24} \cdot 20,0 = \frac{3}{8} \cdot 20,0.$$

No. 5: $xy = 15,0$, "two-thirds of 20,0, and one-eighth of two-thirds of [2]0,0." Indeed,

$$15,0 = \frac{2}{3} \cdot 20,0 + \frac{1}{8} \cdot \frac{2}{3} \cdot 20,0 \\ = \frac{2}{4} \cdot 20,0.$$

No. 6: $xy = 20,50$, "an *uttetum*, and one-sixth of one-fourth of 20,0." Indeed,

$$20,50 = 20,0 + \frac{1}{6} \cdot \frac{1}{4} \cdot 20,0 \\ = 1\frac{1}{24} \cdot 20,0.$$

III

Because of the relation

$$1 \text{ uttetum} = 20,0,$$

where the choice of the sexagesimal order of magnitude is admittedly arbitrary, there is a priori a very strong temptation to suggest the possibility that *uttetum* is the reading for *še*, the smallest metrological unit of the Old Babylonian measures of area, volume, capacity, and weight. In all these systems the relation

$$1 \text{ še} = 0;0,20 \text{ gín} = \frac{1}{180} \text{ gín}$$

holds. Metrologically, the number 20 occurs only in the *še:gín* relation. The common relation between *gín* and *še* in these four metrological systems in the Old Babylonian period is clearly illustrated by

TABLE 2

Weight	Area or Volume	Capacity
1 ma-na = 60 gín 1 gín = 180 še 1 še = $\frac{1}{180}$ gín	1 SAR = 60 gín 1 gín = 180 še 1 še = $\frac{1}{180}$ gín	1 sila = 60 gín 1 gín = 180 še 1 še = $\frac{1}{180}$ gín

No. 7: $xy = 35,0$, "an *uttetum*, two-thirds of 20,0, and one-eighth of two-thirds of 20,0." Indeed,

$$35,0 = 20,0 + \frac{2}{3} \cdot 20,0 + \frac{1}{8} \cdot \frac{2}{3} \cdot 20,0 \\ = 1\frac{1}{2} \cdot 20,0 = 1\frac{3}{4} \cdot 20,0.$$

No. 8: $xy = 1,23,20$, "four *uttetum*'s and one-sixth of an *uttetum*." Indeed,

$$1,23,20 = 4 \cdot 20,0 + \frac{1}{6} \cdot 20,0 \\ = 4\frac{1}{6} \cdot 20,0.$$

No. 9: $xy = 5,48,20$, "seventeen *uttetum*'s),¹⁰ one-third of 20,0, and one-fourth of one-third of an *uttetum*." Indeed,

$$5,48,20 = 17 \cdot 20,0 + \frac{1}{3} \cdot 20,0 + \frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{3} \cdot 20,0 \\ = 17\frac{5}{12} \cdot 20,0.$$

the mere juxtaposition of the three lowest measures in each system (Table 2). The two lowest measures (*gín* and *še*) in the systems of area, volume, and capacity were taken over from the weight system, where *gín* and *še* are at home. It is natural to assume, in view of the borrowing of *gín* and *še* as Sumerograms and with their numerical relation from the weight system, that the Babylonian readings for *gín* and *še* were also taken over into the area, volume, and capacity systems. In the case of *gín*, we know that the Babylonian word was *šiqlum* ("shekel"). In the case of *še*, it has been assumed that the Babylonian reading was *še^cum*. The numerical relations contained in our present text in themselves make it highly probable that *uttetum* was the Babylonian reading for the metrological unit *še*.

¹⁰ For the philological difficulty at this point, see n. 5.

In order to prove beyond doubt that *uttetum* was the Old Babylonian reading for še (the metrological unit), one must have a text which spells out *uttetum* within a metrological context at a point where we would expect to find the lowest metrological unit (še) in any of the four systems. This is precisely the condition which is satisfied by an Old Babylonian economic text, BIN 2, No. 93 (translated KU 6, No. 1865). Here we find four separate items given: 10 gín silver, $7\frac{2}{3}$ ¹¹ 15 ú-*te*₄-*tim*, 1 gín silver, and 1 gín silver; the sum is given as $19\frac{5}{6}$ gín 15 ú <-*te*₄>-*ti*¹² silver. The use of ú-*te*₄-*tim* to indicate the metrological unit of weight below the gín

present text cannot be made at the moment because the metrological units of the *x*'s and *y*'s are not specified. Offhand, the area system seems the most likely candidate. Table 3 shows the small dimensions of the length and width of a rectangle which would have to be assumed on the hypothesis that areas are involved.¹⁴

Even before the reading *uttetum* for the metrological še was confirmed, it was clear from our present text that it would fit in well with this identification that the highest number of *uttetum*'s, $17\frac{5}{6}$ in No. 9, would represent less than $\frac{1}{10}$ gín, which is itself considerably less than the smallest fraction of the gín which was con-

TABLE 3

No.	<i>x</i>	<i>y</i>
1.....	1 šu-si=0;0,10 GAR	$\frac{1}{2}$ šu-si=0;0,5 GAR
2.....	2 šu-si=0;0,20 GAR	$\frac{2}{3}$ šu-si=0;0,6,40 GAR
3.....	$2\frac{1}{2}$ šu-si=0;0,25 GAR	$1\frac{1}{2}$ šu-si=0;0,15 GAR
4.....	3 šu-si=0;0,30 GAR	$1\frac{1}{2}$ šu-si=0;0,15 GAR
5.....	$4\frac{1}{2}$ šu-si=0;0,45 GAR	2 šu-si=0;0,20 GAR
6.....	5 šu-si=0;0,50 GAR	$2\frac{1}{2}$ šu-si=0;0,25 GAR
7.....	6 šu-si=0;1 GAR	$3\frac{1}{2}$ šu-si=0;0,35 GAR
8.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ kūš =0;1,40 GAR	5 šu-si=0;0,50 GAR
9.....	$\frac{1}{3}$ kūš 9 šu-si=0;3,10 GAR	$\frac{1}{3}$ kūš 1 šu-si=0;1,50 GAR

—precisely where hundreds of other Old Babylonian texts merely give še—is conclusive evidence that *uttetum* is the Old Babylonian reading for še. Accordingly, it is safe to say that *uttetum* is also the reading for še in the three other metrological systems (area, volume, and capacity).¹³

The decision as to which of the four metrological systems is involved in our

considered a standard metrological entity.¹⁵ It must even now be admitted as strange, however, that our text takes no notice of the $\frac{1}{2}$ še, the recognition of which as a

kinds of grain in different areas and periods in the cuneiform world is much needed. If *uttetum* is barley, what is še'um or še? Why is še'um (or še) so common in Old Babylonian, *uttetum* so rare? Why does *uttetum* (Sumerogram: še-BAR) occur so frequently in New Babylonian?

¹⁴ The following relations hold for the Old Babylonian period: 30 šu-si ("finger[-breadth]") = 1 kūš ("cubit"); 12 kūš = 1 GAR. The basic area unit is the SAR, which is defined as 1 GAR · 1 GAR, and is equal to 60 area-gín.

¹⁵ It is important to remember that in Babylonian metrology, the choice of the fractions of a measure which are considered to be standard intermediate measures depends on the particular unit. An illustration of this is the fact that the only recognized fraction of the GAR (a measure of length equal to 12 cubits in the Old Babylonian period) is $\frac{1}{2}$. Ope never finds " $1\frac{1}{2}$ GAR" for "1 GAR and 4 cubits," or " $\frac{1}{3}$ GAR" for " $\frac{1}{3}$ GAR and 2 cubits"; cf. MCT, pp. 9 f.

¹¹ Collation by Goetze confirms the fraction as copied. Since the fraction given in the sum is $\frac{2}{3}$, it is obvious that a scribal error must be assumed in one of the two places.

¹² Goetze's collation reveals that -*ti*, not -*tim*, is to be read here.

¹³ The vocabularies give only še-BAR, not še, as the Sumerogram for *uttetum*; cf. Deimel, ŠL, 367, 62. The latest translation of *uttetum*, by F. Thureau-Dangin, TMB, p. 42, n. 2, is "barley." To the literature cited there by Thureau-Dangin and previously in RA 32 (1935), 10, n. 3, add R. C. Thompson, AH, p. 205. A reinvestigation of the various words used for different

standard metrological entity seems to be firmly assured by other tablets.¹⁶

IV

At first glance, the presentation of the fractions in the Babylonian phrases in our text offers fewer points of contact with the extant Babylonian mathematical texts than with Egyptian mathematics or the lower levels of Greek logistic.

The situation is simplest in the case of Egyptian mathematics.¹⁷ Here the only fractions which occur are submultiples ($1/n$, where n is an integer), except for the special fractions $\frac{2}{3}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$, the latter of which had already fallen into disuse at an early period. For reasons which are of no interest here, the expression of $2/n$ as $1/n + 1/n$ was avoided; thus, $\frac{2}{3}$ could not be represented as $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3}$ but had to be expressed as the sum of two different submultiples, in this case $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{15}$. With the aid of a special table (the extant examples of which, except for unimportant deviations, are uniform) for $2/n$, where n is odd, all non-submultiple fractions were expressed as the sum of a number of different submultiples. For example, the special table gives $\frac{2}{5}$ as $\frac{1}{5} + \frac{1}{15}$; by doubling, the expression $\frac{2}{5} + \frac{1}{15} + \frac{1}{15}$ for $\frac{4}{5}$ is determined because the same special table gives $\frac{1}{15} + \frac{1}{15}$ as the conversion of $\frac{1}{5}$. For our comparative purposes, two facts are of significance: submultiples, except for the special fraction $\frac{2}{3}$, are the only fractions for which there existed a notation and with which operations could be carried out in Egyptian mathematics; and, secondly, the sum of submultiples by which any non-submultiple fraction

was to be expressed was determined by the use of a standard auxiliary table.

In Greek logistic, i.e., that section of Greek mathematics which deals with the techniques of calculation, the situation is similar. As in Egyptian mathematics, only submultiples, except for $\frac{2}{3}$, are used,¹⁸ and non-submultiple fractions are expressed as the sum of different submultiples. The preserved conversion tables do not always agree in detail, but it is obvious here too that, for all people who employed a given table, the series of submultiples used in expressing any given non-submultiple fraction would be uniform.

The use of the sexagesimal number system with positional notation at once placed the Babylonians in a position to operate in precisely the same way with sexagesimal fractions as with sexagesimal integers. This tremendous advantage over other number systems of antiquity was, in the case of fractions, partly counterbalanced by the existence of irregular numbers, i.e., numbers like 7 or 11, the reciprocals of which cannot be expressed as finite sexagesimal fractions. We must therefore distinguish between two types of submultiples: (1) "regular submultiples," which are fractions $1/n$ that are equivalent to finite sexagesimal expressions, e.g., $\frac{1}{6} = 0;10$ or $\frac{1}{3} = 0;20$; and (2) "irregular submultiples," which are fractions $1/n$ not equivalent to finite sexagesimal expressions, e.g., $\frac{1}{7} = 0;8,34,17,8,34,17, \dots$, with 8,34,17 repeated indefinitely. A discussion of the techniques found in Babylonian mathematical texts for handling reciprocals of irregular numbers will be found in the last paragraph of this section (p.

¹⁶ For examples from Old Babylonian mathematical texts, see n. 24. It should be noted, however, that the standard Old Babylonian metrological texts, though they begin the measures of weight with $\frac{1}{2}$ še, start with much larger quantities in the measures of capacity or area.

¹⁷ For details concerning fractions in Egyptian mathematics, see Neugebauer, GAB; Vogel, GAA; and the extensive literature cited in both monographs.

¹⁸ By the third century B.C., a notation for general fractions similar to our own had been invented and was used in certain circles, but this development had little appreciable effect on the lower levels of Greek logistic. Conversions to sums of submultiples were still made well into the Byzantine period. The most recent discussion of fractions in Greek logistic is by K. Vogel, BGL, pp. 406 ff.; cf. also Tropfke, GEM 1, pp. 152-55.

212) and in note 24. At the moment, however, our main interest is the fraction in general in Babylonian mathematics. As in Egyptian mathematics and Greek logistic, the only fractions which can be expressed non-sexagesimally in Babylonian mathematics are submultiples, except for the special fractions $\frac{2}{3}$ and $\frac{5}{6}$, both of which we will henceforth, for convenience, count among the submultiples without further ado. The conversion of regular submultiples to sexagesimal expressions was not difficult because there existed standard reciprocal tables for a selected

Ionian mathematical texts is clear. The lowest unit in any of the common metrological systems is so small that there was little chance in practice to reach any fraction (and still less, a complicated fraction) of the smallest unit in those mathematical problems which required a metrological answer. The measures of weight are a good illustration of this: the talent (gú) weighs about 60 pounds; the mina (ma-na), about 1 pound; the shekel (gín), about $\frac{1}{60}$ of a pound; and the smallest unit, the barleycorn (še), about $1/(60 \cdot 180) = 1/10800$ of a pound. The same holds, *mutatis mutandis*, for the other standard dimensional systems: area, volume, and capacity. In the few cases in the extant mathematical texts where a fraction of the lowest metrological unit is reached in the answer, the fraction is almost never anything except a simple submultiple like $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$. In the case of mathematical problems which required nothing more than a dimensionless, purely numerical answer, the extant texts stop when they reach the final sexagesimal value even if it contains a sexagesimal fraction. Thus, the cube root of 3;22,30 would be found to be 1;30, but this answer would not then be converted to $1\frac{1}{2}$. It is therefore not surprising that the extant mathematical texts tell us next to nothing about the conversion of expressions like 0;45 to a sum of different submultiples. The evidence, indeed, is so meager that the discovery of our present text, small as it is, brings to light more data on this subject than all the known mathematical texts put together. This is probably due to the fact that the only metrological unit which explicitly occurs in the text, the *uttetum*, is the lowest measure in some metrological system.¹⁹

Table 4 shows what our present text does with the fractions which occur. This list shows several features worth noting.

¹⁹ Cf. above, p. 207.

TABLE 4

Fraction	Fraction Expressed Sexagesimally*	Given in Babylonian Phrase	Example
$\frac{1}{2}$	0;2,30	$\frac{1}{6} \cdot \frac{1}{4}$	Nos. 1 and 6
$\frac{1}{3}$	0;18,45	$\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{4}$	No. 3
$\frac{1}{4}$	0;25	$\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{3}$	No. 9
$\frac{1}{5}$	0;6,40	$\frac{1}{9}$	No. 2
$\frac{1}{6}$	0;22,30	$\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{3}$	No. 4
$\frac{1}{8}$	0;10	$\frac{1}{6}$	No. 8
$\frac{1}{4}$	0;45	$\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{2}{3}$	Nos. 5 and 7

* The factor 20,0 found in the text itself has here been removed since it is a metrological coefficient.

group of regular numbers and because techniques had been developed within the framework of Babylonian mathematics for finding the sexagesimal values of other regular submultiples. The extant material is too scanty, however, for us to be able to describe in detail how the Babylonians met the opposite problem of converting sexagesimal fractions to a sum of non-sexagesimal submultiples. The problem, posed in the form of an example, is how the Babylonian, when confronted with the task of converting 0;45 to an expression containing submultiples, made the choice, say, between $\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{12}$ and $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4}$. The main reason for the extreme rareness of the occurrences of conversions of this sort in published Baby-

(1) Submultiples smaller in value than $\frac{1}{n}$ are expressed as the product of two submultiples, each of which has a value greater than $\frac{1}{n}$; for example, $\frac{1}{12}$ is expressed as $\frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{3}$. (2) In Nos. 1 and 6, we find $\frac{1}{24}$ expressed as $\frac{1}{6} \cdot \frac{1}{4}$, but in No. 4 as $\frac{1}{8} \cdot \frac{1}{3}$. (3) In each of the four occurrences of a sum of submultiples, the sum is of the form $1/n + 1/m \cdot 1/n$, where m is an integer equal to or greater than n .²⁰

It is possible that (1) is due to nothing more than a desire to use, so far as possible, only the small group of fractions (something like $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{2}{3}, \frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}, \dots, \frac{1}{9}, \frac{1}{10}$) for which one had a conscious feeling of relative size. By saying "one-fourth of one-third," one reaches the concept of one part out of twelve by thinking in terms of the more easily appreciated parts "one-fourth" and "one-third." Assuming that emphasis was laid on this small core of fractions, we can explain both (2) and (3) by a simple hypothesis. The fractions involved in the sum $1/n + 1/m \cdot 1/n$ can in all cases be reached directly from the given sexagesimal fractions by the following considerations. Let us assume the small core of important fractions to have consisted of

$$\begin{array}{lll} 0;6 = \frac{1}{10} & 0;6,40 = \frac{1}{9} & 0;7,30 = \frac{1}{8} \\ 0;10 = \frac{1}{6} & 0;12 = \frac{1}{5} & 0;15 = \frac{1}{4} \\ 0;20 = \frac{1}{3} & 0;30 = \frac{1}{2} & 0;40 = \frac{2}{3} \\ & 0;50 = \frac{3}{4} \end{array}$$

The first fraction $1/n$ of the sum is then the submultiple corresponding to that sexagesimal fraction contained in the core which is smaller than the given sexagesimal fraction by the least amount. Thus, if the given sexagesimal fraction is $0;45$, then the sum of submultiples must be expressed as $\frac{2}{3} + \dots$ because $0;40 = \frac{2}{3}$ is that sexagesimal fraction of the above-given core which is smaller than $0;45$ by the least amount; if $0;18,45$ is given, then

the first term of the sum of submultiples must be $\frac{1}{4}$. Since the sexagesimal value of the first submultiple is handy, it is now convenient to represent the remainder fraction, $0;5$ in the case of $0;45$ or $0;3,45$ in the case of $0;18,45$, as a fraction of the first fraction. This can be done with ease in all the examples of our text. For example, $0;22,30$ yields $\frac{1}{3} = 0;20$ as the first term of the sum; the remainder $0;2,30$ which must be accounted for is obviously $\frac{1}{6} \cdot 0;20$, or $\frac{1}{6} \cdot \frac{1}{3}$; the complete sum is therefore $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{6} \cdot \frac{1}{3}$.²¹

To work out such sums for all the examples in our present text requires no information which is not contained in the standard reciprocal table and the standard combined multiplication table.²² My hypothesis, therefore, at least satisfies the condition that the conversion of sexagesimal fractions to submultiples be carried out by processes which are within the known framework of Babylonian mathematics. In addition, it makes it possible to explain why, in the two instances where the sums of submultiples found in our text differ essentially from those which we could expect to find in Egyptian mathematics or Greek logistic, the first fraction in the Babylonian sum is a closer approximation of the value of the sum than the first fraction of the Egyptian or Greek sum (Table 5).

The rare cases in Old Babylonian mathematical texts of conversions from sexagesimal fractions which could not be expressed by a single submultiple (like $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{2}{3}$) show that our text does not repre-

²¹ This would explain why $\frac{1}{24}$ is represented as $\frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{6}$ when it is part of the sum $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{6}$; but, when by itself, as $\frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{6}$ (in Nos. 1 and 6), apparently the standard representation of $\frac{1}{24}$.

²² For the standard reciprocal table, see MKT 1, pp. 8 ff., or MCT, pp. 11 f.; for the standard combined multiplication table, cf. MKT 1, pp. 44 ff., or MCT, pp. 24 ff. Learning these two tables, or at least how to use them, certainly took place at an early stage of a scribe's training since it was necessary to use both in everyday calculations. For any further mathematical education, they were absolutely indispensable.

²⁰ The notation $1/n$ for submultiples is meant to include the special fraction $\frac{1}{2}$, which we have already agreed to include among the submultiples.

sent an isolated experiment. The only completely preserved conversion is to be found in Problem-Text L (published MCT, pp. 81 ff.), No. 7, in answer to a question concerning the respective fractions of a workday which it would take a laborer to perform two separate operations in digging a canal. Although the text does not give the steps leading to the answers, it is quite certain that, before the final conversions to submultiple fractions of a day, the sexagesimal expressions 0;12 and 0;48 would have been reached. The answers actually given in the text are: "one-fifth of a day" ($\frac{1}{5}$ igi-5-gál u₄) and " $\frac{2}{3}$ of a day and one-fifth of $\frac{2}{3}$

TABLE 5

	Babylonian	Egyptian or Greek*
$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8}$
$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4}$

* For $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{6}$, see, e.g., Mich. Pap. 3, No. 146; PMA, p. 27; MGM, p. 7. The sum $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{6}$ for $\frac{1}{2}$ occurs, e.g., in PMA, p. 25; Her., pp. 89 and 203. It is interesting to note that Rhabdās (cf. P. Tannery, *Mém. sc. 4*, p. 117), writing in the fourteenth century A.D., gives $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{6}$ and $\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{6}$, respectively.

of a day" ($\frac{2}{3}$ u₄ ù igi-5-gál $\frac{2}{3}$ u₄), respectively. In other words, $\frac{4}{3}$ is expressed as $\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{6} + \frac{2}{6}$, which is precisely of the type $1/n + 1/m + 1/n$ (see n. 20) which we found before.²³

²³ It is disappointing that another text (YBC 4669, published MKT 3, pp. 26 ff.), which also has to do with two separate types of work in the course of some sort of excavation, reaches the same numerical results but gives (rev. III, No. 10) the answers rather inconsistently as "one-fifth of a day, (namely) 0;12" and "0;48, the remainder of a day."

Other examples of conversions in Old Babylonian mathematical texts are not so clear cut because of the interference of the $\frac{1}{2}$ še, which seems to have been a standard metrological entity. Thus, an Old Babylonian mathematical text (Problem-Text O, published MCT, pp. 91 ff.) in l 13 of No. 3 gives 16 še šu-ri-a še ù igi-6-gál še, "16 še, one-half še, and $\frac{1}{6}$ še," as the area of a certain type of brick. In the same tablet (No. 4, l. 20), the volume of another type of brick is given as 5 še šu-ri-a še ù igi-9-gál šu-ri-a še, "5 še, one-half še, and $\frac{1}{9}$ of one-half še." The expression " $\frac{1}{9}$ še $\frac{1}{2}$ še" for $\frac{1}{6}$ še occurs three times at the end of area dimensions in an Old Babylonian mathematical text found at Susa (MCT, p. 9, Nos. 55, 66, and 70). Another Old Babylonian mathematical text (MKT 1,

Such is the limited evidence from Old Babylonian mathematical texts for conversions to submultiple expressions of sexagesimal fractions which are regular numbers, i.e., numbers whose reciprocals are finite sexagesimal fractions. We know still less about the treatment of submultiples of irregular numbers, whose reciprocals are not finite sexagesimal expressions. The published Old Babylonian mathematical problem-texts which work out the solutions step by step show that, although the subject was by no means ignored, evasive tactics were employed.²⁴

pp. 287 ff., obv. 13) uses the expression [1 ma]-na 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ gín 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ še ù [ši-sá-(a-)]t še, "[1 mī]na, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ shekels, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ še, and [one-third] še," in giving the weight of silver; we now know (cf. MCT, p. 19 and n. 76p) that 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ še is a mistake for 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ še.

²⁴ In these texts, there are no more than thirteen cases where the presence of an irregular submultiple creates fundamental difficulties. One illustration will suffice for all. In BM 85200 + VAT 6599 (published MKT 1, pp. 194 ff.), No. 8, the figure in question is a right parallelepiped with length l , breadth b , and depth d . Given: $12l = d$, $lb + lb d = 1;10$, and $l = 0;30$. Find: b . The following steps are calculated:

$$\begin{aligned} 12 \cdot 0;30 &= 6 = 12l = d \\ lb(1 + d) &= 7lb = 1;10 \\ lb &= 1;10 \cdot \frac{1}{7} = 0;10 \\ \frac{lb}{l} &= 2 \cdot 0;10 = 0;20 = b. \end{aligned}$$

The third step leads to the division of one number by another, or—since this means, in Babylonian mathematics, the multiplication of the first number by the reciprocal of the second—the multiplication of 1;10 by $\frac{1}{7}$. At this point, the explicit admission is made in the text that the sexagesimal value of the reciprocal of 7 cannot be found; but, instead, the question is asked, what must be multiplied by 7 to yield 1;10, and the answer is found to be 0;10. The divisions found in the other twelve problems are: 2,36,0/6,14,24 = 0;25 (VAT 7532 [MKT 1, pp. 294 ff., rev. 3 ff.]; 6,21,0/19,3,0 = 0;20 (VAT 7535 [MKT 1, pp. 303 ff., obv. 22 ff.]; 3,9,0/9,27,0 = 0;20 (*ibid.*, rev. 20 ff.); 5;30/11 = 0;30 (BM 13901 [MKT 3, pp. 1 ff., obv. I 40 ff.]; 21,15/1,25 = 15 (*ibid.*, obv. II 15 ff.); 28,15/1,53 = 15 (*ibid.*, II 23 ff.); 28,20/17 = 1,40 (*ibid.*, obv. II 40 ff.); 43;20/1,26,40 = 30 (*ibid.*, rev. I 7 ff.); 27,5/1;48,20 = 15,0 (*ibid.*, rev. I 17 ff.); 10,12;45/40,51 = 0;15 (*ibid.*, rev. I 33 ff.); 52;30/13,7;30 = 0;4 (Problem-Text D [MCT, pp. 49 ff.], obv. 16 ff.); 22,45,0/6,30 = 3,30 (*ibid.*, rev. 18 ff.). It is obvious that the numbers were deliberately chosen so that the number which had to be divided by the irregular number is itself divisible by the irregular prime factors of the irregular number. In other words, the trick consists in preparing in advance the trapdoors through which the reciprocals of irregular numbers will drop out of sight.

Until recently, the Babylonian reciprocal tables at our disposal contained only regular numbers. We now have an Old Babylonian tablet (YBC 10529, published MCT, p. 16) which lists the reciprocals of irregular as well as regular numbers, giving approximate values for the former. For example, the reciprocal of the irregular number 59 is given as 0;1,1,1, the correct value being 0;1,1,1,1, . . . with continuous repetition of 1. It must be emphasized, however, that we have as yet no mathematical problem-text which explicitly uses approximate values for reciprocals of irregular numbers.²⁵

V

To this point, we have strictly limited our discussion to the Old Babylonian period, in which almost all the extant Babylonian mathematical texts were written. For the many intervening centuries between the Old Babylonian age and the Seleucid period, none of the texts which I consulted has occasion to express fractions which are anything except single submultiples.²⁶ A casual phrase in a Seleucid mathematical text, probably written at Uruk, shows that the treatment of submultiples had undergone some fundamental changes. In No. 6 of Problem-Text Y (published MCT, pp. 141 ff.), the answer to the problem is given as 4 *ha-an-za* ninda še, "4 fifths of a ninda-measure of barley." Since a fifth of a ninda (the smallest measure of capacity in this period) was not, so far as we know, a standard metrological

fraction, the expression "4 fifths" can be compared with the above-mentioned Old Babylonian expression for $\frac{4}{3}$, namely, "two thirds and one-fifth of two-thirds." A similar expression also occurs in Seleucid economic texts which record the sale of shares (defined as fractions of a day) in the income of certain temple offices in Uruk. The words 2 *ha-an-zu* (*šá u₄-mu*), "2 fifths (of a day)," occur in line 5 of Clay, BRM 2, No. 36,²⁷ and in lines 2, 5, 11, and 16 of a tablet dated in the 60th year of the Seleucid Era (252 B.C.).²⁸ The following phrases, excerpted from contemporaneous texts of the same economic type show, however, that the break with the submultiple principle was far from complete:

- (1) "A fifth of a day and a third in a 15th of a day," *ha-an-zu*²⁷ *šá u₄-mu ú šal-šú ina 15-u-ú šá u₄-mu*: Clay, BRM 2, No. 47, lines 5 f. This is given as the sum of two separate shares in a "sixth" (*ši-iš-šú*) and an "18th" (*18-u-ú*) of a day. Since the sexagesimal value of the sum is 0;13,20, this would have been expressed in the Old Babylonian period—assuming the correctness of the hypothesis outlined above—as $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{18}$.
- (2) "A sixth, an 18th, and a 60th," *ši-iš-šú 18-u-ú ú 60-u-ú*: Schroeder, VS 15, No. 4, lines 2, 10, and 15.

²⁷ As has been noted in MCT, p. 143, n. 337, a collation made by Goetze confirmed the suspicion that Clay had mistakenly copied *ha-an-su* instead of *ha-an-zu*.

²⁵ For a group of auxiliary tables and problems involving the manipulation of the irregular submultiples $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{5}$, etc., see MCT, pp. 17-19. The interpretation of the auxiliary tables is still somewhat obscure, but it seems likely that they were used in preparing or solving problems which contained numbers having the property that they yield finite sexagesimal expressions when multiplied by these irregular submultiples.

²⁶ I have not been able to locate the source of *šitta hanšātu*, "two fifths," cited in Ungnad, BAG, p. 38, § 29e; or of *erbettu haššātu*, "four fifths," referred to by Neugebauer, VGAMW, p. 90.

²⁸ This text, excavated by Loftus almost a century ago and now in the British Museum, was published by Oppert and Ménant, DJ, pp. 296 ff. in the form of a transcription which is now hopelessly antiquated. A modern edition promised by O. Krückmann (cf. BRVU, p. 6, n. 6) has, so far as I know, not yet appeared. In the meantime, almost the whole tablet can be reconstructed with the help of the copies of individual passages scattered throughout Strassmaier, AV (Nos. 226, 498, 499, 504, 508, 514, 559, 1083, 1121, 1208, 1448, 1465, 1527, 1727, 2074, 2385, 2436, 2614, 2621, 3113, 3198, 3395, 3763, 3819, 3912, 4044, 4225, 4335, 4451, 4493, 4648, 4825, 5408, 6199, 6960, 7189, 7328, 7424, 7444, 7616, 7912, 9029), where the text is referred to as "Ant. 60."

²⁹ The sign *ku*, really a ligature of 1 and *šu*, is used in the text for "60."

- (3) "A 30th, and a third in a 60th," $30-u-ú \dot{u}$ $\dot{s}al-\dot{s}ú$ *ina* $60^{29}-u-ú$: Schroeder, VS 15, No. 10, line 2.
- (4) "A half in three quarters,"³⁰ $mi-\dot{s}il$ *ina* $3-ta \dot{s}u$: Clay, BRM 2, No. 11, line 2. The sum of this and an "eighth" ($sa-ma-nu-ú$) is correctly given as a "half" ($mi-\dot{s}il$). As we have seen, $\frac{2}{3}$ was expressed by $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3} \cdot \frac{1}{3}$ in Old Babylonian.
- (5) "A fifth in two thirds,"³¹ $ha-an-za$ *ina* $2-ta \dot{s}u$: Schroeder, VS 15, No. 11, lines 11 and 18. This would have been expressed in Old Babylonian as $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3} \cdot \frac{1}{3}$.
- (6) "Two thirds³¹ of a day and an 18th of a day," $2-ta \dot{s}u^{11.mes} \dot{s}á$ $u_4-mu \dot{u}$ $18-u-ú \dot{s}á$ u_4-mu : Schroeder, VS 15, No. 28, line 4. This is given as the sum of a "9th" ($9-u-ú$), another "ninth" ($ti-\dot{s}u-ú$), a "third" ($\dot{s}al-\dot{s}ú$), and a "sixth" ($\dot{s}i-i\dot{s}-\dot{s}ú$). In Old Babylonian, the sum would perhaps have been expressed as $\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{6} \cdot \frac{2}{3}$.
- (7) "A sixth and a ninth of a day," $\dot{s}i-i\dot{s}-\dot{s}ú \dot{u}$ $ti-\dot{s}u-ú \dot{s}á$ u_4-mu : Schroeder, VS 15, No. 32, lines 2, 12, 19 f. This would be expressed as $\frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{6} \cdot \frac{1}{3}$ in Old Babylonian.
- (8) "A 20th in one day, of which a sixth in a 60th of a day is lacking," $20-u-ú$ *ina* $1-en^{32} u_4-mu \dot{s}á \dot{s}i-i\dot{s}-\dot{s}ú$ *ina* $60^{29}-u-ú \dot{s}á$ $u_4-mu ma\dot{s}u(LÁ)-ú$: Clay, BRM 2, No. 19, lines 2 f., 15-17. In the total which is given, however, this is simply indicated as "a 20th of a day."
- (9) "A 16th and a 30th of a day" ($16-u-ú \dot{u}$ $30-u-ú \dot{s}á$ u_4-mu), added to "a 16th of a day" ($16-u-ú \dot{s}á$ u_4-mu), gives a total of "an eighth and a 30th of one day" ($sa-ma-nu-ú \dot{u}$ $30-u-ú \dot{s}á$ $1-en^{32} u_4-mu$): Con-tenau, TCL 13, No. 243, lines 2 f.
- (10) "An eighth in a seventh," $sa-ma-nu-ú$ *ina* $se-bu-ú$: Clay, BRM 2, No. 16, line 2.
- (11) "A half in an eighteenth," $mi-\dot{s}il$ *ina* $sa-ma-\dot{s}u-ru-ú$ (variant, $mi-\dot{s}il$ *ina* $18-ú$): BM 93002,³³ lines 2, 10, 14, and 18. The tablet is dated in the 68th year of the Seleucid Era (244 B.C.).
- (12) "A third in a twelfth," $\dot{s}al-\dot{s}ú$ *ina* $\dot{s}i-in-zi-ru-ú$: NCBT 1949, rev. 3' (unpublished).
- (13) "An 18th in a seventh," $18-u-ú$ *ina* $se-bu-ú$: NCBT 1954, obv. 2 (unpublished).
- (14) "A twelfth in a seventh," $\dot{s}i-in-zi-ru-ú$ *ina* $se-bu-ú$: NCBT 1963, obv. 2 and rev. 1 (unpublished).
- (15) A share of real estate, "a half in a twelfth," $mi-\dot{s}il$ *ina* $\dot{s}i-in-zi-ru-ú$, is mentioned in NCBT 1976, rev. 2 (unpublished).

I must confess that I can find no principles in the Seleucid treatment of fractions. The submultiple principle, which held for the Old Babylonian period, is occasionally broken. Where a sum of submultiples is given, no particular effort is made to guarantee that the first submultiple is the closest possible one to the value of the complete fractional expression. No attempt is made to put the sums of submultiples into the form $1/n + 1/m \cdot 1/n$, which we found in the Old Babylonian period. There is a definite tendency to express small fractions as the product of two larger fractions, but occurrences of a "30th" and a "60th" point in the opposite direction.

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Although there is no hesitation in using the fractions $\frac{1}{30}$ and $\frac{1}{60}$ (cf. (2), (3), (8), and (9)), note, in addition to "a third in a 15th" for $\frac{1}{15}$ in (1), the following expressions:

³⁰ Literally, "three hands," by this period a common expression for $\frac{2}{3}$ (corresponding to "two hands" for $\frac{1}{3}$), but not attested in Old Babylonian, which expresses $\frac{2}{3}$ by $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3} \cdot \frac{1}{3}$.

³¹ Literally, "two hands." See the previous note.

³² $1-en$ is written as a ligature.

³³ This tablet was found by Loftus together with the one referred to in n. 28. A now antiquated transcription appeared in Oppert and Ménant, DJ, pp. 301 ff., but a modern edition has been promised by O. Krückmann (cf. BRVU, p. 6, n. 6). Strassmaier's copy of this text, referred to as "Sel. 68," can be pieced together, with few gaps, from various passages given in AV, Nos. 251, 497, 500, 501, 502, 508, 512, 513, 1083, 1517, 1527, 2074, 2179, 2213, 2254, 2614, 2670, 2978, 3113, 3395, 3635, 3912, 4225, 4283, 4493, 4648, 4825, 4898, 4909, 5365, 6052, 6199, 6274, 6536, 6678, 6960, 7204, 7320, 7424, 7444, 8762, 9029.

THE PRESENT STATE OF ETHIOPIC LINGUISTICS¹

WOLF LESLAU

THE first grammar of Geez (Ancient Ethiopic) was published in 1661 by Hiob Ludolf.² The same author published his first grammar of Amharic in 1698.³ What has been accomplished since then in the study of the Ethiopic languages is the subject of the present study.

Many Semitists will be surprised to hear of "Ethiopic languages," since the only African language taken into consideration in many general and even specialized studies of Semitic was Geez; very rarely were the modern languages of Ethiopia included. The neglect of the modern languages of Ethiopia in Semitic studies might be due to the fact that

Semitists were accustomed to dealing with dead languages only and tended to regard the spoken languages as of little value for the solution of Semitic linguistic problems. An equally important reason is the fact that no general study of the Ethiopic languages was available to Semitists, and for many Ethiopic languages there are no descriptive studies at all, as will be shown later.

Whatever the reason, it must be stressed that it is unsatisfactory to investigate a problem in Semitic linguistics if, of all the Ethiopic languages, Geez alone is taken into account, and that for many a Semitic linguistic phenomenon the explanation, or at least a parallel, can be found in the spoken languages of Ethiopia. In other cases innovations occur in the modern languages of Ethiopia which are of linguistic interest in themselves even if they do not shed any special light on Semitic problems.

A few examples will be given here to illustrate this point.

The complete or partial disappearance of the laryngals or the merger of one laryngeal into another—a phenomenon found in Akkadian, Canaanite, and some Aramaic dialects—finds its parallel in the North Ethiopic languages of Tigré and Tigrīna and especially in the South Ethiopic languages.

The spirantization of *b* and *k* in intervocalic position, found in Aramaic and Hebrew, does not occur in Geez but does occur in Tigrīna and in South Ethiopic.⁴

The prepalatalization of *ki* into *š* of some dialects of Ancient Arabic and in

¹ A complete bibliography of the Ethiopic languages by the present writer was published in the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 1945; reprint, 1946.

The names of the periodicals are abbreviated as follows:

AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
 BA = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*
 BSL = *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*
 GSAI = *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*
 JA = *Journal asiatique*
 JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
 JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
 MO = *Le Monde oriental*
 MSL = *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*
 MSOS = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen*
 RAL = *Reale Accademia dei Lincei*
 RES = *Revue des études sémitiques*
 RO = *Rocznik orientalistyczny*
 RS = *Revue sémitique*
 RSO = *Rivista degli studi orientali*
 SBAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*
 WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
 ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
 ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
 ZS = *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*

² Iobi Ludolfi *Grammatica Aethiopica* (Francofurti ad Moenum, 1661; 2d ed., 1702).

³ *Grammatica linguae Amharicae quae vernacula est Habessinorum . . .* (Francofurti ad Moenum, 1698).

⁴ The phonemes *g*, *d*, *p*, and *t* are not spirantized in Ethiopic, but in Tigrīna *q* is spirantized into *qʰ*.

some modern Arabic dialects⁵ is found in various dialects of South Ethiopia.

In the field of morphology one observes in the South Ethiopic languages the disappearance of the internal plural (found in North Ethiopic and in both North and South Arabic), and the occurrence only of the external plural, just as in the North Semitic languages.

The case-endings *u* and *a*, which are attested in Old Babylonian, Arabic, and Geez,⁶ but which had disappeared in Hebrew and Aramaic, find their parallels in the modern languages of Ethiopia.

The conative force of the so-called third form of Arabic, which is no longer found in any other language of Ethiopia (even in Geez), is still retained in Tigré.⁷

The abbreviation of the vowel in the verbs second radical *w, y* in the forms of the perfect with consonantal suffixes known from Hebrew (*qām, šār*, but *qam-ti, šar-ti*) and Arabic (*qāma, sāra*, but *qum-tu, sir-tu*) occurs also in Tigré (*mota, gesa*, but *mət-ko, gəs-ko*), but not in Geez, where by analogy the vowel *o, e* remains (*mota, šema*, and *mot-ka, šem-ka*).

The problem of the linguistic substratum which has, without doubt, to be considered in the investigation of linguistic problems in Akkadian and in some Arabic dialects⁸ has clear parallels in the modern languages of Ethiopia, especially of southern Ethiopia, where the Cushitic substratum explains many phonetic and morphological phenomena.⁹

These few examples, and many more not given here, show that Geez alone can-

not help us in the solution of linguistic problems in Semitic but that all the modern languages of Ethiopia have to be taken into consideration. The Semitist who is not an Abyssinologist by profession cannot, of course, be expected to know in detail all the achievements in the field of Ethiopic linguistics. It is the task of the Abyssinologist to inform the Semitist of the studies in Ethiopic which might be of interest to him, and the present study has been undertaken to serve this purpose. This article is not intended to be a complete bibliography of the Ethiopic languages; it attempts rather to present the most recent accomplishments in the field of Ethiopic linguistics, pointing out at the same time the historical aspect of the question.

The Ethiopic languages are divided into two groups: (1) North Ethiopic: Geez, Tigré, and Tigrīña; and (2) South Ethiopic: Amharic, Harari, Guragué, Argobba, and Gafat. The Semitist will find a convenient source of information on the survey of the Ethiopic languages in the studies of Marcel Cohen¹⁰ and C. Conti Rossini.¹¹

NORTH ETHIOPIC

I. GEEZ (ANCIENT ETHIOPIC)

Geez was the spoken language of Ethiopia. About the beginning of the fourteenth century, it ceased to be spoken and was replaced by Amharic, but Geez remained the liturgical language and is still taught in the religious schools.

The first Ethiopic book published in Europe was the edition of the Psalter by Potken in 1513.¹² A sketch of the gram-

⁵ See Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 206.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 459-66; the case-ending *i* is not found in Ethiopic.

⁷ Wolf Leslau, "The Verb in Tigré," *JAOS*, Vol. LXV (1945).

⁸ Michel T. Feghali, *Etude sur les emprunts syriaques dans les parlers arabes du Liban* (Paris, 1927).

⁹ Leslau, "The Influence of Cushitic on the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia," *Word*, I (1945), 59-82.

¹⁰ "Langues éthiopiennes," in A. Meillet and Marcel Cohen, *Les Langues du monde* (Paris, 1924), pp. 122-27.

¹¹ "Razze, linguaggi e popoli," in his *Etiopia e genti d'Etiopia* (Firenze, 1937), pp. 123-69.

¹² *Psalterium Hebraicae, Graecae, Aethiopicae et Latinae* (Roma, 1513).

mar was published in 1552 by Marianus Victorius,¹³ but it remained for Hiob Ludolf, who acquired his knowledge of Geez and Amharic from the Abyssinian scholar Abba Gorgorios, to publish in 1661 the first grammar¹⁴ of a scientific character.¹⁵

It was August Dillmann who gave us the most complete study of Geez.¹⁶ Although the etymologies and grammatical explanations given by him are often too mechanistic and can be disregarded in many cases, his grammar remains the most exhaustive treatise of Geez, especially of its syntax. The arrangement is not very systematic and is difficult for the beginner to follow. In addition, there are two other important shortcomings in Dillmann's grammar. First, he did not have a knowledge of the traditional pronunciation of Geez and, consequently, did not take it into account in his presentation of the grammatical facts.¹⁷ Second, he did not know the spoken languages of Ethiopia and thus made no use of them in his explanation of the grammatical phenomena. There is no doubt, however, that the modern languages of Ethiopia, especially the North Ethiopic languages (Tigré and Tigrña), can provide many satisfactory explanations for various grammatical phenomena of Geez.

The same shortcomings are present in the grammars of F. Praetorius¹⁸ and

Marius Chaine,¹⁹ which are, however, clear in presentation and much more convenient for the beginner than Dillmann's grammar. The recent grammar of C. Conti Rossini²⁰ is known to me only by title.²¹ Useful sketches of Geez have been given by G. Bergsträsser²² and by Conti Rossini.²³

The study of Geez is greatly facilitated by the chrestomathy of Dillmann, provided with an Ethiopic-Latin glossary,²⁴ and by the chrestomathies in the grammars of Praetorius²⁵ and Chaine.²⁶ But a textbook with exercises would be useful for the beginner.

The Abyssinian scholars, too, contributed much to our knowledge of Geez. In order to make the liturgical language understandable to their fellow-countrymen, the Ethiopic scholars composed Geez-Amharic vocabularies (called *sāwasaw*, "ladders") accompanied by grammatical explanations.²⁷ These *sāwasaw* are very interesting; they contain many words and grammatical forms not found in the grammars and vocabularies composed by the Western scholars, and they reveal the grammatical method used by the Abyssinians. Most of these *sāwasaw* are unedited and are found as manuscripts in Ethiopia and in the libraries of Europe.

¹³ *Grammaire éthiopienne* (Beyrouth, 1907).

²⁰ *Grammatica elementare della lingua etiopica* (Rome, 1941).

²¹ For the grammar of Samuel Mercer, *Ethiopic Grammar with Chrestomathy and Glossary* (Oxford, 1920), see the review by H. S. Nyberg in *MO*, XV (1921), 262-65.

²² In his *Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen* (München, 1928), pp. 96-104. See the following note.

²³ In his *Etiopia e genti d'Etiopia*, pp. 217-30. It is curious, however, that both these scholars indicate *yəqāṭal*, and not *yəqāṭal*, as the form of the imperfect.

²⁴ *Chrestomathia Aethiopica edita et glossario explanata ab . . .* (Lipsiae, 1866).

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 31-64.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 228-54.

²⁷ For this problem see I. Guidi, "Il Sāwasaw," in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke . . . gewidmet* (Gießen, 1906), II, 913-23.

¹³ *Chaldaee seu Aethiopicae linguae institutiones* (Roma, 1552).

¹⁴ *Iobi Ludolfi Grammatica Aethiopica*.

¹⁵ The way in which Ludolf understood the structure of the language and the misunderstanding of some problems were pointed out by J. Flemming, "Hiob Ludolf: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der orientalischen Philologie," *BA*, Vol. I (1890).

¹⁶ *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1857); 2d ed. by Carl Bezold (Leipzig, 1899); English trans. James A. Crichton (London, 1907).

¹⁷ To give an example: the author does not point out that the imperfect of the verb is *yəqāṭal* (with gemination of the second radical).

¹⁸ *Äthiopische Grammatik mit Paradigmen, Literatur, Chrestomathie und Glossar* ("Porta linguarum orientalium," Vol. VII [Karlsruhe and Leipzig, 1886]).

Only a few have been published. I cite especially those published by Hartwig Hirschfeld²⁸ and by Hermine Brauner-Plazikowski.²⁹

Purely scientific grammars of Geez written in Geez and Amharic were also published by Ethiopic scholars. The most important are those published by Abba Täklä Märyam,³⁰ Abba Ya'qob Gäbrä Iyäsus,³¹ and the *Mäḥṣafä säwasaw*.³²

The Ethiopic script, though phonetic, has several disadvantages: it does not have a special sign for the gemination of the consonants, it does not indicate whether a consonant with the vowel of the sixth order is pronounced with *ə* or not at all, and it does not indicate the quantity of the vowels. This is why the existing grammars based on the Ethiopic script alone are incomplete. Some of the Abyssinian and European scholars tried to overcome this difficulty by having recourse to the traditional pronunciation of Geez, which, though not the same throughout the country, furnishes valuable information on its actual pronunciation.

Hiob Ludolf was the first to give in his grammar some details about the traditional pronunciation of Geez. The accent is the object of a study by Ernst Trumpp.³³ The most important studies in the field of the traditional pronunciation are those by

E. Mittwoch,³⁴ E. Littmann,³⁵ Marcel Cohen,³⁶ and the Abyssinian grammarian, Abba Täklä Märyam.³⁷ The results of these investigations do not always agree, owing to the fact that the traditional pronunciation is not the same among the Ethiopians speaking Tigrīña and those speaking Amharic. A grammar of Geez that aims to describe the structure of the language has to take into consideration the traditional pronunciation.

Important among the studies of particular questions in grammar and lexicography are those by Bernard Stade for the pluriliterals,³⁸ the various articles by Praetorius,³⁹ the work of E. Koenig on different problems of orthography, phonology, and morphology,⁴⁰ the numerous notes by S. Grébaut in *Aethiops* and *Aethiopica*, the studies of Cohen on the laryngals and the consonantal cluster⁴¹ which have a bearing not only on Geez but also on the modern languages of Ethiopia, an article by J. Kurylowicz on the labiovelars,⁴² and others.

²⁸ "Die traditionelle Aussprache des Äthiopischen," *MSOS*, XXVIII, Part II (1925), 126-248; reprint (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926).

²⁹ "Geez-Studien, I, II, III," in *Nachrichten der Kön. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1917), pp. 627-702; *ibid.* (1918), pp. 318-39.

³⁰ "La Prononciation traditionnelle du guèze (éthiopien classique)," *JA*, XVII (sér. 11, 1921), 217-69.

³¹ *Māmherä lāsānā gə'ez* (Roma, 1911); *Fəjun mālmaḍe fīdāl wānabab zālasānā gə'ez* (Rome, 1911); and others.

³² *Über den Ursprung der mehrlautigen Thatwörter der Ge'ez-Sprache* (Leipzig, 1871).

³³ "Beiträge zur äthiopischen Grammatik und Etymologie," *BA*, I (1889), 21-47, 369-78, and other articles.

³⁴ *Neue Studien über Schrift, Aussprache und allgemeine Formenlehre des Äthiopischen, aus den Quellen geschöpft, comparativ und physiologisch erläutert* (Leipzig, 1877).

³⁵ "Consonnes laryngales et voyelles en éthiopien," *JA*, CCX (1927), 19-57; "Groupes de consonnes au début du mot en éthiopien," in *Cinquantenaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* (Paris, 1921), pp. 141-59; "Des Groupes de consonnes et de quelques geminations en éthiopien," *MSL*, XXIII (1927), 72-100.

³⁶ "Les Labiovélares éthiopiennes," *RO*, 1933, pp. 37-42.

²⁸ "An Ethiopic-Falasi Glossary," *JRAS*, 1919, pp. 209-30; *ibid.*, 1920, pp. 573-82; *ibid.*, 1921, pp. 211-37; it is a Geez-Amharic glossary and not a Falasha glossary, as the title would suggest.

²⁹ "Ein äthiopisch-amharisches Glossar (Säwasaw)," *MSOS*, XVII, Part II, 1-96.

³⁰ *Yäḡə'ez q'wānq'wā säwasaw* ("Grammar of Geez") (Cheren, 1889 [=1907]), written in Amharic; *Mäḥṣafä säwasaw zālasānā māḥṣaf bālasānā rə'əsū* ("Grammar of Geez, Written in Geez") (Roma, 1931).

³¹ *Mäḥṣafä säwasaw zäḡə'ez* ("Grammar of Geez, Written in Amharic") (Asmara, 1928).

³² *Mäḥṣafä säwasaw* ("Grammar of Geez, Written in Amharic") (Monkullo: Swedish Mission, 1889).

³³ "Über den Accent im Äthiopischen," *ZDMG*, XXVIII (1874), 515-61.

The dictionary of Ludolf⁴³ has only historical value. The Ethiopic-Latin dictionary published by Dillmann in 1865⁴⁴ cites the passages in which each word occurs; it also gives etymologies which, however, are often doubtful and should be used with caution. On the whole, Dillmann's dictionary is not complete and must often be supplemented. Especially important are the lexicographical supplements published by Grébaut in *Aethiops* and *Aethiopica*. The same author⁴⁵ stresses, as does I. Guidi,⁴⁶ the necessity of a new Ethiopic dictionary, or at least of a supplement, and such a supplement is being prepared by Grébaut. It is to be hoped that the new dictionary will be comparative and etymological.

Valuable vocabularies were also published by the Abyssinian scholars in the *sāwasaw*.⁴⁷

To sum up the situation for Geez, it can be stated that adequate descriptive grammars and a good dictionary are at the disposal of the Semitists. It would be desirable, however, to have a new grammar of Geez, a supplement to Dillmann's dictionary, and a textbook with exercises to facilitate the study of the language.

II. TIGRIÑA

Tigrīña is spoken in a part of Eritrea, of North Ethiopia, and in Tigré province.

Tigrīña has numerous features in common with Geez and Tigré, but it is also strongly influenced by Amharic; still other features are characteristic for Tigrīña only and do not occur in any other North Ethiopic language.

⁴³ *Iobi Ludolfi Lexicon Aethiopicum-Latinum* (1699).

⁴⁴ *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicae, cum indice Latino* (Lipsiae, 1865).

⁴⁵ *Brèves considérations sur le besoin d'un nouveau dictionnaire éthiopien, ou, tout au moins, d'un supplément au dictionnaire éthiopien* (Paris, 1926).

⁴⁶ "A propos d'une nouvelle édition du Lex. Aeth. de Dillmann," *Aethiops*, I (1922), 49-52.

⁴⁷ See notes 30, 31, and 32.

Owing to the fact that Tigrīña is spoken in Eritrea, the Italians attached some importance to its study. Another factor which contributed to our knowledge of Tigrīña is the activity of the missionaries who, for religious purposes, edited for the natives different textbooks and vocabularies in Tigrīña. Several scholars have also had the opportunity of investigating Tigrīña with the help of natives outside the country. As a result, Tigrīña is, next to Amharic, the best-known spoken language.

The first collections of words and general grammatical observations made by travelers, as well as the translation into Tigrīña of some books of the Old and New Testaments, were elaborated by Praetorius in his comparative grammar of Tigrīña.⁴⁸ As this grammar is based mainly on translations, it does not represent the spoken language, and, because of the inadequacy of the sources, the indications and forms given by Praetorius are often doubtful. It is, however, the only comparative study of Tigrīña, though it is not so valuable as his *Die amharische Sprache*.

In spite of defects of various kinds, the grammars of Mauro da Leonessa⁴⁹ (in Ethiopic script and transliteration), of J. Schreiber⁵⁰ (in Ethiopic script only), and of L. de Vito⁵¹ for the dialect of Adoua can be profitably used by the Semitist. A grammar known to me only by title has been published by Conti Rossini.⁵² In 1941 I published in transliteration a grammatical description, as complete as

⁴⁸ *Grammatik der Tigrīña-Sprache in Abessinien, hauptsächlich in der Gegend von Aksum und Adoa* (Halle, 1871).

⁴⁹ *Grammatica analitica della lingua tigray* (Roma, 1928).

⁵⁰ *Manuel de la langue tigray, parlée au centre et dans le nord d'Abyssinie* (Vienne, 1887).

⁵¹ *Grammatica elementare della lingua tigrigna* (Roma, 1895).

⁵² *Lingua tigrina, Part I: Elementi grammaticali e esercizi* (Milano, 1940).

possible, in the dialect of Akkele Gouzay, with fifteen tables for the forms of the suffixed pronouns and the verb.⁵³

A useful sketch of Tigrīña is given by Conti Rossini,⁵⁴ who, unfortunately, does not indicate the region in which the dialect is spoken.

In Tigrīña, as in Geez and Amharic, there exist some native grammars (*sāwasaw*) designed either to teach Tigrīña⁵⁵ or to teach Italian.⁵⁶

There are several vocabularies and dictionaries of Tigrīña. The first collections of words by Seetzen, Beke, Lefebvre, Salt, and Sapeto are described by Praetorius.⁵⁷ The vocabularies published by A. Allori and G. Serrano, F. Caresa, P. G. Jansen, T. Piccirilli, F. Storaci, and others during the Italo-Abyssinian war have no scientific value. The dictionaries compiled by A. Cimono⁵⁸ and L. de Vito⁵⁹ can be utilized, with some reservations, by Abyssinologists. Those published by Francesco da Bassano in Italian⁶⁰ and by P. S. Coulbeaux and J. Schreiber in French⁶¹ can be used by Semitologists.

There are several dialects in Tigrīña, but I have some doubts whether there exists "a language de tout le monde" (*nay killāw q^wanq^wa*), as affirmed by Schreiber.⁶²

⁵³ *Documents tigrigna (Ethiopien septentrional): Grammaire et textes* (Paris, 1941).

⁵⁴ "Elementi fondamentali di lingua tigrina," in his *Etiopia e genti d'Etiopia*, pp. 231-57.

⁵⁵ *Sāwasawu nay Abba Gabrā Iyāsus tigrīña nezzimāharu q^walā'u māstāmharu* ("Sāwasaw of Abba Gabra Iyāsus: A Teaching Book for the Children Who Study Tigrīña") (2d ed.; Asmara, 1926).

⁵⁶ *Piccola grammatica per imparare l'italiano* (Asmara: Catholic Mission, 1930).

⁵⁷ *Grammatik der Tigrīña-Sprache*, pp. 12-14.

⁵⁸ *Vocabolario italiano-tigrāi e tigrāi-italiano* (Asmara, 1904).

⁵⁹ *Vocabolario della lingua tigrigna* (Roma, 1896).

⁶⁰ *Vocabolario tigray-italiano e repertorio italiano-tigray* (Roma, 1918).

⁶¹ *Dictionnaire de la langue tigrāi* (Wien, 1915), Part I: [Letters] H-N [in the Ethiopic Order]; no more published.

⁶² *Op. cit.*, p. vi.

The study of the dialectology, however, is in its beginnings, since the existing grammars do not localize the described speech. The only grammatical studies which indicate clearly the region in which the described languages are spoken are Vito's for the dialect of Adoua⁶³ and the present author's for the dialect of Akkele Gouzay.⁶⁴ The general observations concerning some dialects and the texts in the different dialects by Praetorius for Hamasen and Tanbên,⁶⁵ by Littmann for Tanbên,⁶⁶ by Vito for Adoua,⁶⁷ and by A. Kolmodin for Hamasen,⁶⁸ as well as my own observations, were utilized in my study of the dialects.⁶⁹

Some studies on detailed grammatical and etymological questions of Tigrīña to be mentioned include a study by I. Wajenberg on nominal forms⁷⁰ and quadriliterals,⁷¹ by the present author on verbal endings,⁷² by N. V. Yushmanov on an anomaly in numerals,⁷³ and by Cohen on the gemination of verbal forms.⁷⁴

⁶³ See n. 51.

⁶⁴ *Documents tigrigna (Ethiopien septentrional)*.

⁶⁵ "Über zwei Tigrigna-Dialekte," *ZDMG*, XXVIII (1874), 437-47.

⁶⁶ "Tigrigna-Texte im Dialekte von Tanbên," *WZKM*, XVI (1902), 211-25.

⁶⁷ See n. 51.

⁶⁸ *Traditions de Tsazegga et Hazegga* (Rome, 1912-15); "Meine Studien-Reise in Abessinien," *MO*, IV (1910), 242-43.

⁶⁹ "Observations sur quelques dialectes du tigrigna (Dialectes d'Akkele Gouzay, d'Adoua et du Hamasen)," *JA*, 1939, pp. 61-115.

⁷⁰ "Die Typen der Nominalbildung in Tigrigna," *ZS*, VIII (1932), 73-96; X (1935), 256-310; *ZDMG*, XC (1936), 637-79.

⁷¹ "Etudes sur les quadrilitères tigrina," *RO*, XI (1935), 52-78; "Researches in Tigrina Quadriliterals of Phonetic Origin," in *Mémoires de la Commission Orientale*, No. 28 (Krakow, 1937).

⁷² "Essai de reconstitution des désinences verbales en tigrigna," *RES*, 1939, pp. 70-99.

⁷³ "A Sibilant Anomaly in the Tigrīña Numerals," in *Africana*, Vol. I ("Transactions of the Marr Institute of Language and Mentality," Vol. IX [1937]), pp. 77-87 (in Russian, with English résumé).

⁷⁴ "La Gémination dans les formes verbales en tigrigna," *MSL*, XXIII (1927), 91-97.

A useful collection of dialogues and sentences in Tigrīña, Italian, and French has been published by Angelo da Ronciglione.⁷⁵

Texts which may be conveniently used include those published by Kolmodin in Ethiopic script, with a special sign for the gemination, translated into French, of historical character,⁷⁶ and my texts in transliteration, with a literary and free translation into French, of ethnographic and folkloristic character.⁷⁷

From all the indications given above it can be seen that the Semitist has at his disposal adequate grammars, dictionaries, and texts of Tigrīña. However, a comparative grammar, an etymological dictionary, and a chrestomathy would be very useful.

III. TIGRÉ

Tigré is spoken in the north of Ethiopia from the Red Sea to Gash, on the island of Dahlak, on the plain of Samhar, and by the tribes of Habab, Beni Amer, Mensa, etc.⁷⁸ Tigré preserves many archaic features of Ethiopic and is more closely related to Geez than Tigrīña.⁷⁹ The investigation of Tigré would be important for a better understanding of Geez, but, with the exception of Littmann, no trained linguist had the opportunity to visit the country, and speakers of Tigré are not so easily available outside their country as are speakers of Amharic or Tigrīña.

The first documents on this language

⁷⁵ *Manuale tigray-italiano-francese* (Roma, 1912).

⁷⁶ *Traditions de Tsazegga et Hazegga* ("Archives d'études orientales," Vol. V, Parts 1-3 [Rome, 1912-15]).

⁷⁷ In my *Documents tigrigna* (*Ethiopian septentrional*), pp. 159-378.

⁷⁸ For more details see W. Munzinger, *Vocabulaire de la langue tigré*, bound together with Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicæ* (Lipsiae, 1865), pp. iii-iv; Conti Rossini, *Etiopia e genti d'Etiopia*, pp. 127-28.

⁷⁹ For a contrary opinion see Conti Rossini in P. Mauro da Leonessa, *Grammatica analitica della lingua tigray*, pp. ix-x.

(beginning in 1893) were published by persons who visited the country for reasons other than linguistic (archeological, ethnographic, etc.), and who included some collections of words or general grammatical notes on Tigré in their works. Thus the documents published by Perini, Camperio, Lefebvre, and Beurmann-Merx have no value to the Semitist not especially trained in Ethiopic linguistics. All these documents as well as those of Reinisch,⁸⁰ Munzinger,⁸¹ and d'Abbadie⁸² and the Bible translations were utilized in a scientific manner by Littmann, who published a study on the pronoun⁸³ and the verb.⁸⁴ As might be expected—Littmann himself confesses it—these studies cannot be considered complete and, owing to the unreliable sources, cannot give a clear picture of the language. Littmann undertook an expedition to Tigré in 1905-6⁸⁵ and published a highly valuable collection of texts in prose and poetry which were translated into English and German.⁸⁶ The prose texts are written in the dialect of Mensa. All are printed in Ethiopic characters provided with a special sign for the gemination of the consonants, which is an important element for the understanding of any Ethiopic language. This is why the interesting texts published by Conti Rossini, K. G. Roden,

⁸⁰ *Die Bilin-Sprache* (Wien, 1887); for nearly every word of Bilin, Reinisch indicates the Tigré equivalent.

⁸¹ See n. 78.

⁸² *Extrait du vocabulaire de la langue Tigré parlée à Muçaww'a*, bound together with Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicæ* (1865).

⁸³ "Die Pronomina in Tigré," *ZA*, XII (1897), 188-230, 291-316.

⁸⁴ "Das Verbum der Tigré-Sprache," *ZA*, XIII (1898), 133-78; XIV (1899), 1-102.

⁸⁵ For a preliminary report of the Princeton University expedition under the patronage of Mr. Robert Garrett see Littmann, *ZA*, XX (1907), 151-82.

⁸⁶ *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, Vol. I: *Tales, Customs, Names and Dirges of the Tigré Tribes: Tigré Text* (Leyden, 1910); Vol. II: *English Translation*; Vol. III: *Lieder der Tigré-Stämme: Tigré Text* (Leyden, 1913); Vol. IV: *Deutsche Übersetzung und Commentar*.

and partially by G. R. Sundström printed in Ethiopic only, without sign for the gemination, can hardly be utilized in a study of Tigré. Littmann's texts have been discussed from the cultural, historical, and linguistic points of view by Theodor Nöldeke.⁸⁷

The present writer elaborated, on the basis of Littmann's texts, the first systematic grammar of Tigré in the dialect of Mensa.⁸⁸

A grammar and a dictionary of Tigré, published in Ethiopic characters only, by the Catholic Mission of Eritrea,⁸⁹ is not systematically arranged and, in general, has no scientific value. The dictionary occasionally has the sign for the gemination and, with some reservations, can be utilized. An Italian-Tigré index is included.

The valuable sketch by Bergsträsser is too short to give a clear picture of the language.⁹⁰ Some volumes published during the Italo-Abyssinian war by nonlinguists are of slight value to the Semitist.

The situation is not much better in the field of dictionaries. The only vocabularies worth mentioning, despite their defects, are those of Munzinger,⁹¹ d'Abbadie,⁹² and Reinisch⁹³ and the glossary of the *Grammatica della lingua tigré*.⁹⁴

To sum up, we can state that the Semitist has at present at his disposal a grammar of Tigré in the dialect of Mensa but no adequate dictionary or textbook with exercises.

⁸⁷ "Tigré-Texte," *ZA*, XXIV (1910), 286-300; "Tigré-Lieder," *ZA*, XXXI (1918), 1-25.

⁸⁸ *Short Grammar of Tigré* (New Haven, 1945) is a reprint of the author's articles: "The Verb in Tigré," *JAOS*, LXV (1945), 1-26, and "Grammatical Sketches in Tigré," *ibid.*, pp. 164-203.

⁸⁹ *Grammatica analitica della lingua tigré*, per cura della Missione Cattolica dell'Eritrea (Asmara, 1919).

⁹⁰ In his *Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen*, pp. 119-23.

⁹¹ See n. 78.

⁹² See n. 82.

⁹³ See n. 80.

⁹⁴ See n. 89.

SOUTH ETHIOPIC

I. AMHARIC

Amharic is the national language of Ethiopia. Spoken originally in the province of Amhara, an extensive region, the language spread later over the whole country. Amharic probably represents a language developed from a dialect close to Geez, although differing from it. The Cushitic languages of Ethiopia exerted a strong influence on Amharic.

The national character of Amharic explains why it is the best-known language of Ethiopia. In fact, the student has at his disposal adequate grammars, dictionaries, and editions of texts which enable him to gain a thorough knowledge of the language.

The first Amharic grammar was published in 1698 by Ludolf, who studied the language with the Abyssinian scholar Abba Gorgorios.⁹⁵ Not all the grammatical forms were correctly understood and interpreted by Ludolf,⁹⁶ but his grammar has a scientific basis and is an important document for the study of seventeenth-century spoken Amharic. Ludolf's description seems to be confirmed by some manuscripts of the same period.

The grammars of K. W. Isenberg⁹⁷ and of G. Massaja⁹⁸ cannot be considered as scientific works. Unfortunately, Praetorius used these grammars, as well as the Amharic version of the Bible and some minor collections of words published by nonlinguists, as the basis for his excellent *Die amharische Sprache*,⁹⁹ the first scien-

⁹⁵ *Grammatica linguae Amharicae quae vernacula est Habessinorum*. . . .

⁹⁶ See I. Guidi, "Lo Studio dell'Amarico in Europa," in *Attes du onzième congrès des orientalistes* (Paris, 1898), Sec. IV, pp. 68-72.

⁹⁷ *Grammar of the Amharic Language* (London, 1842).

⁹⁸ *Lectiones grammaticales pro missionariis qui addiscere volunt linguam Amaricam, nec non et linguam Oromonicam seu populorum Galla nuncupatorum* (Paris, 1867).

⁹⁹ *Die amharische Sprache* (Halle, 1879).

tific grammar of Amharic. With his keen linguistic sense, Praetorius correctly interpreted the grammatical forms of Amharic and explained them by comparison with other Ethiopic and Semitic languages. The phonetic problems and the question of the gemination, however, were not sufficiently treated, owing to the fact that Praetorius did not speak the language; in his etymologies, he often tried to explain words on a Semitic basis, whereas many of them are of Cushitic origin. His grammar cannot be used by the beginner, but the Abyssinologist may consult it with great profit.

Important for further knowledge of Amharic are the studies of Guidi, who mastered the problems of the Amharic verb, its form and conjugation, and of the gemination of the consonants.¹⁰⁰ He also published a short but excellent grammar of Amharic in 1889.¹⁰¹

The grammar of C. H. Armbruster¹⁰² contains a minute study of the phonology and is, on the whole, excellent, but the description of the verb is incomplete.

The most exhaustive descriptive grammar of Amharic is the monumental work of Marcel Cohen;¹⁰³ all the grammatical forms and sentences are given in the Ethiopic script and in transliteration. It may be used with profit not only by the Abyssinologist and the Semitist but also by the linguist in general. Problems of more detailed nature, and a thorough discussion

of the grammatical phenomena, are treated in his *Nouvelles études*.¹⁰⁴

The Italo-Abyssinian war, as might have been expected, led to the publication of many Amharic grammars and phrase-books, but none of them, with the exception of one by Bruno Ducati,¹⁰⁵ is of scientific value.

Useful sketches of Amharic have been published by Bergsträsser,¹⁰⁶ Conti Rossini,¹⁰⁷ and Yushmanov.¹⁰⁸

As in the case of Geez and Tigrīña, the Abyssinian grammarians made valuable contributions to the study of Amharic. Afa Warq composed an Amharic grammar in Italian,¹⁰⁹ a detailed study of the verb,¹¹⁰ a phrase-book,¹¹¹ a novel, and a historical book; others, like Kāntiba Gābru¹¹² and Abba Ya'qob Gābrā Iyāsūs,¹¹³ composed a grammar of Amharic in Amharic. The grammars of Geez and Tigrīña written in Amharic by the Abyssinian scholars are also important for Amharic in an indirect way, since they give the grammatical terminology of the Abyssinians.

Specialized studies in the grammar and etymology of Amharic include those of Guidi on the form and conjugation of the verb and the gemination of consonants, already mentioned;¹¹⁴ of F. Beguinot on as-

¹⁰⁴ *Nouvelles études d'éthiopien méridional* (Paris, 1939).

¹⁰⁵ *Corso di lingua amharica per autodidatti* (Roma, 1938); and several other booklets.

¹⁰⁶ In his *Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen*, pp. 112-16.

¹⁰⁷ In his *Etiopia e genti d'Etiopia*, pp. 253-79.

¹⁰⁸ *Stroy amharskovo yazyka* (Leningrad, 1936).

¹⁰⁹ *Grammatica della lingua amarica: metodo pratico per l'insagnamento* (Roma, 1905).

¹¹⁰ *Il Verbo amarico* (Roma, 1911).

¹¹¹ *Guide du voyageur en Abyssinie* (Rome, 1908).

¹¹² *Yamarañña säwasaw märi kä-käntiba Gābru tāṣafä: A Short Guide of the Practical Amharic Grammar* (Addis Ababa, 1915).

¹¹³ *Yamarañña q^{wa}anq^{wa} ačər säwasaw* (Asmara, 1929).

¹¹⁴ See n. 100.

¹⁰⁰ "La Forma intensiva nel verbo amarico," *GSAT*, III (1889), 179-81; "Sulle coniugazioni del verbo amarico," *ZA*, VIII (1893), 245-62; "Sulla reduplicazione delle consonanti amariche," *Archivio glottologico italiano: supplementi periodici*, II (1895), 1-13.

¹⁰¹ *Grammatica elementare della lingua amariñña* (4th ed.; Roma, 1935).

¹⁰² *Initia Amharica: An Introduction to Spoken Amharic*, Part I: *Grammar* (Cambridge, 1908).

¹⁰³ *Traité de langue amharique (Abyssinie)* (Paris, 1936).

similation and dissimilation;¹¹⁵ of Cohen on the verb, adjective,¹¹⁶ and some phonetic problems;¹¹⁷ and of Wajnberg on the pluriliterals.¹¹⁸

The present dictionaries give us a fairly complete idea of the vocabulary. Of no value today are the first collections of words published by Lefebvre, Seetzen, Salt, and others. The dictionary of Ludolf¹¹⁹ is important as reflecting the linguistic state of Amharic in the seventeenth century. The dictionaries of Isenberg¹²⁰ and of d'Abbadie¹²¹ are surpassed by the dictionary of Guidi, published on a scientific basis (containing about twenty-five thousand words)¹²² and supplemented by Francesco Gallina and Enrico Cerulli,¹²³ and the dictionary of J. Baetemann,¹²⁴ which is the most complete of the existing ones, though the arrangement of the roots is complicated. The only comparative dictionary is that of C. H. Armbruster,¹²⁵ of which the first part only has appeared.

For translation from a modern language into Amharic, the dictionaries of

Isenberg,¹²⁶ Armbruster,¹²⁷ C. H. Walker,¹²⁸ Amleto Bevilacqua,¹²⁹ d'Abbadie,¹³⁰ and Baetemann¹³¹ are useful.

The phrase-books by A. Raad and B. Ghaleb¹³² and by Ronciglione¹³³ can be used with some reservations, and the one in Amharic-French by G. I. Afa Warq¹³⁴ is very helpful. The book of J. I. Eadie¹³⁵ is to be recommended for the advanced student.

It would be beyond the scope of this article to mention all the literature in Amharic.¹³⁶ The student has at his disposal a voluminous literature in Amharic published in Ethiopia and by European scholars. But there is, unfortunately, no chrestomathy provided with a vocabulary and no textbook with exercises. The descriptive and comparative grammars, and the dictionaries in many modern languages (French, Italian, English), enable the Semitist to gain a thorough knowledge of Amharic.

II. HARARI

A. MODERN HARARI

Harari is spoken in the city of Harar. Around this city the Cushitic languages of Galla and Somali are spoken.¹³⁷

¹²⁶ See n. 120.

¹²⁷ *Initia Amharica*, Part II: *English-Amharic Vocabulary, with Phrases* (Cambridge, 1910).

¹²⁸ *English-Amharic Dictionary* (London [1928]).

¹²⁹ *Vocabolario amarico-italiano* (Roma, 1917); *Nuovo vocabolario amarico-italiano* (Roma, 1937).

¹³⁰ *Dictionnaire de la langue amariñña*.

¹³¹ See n. 124.

¹³² *La Clé de la conversation abyssine: vocabulaire, phrases, conversations, verbes et correspondance à l'usage des nouveaux amharisants* (Beyrouth, 1910).

¹³³ *Manuale amarico-italiano-francese...* (Roma, 1912).

¹³⁴ See n. 111.

¹³⁵ *An Amharic Reader* (Cambridge, 1924).

¹³⁶ For an appreciation of the earlier works of Ethiopic see I. Guidi, "Lo Studio dell'amarico in Europa," in *Attes du onzième congrès des orientalistes*, pp. 67-76. See especially Cohen, *Traité de langue amharique*, pp. 3-8, and his *Nouvelles études d'éthiopien méridional*, pp. xi-xii.

¹³⁷ On the story of Harar see E. Cerulli, *Studi etiopici*, Vol. I: *Harar* (Roma, 1936), pp. 1-55.

¹¹⁵ "Di alcuni fenomeni di variazione fonetica combinatoria e dissimilatoria in amarico," *RSO*, II (1909), 509-34.

¹¹⁶ "Notes sur des verbes et des adjectifs amhariques," *MSL*, XVII (1911), 251-65.

¹¹⁷ "Problèmes phonétiques en éthiopien méridional, particulièrement en amharique," in his *Etudes d'éthiopien méridional*, pp. 377-402.

¹¹⁸ "Beiträge zu den mehrlautigen Wurzeln im Amharischen," *Orientalia*, VI (1937), 184-213.

¹¹⁹ *Lexicon Amharico-Latinum cum indice Latino copioso inquirendis vocabulis Amharicis in hoc opere contentis* (Francofurti ad Moenum, 1698).

¹²⁰ *Dictionary of the Amharic language: In Two Parts: Amharic and English, and English and Amharic* (London, 1841).

¹²¹ *Dictionnaire de la langue amariñña* (Paris, 1881).

¹²² *Vocabolario amarico-italiano* (Roma, 1901).

¹²³ *Supplemento al vocabolario amarico-italiano, compilato con il concorso di Francesco Gallina ed Enrico Cerulli* (Roma, 1940).

¹²⁴ *Dictionnaire amarigna-français, suivi d'un dictionnaire français-amarigna* (Dirré Daoua, 1929).

¹²⁵ *Initia Amharica*, Part III: *Amharic-English Vocabulary, with Phrases*, Vol. I: *H-S* [in the Ethiopic Order] (Cambridge, 1920); no more published.

The first collection of Harari words was published by H. Salt;¹³⁸ other documents, consisting of vocabularies, collections of sentences, and general grammatical observations, were published by Charles Beke, L. Bricchetti-Robecchi, R. F. Burton, and Philipp Paulitschke. These firsthand documents collected by persons trained more or less linguistically were elaborated by F. Müller,¹³⁹ who was the first to assign Harari to the Semitic languages of Ethiopia and not to the Cushitic languages, as was done before him. Other important studies on Harari on the basis of these documents were published by Praetorius¹⁴⁰ and by Littmann.¹⁴¹

The first systematic grammar was published by C. Mondon-Vidailhet,¹⁴² but it is far from complete. The most exhaustive grammars elaborated from firsthand documents are those published by Cohen¹⁴³ and especially by Cerulli.¹⁴⁴ Both of these, but particularly that of Cerulli, are not only descriptive but also comparative to a certain degree.¹⁴⁵ It must be stated, however, that Cerulli's grammar was established on the basis of the texts he collected in Abyssinia; as a result, some

grammatical forms which are not found in the texts are not mentioned in the grammar. But, in general, it gives a good idea of the structure of the language.

Some continuous texts with translation were published by Conti Rossini,¹⁴⁶ by Cohen,¹⁴⁷ by the present writer,¹⁴⁸ by R. de Santis,¹⁴⁹ and especially by Cerulli.¹⁵⁰

The most complete vocabularies are those of Cerulli,¹⁵¹ who collected his material in Ethiopia, and of the present writer,¹⁵² who published the manuscript of Mondon-Vidailhet and added to it all the known collections of words. Both vocabularies are comparative and etymological, containing more than two thousand roots.

To sum up, it can be stated that we are fairly well informed on the grammar and the vocabulary of Harari.

B. ANCIENT HARARI

The ethnographer Paulitschke acquired in Ethiopia a Harari manuscript (at present in the Bibliothèque Nationale), dating approximately from the beginning of the eighteenth century, written in Arabic characters in a language different from modern Harari. The text is difficult to understand; Marcel Cohen¹⁵³ undertook to interpret a fragment of it with the help of a native and discussed some grammatical questions of the language.

Another manuscript in ancient Harari, *Kitāb al-Farā'id* ("The Book of Religious

¹³⁸ "Vocabularies of the Hurrur and Southern Galla Dialects," in his *A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of That Country* (London, 1814), Appendix I, pp. vi-x.

¹³⁹ "Über die Harari-Sprache im östlichen Afrika," *SBAW*, XLIV (1863), 601-13.

¹⁴⁰ "Über die Sprache von Harar," *ZDMG*, XXIII (1869), 453-72, and in his *Die amharische Sprache* (1879).

¹⁴¹ "Die Partikel *ma* in Harari," *ZA*, XXXIII (1921), 103-22; "Harari-Studien," *ZS*, I (1922), 38-84.

¹⁴² "Etude sur le harari," in *JA*, XVIII (sér. 9; 1901), 401-29; Vol. XIX (1902), 5-50; reproduced in his *La Langue harari et les dialectes éthiopiens du Gouraghé* (Paris, 1902), pp. 1-75.

¹⁴³ "Harari," in his *Etudes d'éthiopien méridional* pp. 243-324.

¹⁴⁴ *Studi etiopici*, Vol. I: *Harar* (Roma, 1936), pp. 56-203.

¹⁴⁵ Some of the grammatical problems are supplemented by W. Leslau, "Contributions à l'étude du harari," *JA*, 1937, pp. 431-48; and R. de Santis, "Piccoli testi harari," *RSO*, XVIII (1940), 386-98.

¹⁴⁶ "Testi in lingua harari," *RSO*, VIII (1919/20), 401-25; it is the edition of the manuscript of C. Mondon-Vidailhet. Emendations and grammatical observations were made by E. Littmann, "Bemerkungen zu den neuen Harari-Texten," *ZDMG*, LXXV (1921), 21-36.

¹⁴⁷ In his *Etudes d'éthiopien méridional*, pp. 325-27.

¹⁴⁸ "Contributions à l'étude du harari," *JA*, 1937, pp. 458-60.

¹⁴⁹ "Piccoli testi harari," *RSO*, XVIII (1940), 386-98.

¹⁵⁰ *Studi etiopici*, Vol. I: *Harar*, pp. 204-28.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 229-81.

¹⁵² "Contributions à l'étude du harari," *JA*, 1937, pp. 460-79, 529-91.

¹⁵³ *Etudes d'éthiopien méridional*, pp. 328-54.

Precepts'), in Arabic characters, was published by Cerulli¹⁵⁴ with transliteration and translation into Italian. The author elaborated also a grammar and a vocabulary of ancient Harari on the basis of this text. The phonetic status of ancient Harari has been examined by the present writer.¹⁵⁵

There are many problems in the phonology and grammar of ancient Harari which remain obscure. A manuscript in Ethiopic characters would help in elucidating many questions.

III. GURAGUÉ

The different dialects of Guragué are spoken in Guragué, a region situated southwest of Addis Ababa. There are about twenty different dialects spoken in this small country; some belong to the Sidamo group, others to the Semitic languages of Ethiopia.¹⁵⁶

According to Marcel Cohen,¹⁵⁷ the Semitic dialects of Guragué are divided into three groups: (1) Eastern Guragué, to which belong Walani and Selti-Ulbarag; (2) Western Guragué, the most important dialect of which is Čaha, the other dialects of this group being Gura, Gyeta, Ennamor, Gumaro, Eža, Muher, Inor, Magar, Gogot, and Maskan; and (3) Northeastern Guragué: Aymallal. The position of Galila has not been determined.

The first documents we have in this group of languages are those published by Johannes Mayer.¹⁵⁸ They deal with the dialect of Aymallal and contain a collec-

tion of words and the translation into Guragué of the second chapter of Matthew. These documents were elaborated by Praetorius,¹⁵⁹ who gave a grammatical description of the dialect. Another collection of words and some grammatical notes in the dialect of Čaha were published by G. Chiarini.¹⁶⁰

A systematic firsthand description of the dialect of Čaha was given by Mondon-Vidailhet.¹⁶¹ A manuscript of his containing a collection of words in French-Guragué in the dialects of Čaha, Gogot, and Ulbarag and some small texts was edited by Erich Weinzinger.¹⁶² The best description, although succinct, of some Guragué dialects (Muher, Čaha, Aymallal, Walani) was published by Cohen,¹⁶³ who, having collected his material in Abyssinia, published also some small texts and a vocabulary arranged according to subjects. A valuable study on some particular grammatical problems of the dialect of Muher has been published by H. J. Polotsky.¹⁶⁴

The present writer has in manuscript a comparative vocabulary of Čaha (more than two thousand roots) which represents the edition of the Manuscript d'Abbadie No. 259.

¹⁵⁹ "Über den Dialekt von Guragué," in his *Die amharische Sprache*, pp. 507-23.

¹⁶⁰ "Note grammaticali e vocaboli della lingua ciahà (guraghè) raccolti dall'ing. G. Chiarini ed ordinati da Antonio Cecchi," in Antonio Cecchi, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa* (Roma, 1887), III, 469-84.

¹⁶¹ "Les Dialectes éthiopiens du Gouraghè," *RS*, VIII (1900), 168-75, 266-74, 370-77; IX (1901), 64-70; re-edited in his *La Langue harari et les dialectes éthiopiens du Gouraghè*, pp. 77-119.

¹⁶² *Etudes sur le guragè: mises en ordre, complétées et publiées d'après ses notes par Erich Weinzinger* (Wien, 1913).

¹⁶³ In his *Etudes d'éthiopien méridional*, pp. 55-241.

¹⁶⁴ "Etudes de grammaire gouragué, I: La gémination, les échanges de liquides et le parfait nié du thème simple; II: Labialisation et prépalatalisation à distance; III: Le futur en -ša; IV: Racines verbales secondaires issues des thèmes réfléchis; V: Les suffixes régimes et l'impersonnel," in *BSL*, XXXIX (1938), 137-75.

¹⁵⁴ *Studi etiopici*, Vol. I: *Harar*, pp. 282-437.

¹⁵⁵ "Contributions à l'étude du harari," *JA*, 1937, pp. 448-52.

¹⁵⁶ For the description of the region of Guragué and the repartition of the dialects see M. Cohen, *Etudes d'éthiopien méridional*, pp. 55-103.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-2.

¹⁵⁸ *Kurze Wörtersammlung in English, Deutsch, Amharisch, Gallanisch, Guraguesch*, ed. L. Krapf (Basel, 1878).

According to Cohen,¹⁶⁵ Eastern Guragué is related to Harari, whereas Western Guragué belongs to the Amharic group. Unfortunately, the documents on the Guragué dialects are too scarce and the grammatical descriptions too summary to allow a classification of Guragué.

Much remains to be done in the domain of Guragué.

IV. ARGOBBA

There seem to be two dialects of Argobba: North Argobba, spoken east of Shoa, and South Argobba, spoken south of Harar.¹⁶⁶ Documents on these dialects are very scarce and do not give a clear picture of the language. Those published by Seetzen¹⁶⁷ and Lefebvre¹⁶⁸ for North Argobba were utilized by Praetorius;¹⁶⁹ Cohen¹⁷⁰ published *in extenso* the vocabulary of seventy-seven words by Seetzen and added to it some documents given him by an Abyssinian, Abba Tasfa Selassye.

A text in poetry, without translation, in the dialect of North Argobba, collected by Mondon-Vidailhet, has been published by Weininger.¹⁷¹

For South Argobba the situation is better but far from satisfactory. Mme de Monfreid, who lived in Abyssinia, collected some material with the help of the Questionnaire de l'Institut d'Ethnologie;

¹⁶⁵ *Etudes d'éthiopien méridional*, pp. 42-44.

¹⁶⁶ For more details see Cohen, *ibid.*, pp. 357-63, and *Nouvelles études d'éthiopien méridional*, pp. 375-77.

¹⁶⁷ *Proben deutscher Volksmundarten: Dr. Seetzen's linguistischer Nachlass, und andere Sprachforschungen und Sammlungen besonders über Ostindien*, ed. Johann Severin Vater (Leipzig, 1816), p. 301-3.

¹⁶⁸ *Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté pendant les années 1839-43...*, III (Paris, 1845), 329 (numerals), 405-9 (vocabulary).

¹⁶⁹ *Die amharische Sprache*, p. 14 and *passim*.

¹⁷⁰ *Etudes d'éthiopien méridional*, pp. 364-68.

¹⁷¹ C. Mondon-Vidailhet, *Etudes sur le guragü: mises en ordre, complétées et publiées d'après ses notes par Erich Weininger*, pp. 93-119. See on this text Cerulli, "Canti popolari amarici," *RAL*, 1916, pp. 733 ff., and Cohen, *Etudes d'éthiopien méridional*, pp. 361-62.

she was not a linguist, and the material was elaborated by Marcel Cohen,¹⁷² who did the best he could with the material at hand. We owe to him a grammatical outline of Argobba and a small vocabulary classified according to subjects.

Considering the unsatisfactory documents on North and South Argobba, the relation between these dialects cannot as yet be established. It is also premature to define the position of Argobba in the South Ethiopic languages. The investigation of the grammar and vocabulary of Argobba remains to be done.

V. GAFAT

Gafat is a language which was spoken in the province of Gafat, southwest of Gojjam and northwest of Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. This language is no longer spoken; the inhabitants of Gafat now speak Amharic.

Its only documents consist of (1) a collection of words and the text of the "Song of Solomon" (dating from 1773), collected and partially published by James Bruce,¹⁷³ and (2) a collection of words published by Beke in 1845.¹⁷⁴ Since that date we have had no new documents.

These documents were elaborated by the present writer in an article¹⁷⁵ and espe-

¹⁷² *Nouvelles études d'éthiopien méridional*, pp. 379-427.

¹⁷³ Manuscript 33 of the Ethiopic collection of the Bodleian Library at Oxford (see Dillmann, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis*, Pars VII: *Codices Aethiopici* [1858], pp. 82-83). The recto of the first folio of the Gafat text is reproduced in James Bruce, *Travels To Discover the Source of the Nile in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773*, published in 1790, Vol. I, Pl. 6 (facing p. 400); (2d ed., 1804), atlas; Vol. VIII (1805), Pl. III referring to Vol. I, chap. i, p. 329. The vocabularies are reproduced in *Travels* (2d ed.), II, 494-97, and in Alexander Murray, *Account of the Life and Writings of James Bruce* (1808), pp. 436-39.

¹⁷⁴ "On the Languages and Dialects of Abyssinia and the Countries to the South," *Proceedings of the Philological Society*, II (1845), 97-107.

¹⁷⁵ "The Position of Gafat in Ethiopic," *Language*, XX (1944), 56-65.

cially in his book,¹⁷⁶ which contains a descriptive and comparative grammar of Gafat, the edition of the text of the "Song of Solomon" in a photostatic copy and transliteration with a literal and free translation into English, and a comparative vocabulary. According to this study, Gafat is to be placed in the Harari group and not in the Amharic group.

If one is to believe the assertion of the Abyssinian historian Aleqa Tayye in his *History of Abyssinia* (Asmara, 1922 and 1927), written in Amharic, that the inhabitants of Gafat still use their language when they are among themselves, it may be hoped that a future linguistic exploration of the region will clear up this point and furnish new documents on the language.

GENERAL STUDIES ON ETHIOPIC

There is no comparative grammar of the Ethiopic languages.* In fact, the time is not yet ripe to write a comparative grammar, since, as we have seen, there are at present no descriptive studies of some of the languages. However, there has appeared a very useful and informative preliminary study by Marcel Cohen,¹⁷⁷ who examines the character of ancient Ethiopic, as well as the general features and the classification of the various Ethiopic languages. Since its publication, Abyssinologists have acquired supplementary knowledge for some of the languages. Thus Polotsky has discussed some problems of Guragué,¹⁷⁸ the question of the

position of Harari has been treated by Cerulli¹⁷⁹ and by the present writer,¹⁸⁰ who has also examined the position of Gafat in the Ethiopic family.¹⁸¹

In the various studies and articles published about particular problems in Ethiopic grammar and etymology by Praetorius, Littmann, Conti Rossini, Cerulli, and Cohen, even if they do not bear a general title, the reader will often find treatment of the languages in general.

The problems of the laryngals and the consonantal cluster were discussed by Cohen;¹⁸² the frequentative stem in Ethiopic was treated by the present writer;¹⁸³ and the question of the trace of the dual in modern Ethiopic has been examined by Wajnberg.¹⁸⁴

The loan-words in Ethiopic and from Ethiopic are the subject of an important study by Nöldeke;¹⁸⁵ for the Indic loan-words in Ethiopic, Littmann¹⁸⁶ can be consulted; some Ethiopic and Hebrew etymologies were treated by I. Eitan;¹⁸⁷ the vocabulary common to Ethiopic, South Arabic, and Akkadian is the theme of a study by the present writer.¹⁸⁸ Compara-

¹⁷⁹ "Conclusioni storico-linguistiche," in his *Studi etiopici*, Vol. I: *Harar*, pp. 439-42.

¹⁸⁰ "Contributions à l'étude du harari, C: Position dialectale du harari," *JA*, 1937, pp. 452-57.

¹⁸¹ "The Position of Gafat in Ethiopic," *Language*, XX (1944), 56-65.

¹⁸² See n. 41.

¹⁸³ "Le Thème verbal fréquentatif dans les langues éthiopiennes," *RES* (1939), pp. 15-31.

¹⁸⁴ "Dualreste und Dualspuren im Neuabessinischen," *RO*, XII (1937), 19-23.

¹⁸⁵ "Lehnwörter in und aus dem Äthiopischen," in his *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910), pp. 31-66.

¹⁸⁶ "Indien und Abessinien," in *Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens: Festgabe Hermann Jacobi* (Bonn, 1926), pp. 406-17.

¹⁸⁷ "Ethiopic and Hebrew Etymologies," *AJSL*, XL (1924), 269-76.

¹⁸⁸ "South-East Semitic (Ethiopic and South-Arabic): Vocabulary," *JAOS*, LXIII (1943), 11-14;

¹⁷⁶ *Gafat Documents: Records of a South-Ethiopic Language: Grammar, Text, and Comparative Vocabulary* (New Haven, 1945).

¹⁷⁷ "Essai de tableau dialectal éthiopien," in his *Etudes d'éthiopien méridional*, pp. 1-52.

¹⁷⁸ "Etudes de grammaire gouragué," *BSL*, XXXIX (1938), 173-75.

tive vocabularies were published by Dillmann for Geez,¹⁸⁹ by Armbruster for Amharic,¹⁹⁰ by Cerulli for Harari,¹⁹¹ and by the present writer for Harari¹⁹² and Gafat.¹⁹³ Praetorius published many articles on Ethiopic etymologies, but of special value is his *Die amharische Sprache*, which, unfortunately, has no index.

The relation between Ethiopic and the other Semitic languages has been treated by V. Christian¹⁹⁴ (Ethiopic, South Arabic, Akkadian, and Semitic), J. Cantineau¹⁹⁵ (same subject), and Praetorius (Ethiopic and Cushitic).¹⁹⁶ The present writer has discussed the relation between

Ethiopic and South Arabic¹⁹⁷ and Ethiopic and Cushitic.¹⁹⁸

It would be beyond the limits of this article to mention all the general and detailed studies in Semitic which deal also with Ethiopic.

SUMMARY

To sum up the general situation, we may state that much has been accomplished in the field of Ethiopic linguistics but that much still remains to be done. The Semitist can gain a fairly thorough knowledge of Geez, Tigrña, Amharic, Gafat, and, in part, of Harari and Tigré, thanks to the existence of adequate grammars and dictionaries; but even for these languages (with the exception of Geez) chrestomathies are lacking. As for Guragué and Argobba, the Semitist still must await a grammatical description and dictionaries. Once these languages have been investigated and described, a comparative grammar of Ethiopic and a comparative dictionary of all the Ethiopic languages will contribute greatly to Ethiopic and Semitic linguistics.

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"Vocabulary Common to Akkadian and South-East Semitic (Ethiopic and South-Arabic)," *ibid.*, XLIV (1944), 53-58.

¹⁸⁹ *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicae* (Lipsiae, 1865).

¹⁹⁰ *Initia Amharica, Part III: Amharic-English Vocabulary* (Cambridge, 1920).

¹⁹¹ In his *Studi etiopici*, Vol. I: *Harar*, pp. 229-81.

¹⁹² "Contributions à l'étude du harari," *JA*, 1937, pp. 460-79, 529-91.

¹⁹³ In his *Gafat Documents* (1945), pp. 140-81.

¹⁹⁴ "Akkader und Südaraber als ältere Semiten-schichte," *Anthropos*, XIV-XV (1919-20), 729-39.

¹⁹⁵ "Accadien et sudarabique," *BSL*, XXXIII (1932), 175-204.

¹⁹⁶ "Hamitische Bestandteile im Äthiopischen," *ZDMG*, XLIII (1889), 317-26; "Kuschitische Bestandteile im Äthiopischen," *ibid.*, XLVII (1893), 385-94.

¹⁹⁷ "South-East Semitic (Ethiopic and South-Arabic)," *JAOS*, LXIII (1943), 4-14.

¹⁹⁸ "The Influence of Cushitic on the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia," *Word*, I (1945), 59-82.

ḤAMÔR GĀRĪM, "CASTRATED ASS"¹

SAMUEL I. FEIGIN

IN THE "Blessing" which Jacob uttered shortly before his death and in which he foretold the future of all the tribes, we find the following sentence:

Issachar is an ass *grm*,
Couching down between the sheepfolds
[Gen. 49:14].

The word *grm* is punctuated in the Massoretic text *gārem* and is supposed to be an Aramaic word meaning "bone." It is, accordingly, rendered either "bony,"² German "knochig,"³ or, metaphorically, "strong,"⁴ "sturdy."⁵

The LXX, which renders the phrase *ḥamôr gārem* by τὸ καλὸν ἐπεθύμησεν, "desired that which is good," must have had a text which read *hmd*, "desire," instead of *hmr*, "ass," and vocalized it as a perfect *hāmad*, "desired." How was obtained the phrase "that which is good"? D. C. Ginsburg is of the opinion that the word was *gāras*.⁶ According to his view, the text was emended intentionally to ḥmôr גָּרִם, but

it is hardly credible that one would invent such a phrase. The word ḥmôr comes always as a genitive of a noun in construct state (Isa. 32:12; Ezek. 23:6, 12, 23; Amos 5:11). The word גָּרָם is found only once (Ps. 119:70), and even there the meaning "desire" is doubtful. It is more likely that the change of "ass" to "desire" was merely accidental, that is, that a ḥ was miscopied as a ḡ, as in many other places in the Old Testament.⁷ Since the word *grm* following *ḥamad* was already obscure to the translator, he supplied a fitting object to be desired: "that which is good."

The Vulgate had the text of the Massorah and renders it as *asinus fortis*, "a strong ass." This, the basis of the King James Version, is retained in the Revised and American Standard versions.

The Syriac Version dropped the simile and rendered the expression as *gabhra ganbara*, "strong man," a method applied often in the Aramaic Targumim. Heller notes in connection with this phrase the rendering of Menahem, "a tall ass," and the Arabic *ragul garīm*, "a corpulent man."⁸ The Peshitta had, of course, the same Massoretic text. It merely removed the uncomplimentary comparison with an ass and retained the concrete object. The same rendering is found in the Targum Yerushalmi *shibhā taqqīph*, "a strong tribe." This rendering may have influenced the rendering of the Peshitta, which then merely replaced the "strong tribe" with a "strong man." A similar rendering is found in Onkelos *attīr benikhsīn*, "rich in property." Pseudo-

¹ I wish to thank Professors Albright, Bowman, Cameron, Von Grünebaum, Marcus, and especially Irwin for the interest they displayed in this article.

² "Issachar is a bony ass": John Skinner, *Genesis* ("International Critical Commentary" [1910]), p. 525, where Skinner explains the phrase as "strong limbed"; "Issachar is a large-boned ass": Max Landsberg, *The Holy Scripture* (Jewish Publication Society, 1917), p. 62. Of course, the "large" is read into the text.

³ "Issachar ist ein knochiger Esel": Herman Gunkel, *Genesis* ("Handkommentar zum Alten Testament", ed. N. Nowack [1902]), p. 425; "Jissachar ein Esel, knochig": Harry Torczyner, *Die Heilige Schrift neu ins Deutsche übertragen*, I (1935), 104; "Issachar wird ein knochiger Esel sein": Martin Luther, *Die Bibel, Durchgesehene Ausgabe* (1913), p. 56; however, the unaltered translation of Luther has "Issachar wird ein beiniger Esel sein."

⁴ "Issachar is a strong ass": S. R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis* ("Westminster Commentaries" [1904]), p. 387; W. H. Bennett, *Genesis* ("The Century Bible"), p. 398. This is the rendering of the King James Version, the Revised Version, and the American Standard Version.

⁵ "Issachar is a sturdy ass": Theophile J. Meek, in *The Old Testament: An American Translation* (Chicago, 1927), p. 88.

⁶ David Christian Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretic-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (1897), p. 254; he follows Abraham Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (2d ed., 1928), p. 360.

⁷ James Kennedy, *An Aid to the Textual Amendment of the Old Testament*, ed. N. Levison (Edinburgh, 1928), pp. 58-59.

⁸ Ch. Heller, *Peshitta in Hebrew Characters, with Elucidatory Notes*, Part I: *Genesis* (Berlin, 1928), p. 69, n. 12.

Jonathan combines *shebhet taqqîph*, "a strong tribe," of the Yerushalmi with *ḥamîr be'ôraithā*, "loaded with (the knowledge of the) law,"⁹ or, as Geiger and Ginsburg read it, *ḥamîd be'ôraithā*, "desires the law." If Geiger and Ginsburg's reading is correct, Pseudo-Jonathan combines here the Greek rendering, "desired that which is good," with the rendering of the Yerushalmi, "strong tribe," which must have been the Palestinian rendering. However, he replaced the ambiguous "that which is good" of the Greek with a concrete object, which is certainly good, the Law. The phrase *shebhet taqqîph*, which is Hebrew, not Aramaic, may have been a later addition.

The literal rendering of *ḥamôr gārem*, "a bony ass," was accepted by all translators, except the Greek, even if the ass and his bones disappeared from the Aramaic renderings, which treat them as a simile.

This common rendering of the versions was retained by the medieval lexicographers and commentaries. Thus the Hebrew-Arabic dictionary of David ben Abraham al-Fāsi has *המאר לו עטם*, "an ass of bone."¹⁰ Rashi explains the phrase "an ass of bones who carries the yoke of the Torah as a strong ass which is loaded with a heavy load." Rashi's explanation is the same as that of Pseudo-Jonathan, if we read the latter *ḥamîr be'ôraithā*. Ibn-Ezra's is: "He likened him to an ass which has a heavy bone." Likewise Rashbam: "He was as a strong corpulent ass," and Sforno: "An ass strong boned."¹¹

Saadia's Arabic rendering *نحس*

⁹ See Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, etc.*, I, 477; J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim* (1867), I, 267. Both Geiger and Ginsburg read *המיר*, "desires."

¹⁰ David ben Abraham al-Fāsi the Karaite (tenth century), *Kitāb Jamī' al-Ālfāz*, ed. Solomon L. Skoss, I (1936), 346.

¹¹ For the Aramaic translations and medieval commentaries see *Miqra'oth Gedoloth* to the verse.

מנפך, "Issachar as a separate body,"¹² is also based on the reading *המיר*, "ass," which he renders as *המיר*, "material," "body"; but it is not clear how he obtained the meaning "separate" for *grm*. Derenbourg suggests that it is according to the Aramaic,¹³ but he is not explicit on the matter.

All the modern commentaries render the phrase *ḥamôr gārem* "bony ass," that is, "strong ass." They explain the reference as a rebuke to Issachar: although he was strong, he preferred to work for others rather than to fight.¹⁴ The commentators are certainly correct that the purport of the "Blessing" is to rebuke the tribe of Issachar for not participating in the fight for the conquest of the land; but this contrast between Issachar's ability and his conduct is not explicit in the text; it is merely implied by the commentators. In all other cases in which Jacob likens the tribes to animals, the simile is appropriate to the conduct of the tribe mentioned. Judah is like a lion in his majesty (Gen. 49:9), Dan bites like a snake (Gen. 49:17), Benjamin is a wolf in his voracity (Gen. 49:27). We should expect also here the submissive action of Issachar as a result of being an "ass *grm*," but this is not the case if it means "bony, strong ass."

¹² J. Derenbourg, *Œuvres complètes de R. Saadia ben Josef al-Fayyūmī*, Vol. I: *Version Arabe du Pentateuque* (1893), p. 78, n. 8.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Skinner: "Issachar had strength enough, but preferred ease to exertion" (*op. cit.*, p. 526). Driver: "Issachar is a bony strong-built ass, which nevertheless instead of working, lay down. . . . in the enjoyment of ease and comfort" (*op. cit.*, p. 387). Bennett: "The strong ass, the patient, unwarlike beast of burden, is a figure of a tribe which preferred peace and comfort and plenty, to independence at the cost of risk and loss of war" (*op. cit.*, p. 398). The same Gunkel: "Issachar had Kraft genug, aber er zieht Ruhe und Behaglichkeit vor" (*op. cit.*, p. 425). However, all the commentators read into the text the contrast. H. Gratz emends the words *ḥamôr gārem* to *חמור גבורים*.

"lacking of heroes" (see H. Holzinger, *Genesis* ["Kurzer Handcommentar zum Alten Testament," ed. K. Marti (1898)], p. 259, to vs. 14). However, the emendation requires too many changes and does not make sense. Why should a tribe which lacks heroes couch among the sheepfolds?

The difficulties of the verse are obvious:

1. Why should the Aramaic *garem* be used and not the Hebrew *eṣem*, "bone"? The Hebrew word has also the implication "strong," if read *āṣām*, "mighty," while the Aramaic means only "bone." If the author intended to allude to the strength of the tribe, the Hebrew *eṣem* would be more fitting. It is true that we do find *gerem* with the meaning "bone" in the Old Testament (Prov. 17:22, 25:15; Job 40:18), but there is a long linguistic development between the "Blessing" of Jacob and the late books of the Old Testament, such as Proverbs and Job.

2. Why should the poet use *hamôr gārem* in the singular and not *hamôr gerāmîm*, "an ass of bones," in the plural?

3. A "bony" ass couching between the sheepfolds (*mishpethayim*) is not fitting. A strong ass is out of place in the sheepfolds.¹⁵

4. If the ass is bony, that is, strong, why then this inglorious end:

And he saw a resting place, that it was good
And the land that it was pleasant;
And he bowed his shoulder to bear
And became a servant under taskwork

[Gen. 49:15?]

A bony ass, that is, a strong tribe, should fight and not be submissive.¹⁶

¹⁵ The word *mishpethayim* is rendered "boundaries" (Onkelos, Pseudo-Jonathan, Yerushalmi, Rashi, Rashbam, and Luther). Saadia and Ibn-Ezra render it "lines." Sforzo explains it "the panniers on the back of the ass," from *špt*, "to place." Skinner mentions also the rendering "fire-places," "ash heaps." However, he thinks that neither "sheep-pens" nor "boundaries," "fire-places" nor "ash heaps," are suitable here. He adds: "The form is dual, and one naturally thinks of the panniers carried by an ass." This meaning, which was held by Sforzo, is also the rendering of King James Version, "between two burdens." Meek renders "ravines," but I do not see the reason for his translation.

It seems to me that the accepted rendering "sheepfolds" is certain from the passage in Judg. 5:16, where the flocks are mentioned in connection with it. This word is, accordingly, synonymous with *marbeq*, "place where sheep couch"; *marbeq*, "place where animals are bound," in order to be fattened; *mikhla*, "enclosure for sheep."

¹⁶ Against the harmonization of the commentaries (cf. n. 14) see above, p. 231.

5. The Samaritan text is *המור גרים*.¹⁷ Why such a change? In what respect is "an ass of strangers" different from an ass of a citizen?

Geiger and Ginsburg regard the Samaritan reading as the original and think that Issachar was called "ass of strangers" because he did not participate in the conquest of the land. Ginsburg even explains that because of this submissiveness he was called Issachar, which he interprets as *יִשָּׁחַר* [שָׂחַר], "he takes hire," "hireling."¹⁸ However, why should Issachar be called an "ass of strangers," if it was to the old population that he became submissive? Actually, Issachar was the stranger; he tried to force his way into the land of the old inhabitants. The main characteristic of *gêr* is that he comes from another country to dwell in the land; the term would not be applied to the indigenous inhabitants of Canaan.

The Samaritans, however, in later times understood their text to mean "the ass of strangers," with a little modification, "ass of settlers," "serfs," as is the rendering of the Samaritan Targum *המור חורבים*, which would correspond to Hebrew *המור חושבים*.¹⁹

The Samaritan is probably the original

¹⁷ August von Gall, *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner* (1914), I, 108.

¹⁸ For the various explanations of the name Issachar as *yesh sâkhâr*, "there is reward"; *ish sakhar*, "man of reward"; and *yîšša sâkhâr*, "he takes hires," see Gesenius-Buhl (16th ed.), s.v. As far as the origin of the name Issachar is concerned, the meaning "hireling" is forced. The name consists of the words "there is reward." The name is explained in the words of Leah: "Thou must come in unto me; for I have surely hired thee with my sons' mandrakes" and "God has given me my hire." The text actually states that for this reason "she called his name Issachar" (Gen. 30:16, 18). However, *yesh sâkhâr* was assimilated to *yîšsakhar* (the form still preserved by Ben Naphtali) and finally became *yissakhar*. There is no need to postulate a corruption.

¹⁹ Adolf Brüll, *Das Samaritanische Targum zum Pentateuch* (1875), p. 61. The Targum *gêr* by *tôthâbh* is found elsewhere (Gen. 16:13; Duet. 23:7). However, this rendering in Gen. 49:14 may have been necessary to remove the difficulty that Issachar was not an ass of strangers but of the old dwellers.

text, but it should not be read *gêrîm*, "strangers," but *gārîm*, a *qatîl* formation from the verb *grm*. The *qatîl* formation is common in Arabic as passive participle but is found also in Hebrew as *ʔasîr*, "captive"; *kathîth*, "beaten"; *mashîah*, "anointed"; *šalt*, "roasted"; *qalt*, "parched"; *šakhr*, "hired"; etc. This formation is the regular passive participle in Aramaic, *qtîl*.²⁰ It is true that the Hebrew dictionaries do not give a suitable meaning for this verb. In Arabic, however, the verb *garama* has the meaning "to cut," "to lop off" (a palm tree), "to shear" (sheep), "to bone" (the meat); also in Syriac *geram* has the meaning "to cut off," "cut short," usually metaphorically "to decide," especially "to decree"; also in the Targum appears the *paʿel* stem of this root *garama*, "to eat," originally "to cut in pieces" (thus *leʾekhol ʔeth bešārî* [Ps. 27:2] is rendered in Targum *legārāmā iath bisrî*, "to eat my flesh").

From the verb *gārām*, "to cut," is derived the *qatîl* formation *gārîm* meaning literally "cut," then "castrated." Thus *gārîm* would be synonymous with *nātûq*, "torn," and *kārûth*, "cut" (Lev. 22:24), which designate castrated animals.

Although the verb *garama* in Arabic has not the meaning "to castrate," yet this lack gives no reason for believing that such meaning may not occur in a cognate language, more especially when the general meaning is preserved in both. In Arabic the root has also the meaning "crime." Some may think that this meaning is based on a meaning "castrate," which was regarded as a crime. This meaning, however, developed apparently from the conception that it was a crime to cut palm trees, just as the Torah also forbade the cutting of trees which supply food in wartime (Deut. 20:19-20).

²⁰ See Carl Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (1908), I, 354, sec. 138c; M. B. Schneider, *Tôrath hallashôn behitpatthûthâh* (2d ed.: Wilna, 1927), p. 452.

Hamôr garîm is, then, "a castrated ass." An uncastrated animal is not submissive, but Issachar is likened to a castrated ass which humbly takes the yoke. He couches between the sheepfolds; he is meek as a sheep and does not kick. He is designated as a meek ass because of the poor part he played in the conquest of the land: He accepted the yoke and was subdued by the Canaanites. While all the tribes, Judah and Simon, Benjamin, the House of Joseph—namely, Manasseh and Ephraim—Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan, are enumerated in Judges, chapter 1, Issachar is not mentioned at all. Since Reuben and Gad were settled in Transjordan, Issachar is the only tribe which does not participate in the conquest.²¹

However, during the time that elapsed between the composition of the "Blessing of Jacob" and the "Song of Deborah," "the castrated ass" Issachar became a good fighter and wholeheartedly participated in the war of the Israelite tribes against the armies of Sisera (Judg. 5:15).²²

The meaning of *gārîm*, "castrated," was forgotten because the practice fell into disuse by virtue of legal prohibition, so the word was misread as if it were *gêrîm*, "strangers." Since this rendering did not make sense, it was read *gārem*, "bone." In the time when Aramaic penetrated into Hebrew it was not regarded as an anomaly.²³

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²¹ For the omission of Issachar in the conquest in Joshua and Judges, chap. 1, see Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

²² Some scholars consider the "Song of Deborah" to be earlier than the "Blessing of Jacob" (Holzinger, Bennett). Gunkel is in doubt as to which text is older, but Skinner regards this verse as older than the Song. The "Blessing of Jacob" contains an invitation to the tribe of Judah to join the visitors of Shiloh (Gen. 49:10) and predicts for him a great future (see Samuel I. Feigin, *Missirei Heavar* [1943], p. 85). In the "Song of Deborah," Judah is not even mentioned; he is not rebuked for not participating.

²³ We may ask whether Saadia's rendering of *gārem* as "separated" is not based on the meaning of the Arabic *garama* "to cut."

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE MUSEUM NOTES

EMBOSSSED PLAQUES WITH ANIMAL DESIGNS¹

THE Oriental Institute Museum recently acquired two incomplete plaques embossed with animal designs. There is no information as to their provenience, nor does the circumstance that the two plaques were joined together to form a single spurious piece when bought (Pl. VII, A) necessarily indicate that they were originally associated with each other. Both are made of thin sheets of bronze, A 26308 (Pl. VIII) being considerably more corroded than A 26307 (Pl. VII, B). The diameter of the former was approximately 11.5 cm. when complete; its boss is 1.4 cm. high. The diameter of A 26307 is approximately 11 cm.

The problems involving the provenience of our plaques, the type of object of which they once formed part, and their date can be solved only by considering the stylistic qualities of their designs and by referring to better-preserved works. Fortunately, the nature of these disks is not in doubt; they are closely paralleled by pins having large heads which are elaborately decorated and often possess a central boss.² These objects were discovered in

Luristan, in the Kuh-i-Dasht plain close to the mountain of Surkhah Dum-i-Lur.³ The broken pinheads published here must likewise have come from western Iran, possibly from the Surkhah Dum site itself.

In A 26308 the central boss and approximately half of the surrounding plaque are preserved (Pl. VIII). Originally the pinhead probably possessed two pairs of antithetical animals flanking formal plants, with the remaining space filled by two more plants (Fig. 1, A).⁴ The heraldic composition and many of the detailed forms used in the decoration were derived from Assyria, where winged bulls flanking plants are common.⁵ The animals of Plate VIII, B, are modeled after Assyrian prototypes. The type of wing displayed on the plaques is typical for Assyria, save that

C, G; Godard, Pl. XXXIV, 144-46; E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, p. 152, Fig. 274, bottom, third pin from right).

¹ The provenience given for the objects cited in the first paragraph of n. 2 is the Kuh-i-Dasht region only. However, a gold pin (*ILN*, May 31, 1941, p. 718) and two bronze ones similar to the previously published bronze pins (*MPA*, Pls. XVI, below, and XVII, above) are from Surkhah Dum, which is apparently the source for all these pins (*MPA*, p. 16). This is the site excavated by the Second Holmes Expedition to Luristan under the direction of Dr. Erich Schmidt (*Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology*, V [1938], 206-13). He has described the discovery of a building, a sanctuary, that contained hoards of objects lying within the rooms and placed between the stones of the walls. In his preliminary report, Schmidt dates the building to the first half of the first millennium B.C. and states that there occurred a number of Kassite cylinder seals, with inscriptions, which were older than the other objects (*ibid.*, pp. 208, 210).

² Only a tail, resembling those of Luristan lions (*ILN*, March 1, 1941, p. 293, Figs. 6, 8), and a tiny section of the hindquarters of a third animal are preserved. Winged lions were known in Luristan (*BMQ*, Vol. XII [1937-38], Pl. XII), and we have, therefore, used a pair of them in the hypothetical restoration of A 26308.

³ A. Moorgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, Pl. LXVII, 559 (Middle Assyrian seal); *MonNin*, Vol. I, Pls. XXVII (harness; Assurnasirpal II); XLIII, 4; XLIV, 4; XLV, 3 (all embroidery; Assurnasirpal II).

¹ The publication of these plaques as the second Museum Note was suggested by Mr. P. Delougaz, curator of the Oriental Institute Museum. Discussions with him and with Professor Henri Frankfort have been of great assistance. Besides the usual abbreviations, the following additional ones are used:

BMQ = *British Museum Quarterly*
Godard = A. GODARD, *Bronzes du Luristan* (*Ars Asiatica*, Vol. XVII [1931])
ILN = *Illustrated London News*
MonNin = H. LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*
MPA = A. U. POPE, *Masterpieces of Persian Art*
SPA = A. U. POPE (ed.), *The Survey of Persian Art*

² *ILN*, May 6, 1939, pp. 790-91, Figs. 2, 3, 5, 7-10; *ILN*, March 1, 1941, p. 293, Figs. 4-6, 9; *MPA*, Pl. XVI, below.

Mr. A. U. Pope and Dr. Phyllis Ackerman consider these objects to represent a tradition distinct from that of Luristan proper (*ILN*, May 6, 1939, p. 791; *MPA*, pp. 15-16). It is noteworthy, however, that several large Luristan pins, decorated in repoussé, have been published (Legrain, *Luristan Bronzes in the University Museum*, Pl. VI, 19; *SPA*, Vol. IV, Pl. LX,

PLATE VII



A

THE TWO FRAGMENTS JOINED BEFORE CLEANING



B

A 26307 AFTER CLEANING. SCALE 1:1

PLATE VIII



A



B

TWO VIEWS OF A 26308 AFTER CLEANING. SCALE 1:1

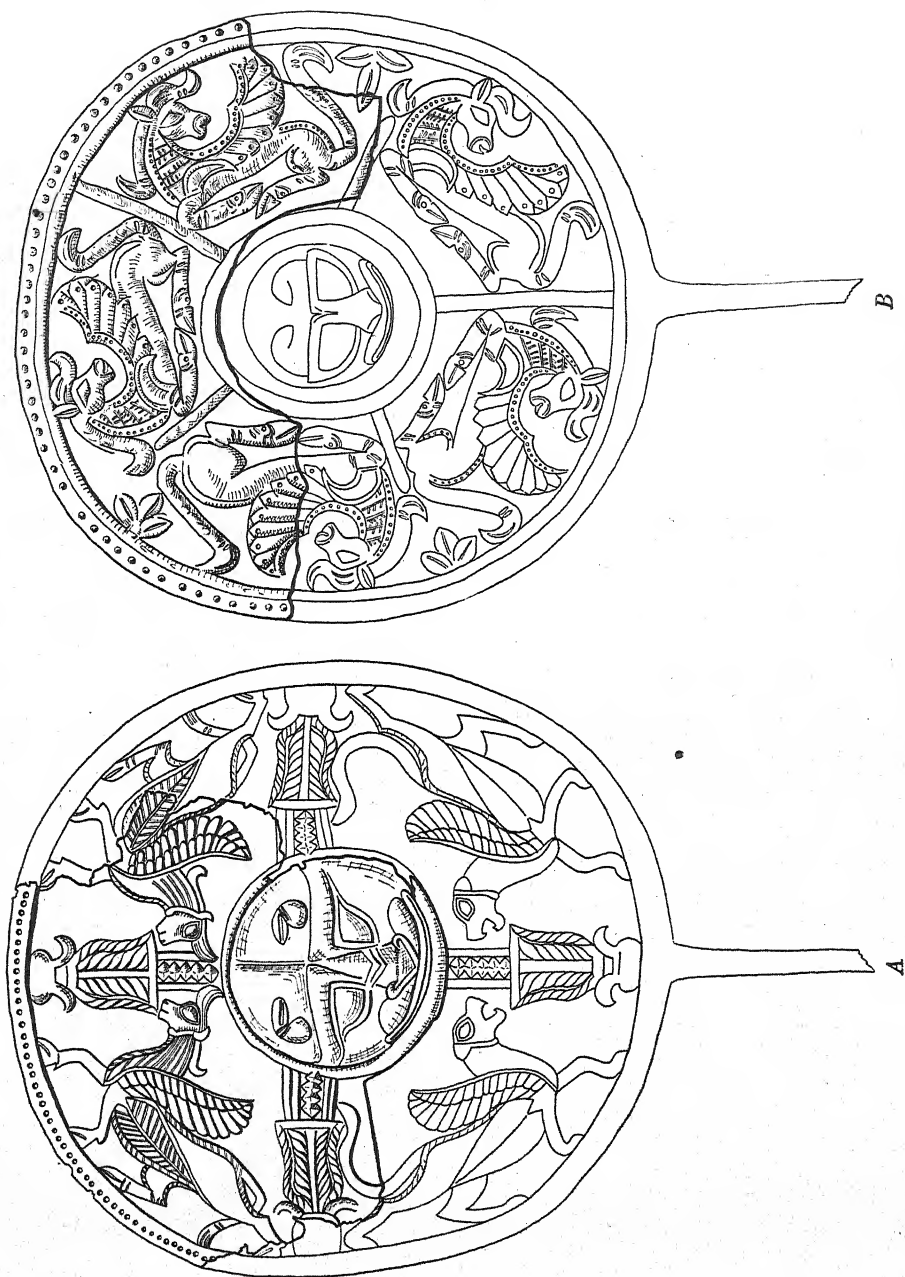


FIG. 1.—Tentative restorations of the animal designs. Scale 3:4

the lower edge and tip are somewhat more curved on A 26308. The hatched areas placed below the wings on the bulls of our pin are ornamental features apparently developed by a misunderstanding of the stylized ribs present in certain Assyrian animals.⁶ The hand of the Luristan craftsman reveals itself in the large bulging eyes and the prominent use of hatched borders. The awkwardness of the body, especially the hindquarters, the disproportion between body and legs, and the mincing gait may be interpreted as tokens of the difficulty experienced by a provincial artist in producing a design adapted to a circular surface. Further indication of the peripheral nature of A 26308 is yielded by the plant motive, which has become so bastardized as no longer to possess close resemblance to typical Assyrian forms. Nevertheless, proof of its Assyrian origin is given by the curved elements emerging from a globular base. The former represent the "calyx" with downcurving sides present in many formal Assyrian vegetal designs. The base corresponds to the peak from which such plants often spring.⁷ The upper portions of the plant in Plate VIII, B, may be considered as degraded elements corresponding in a general manner to the upturned volute and palmette foliage of Assyria but not demonstrably derived from them.

The center of A 26308 is paralleled by the bosses on two of the bronze "Kuh-i-Dasht" pins,⁸ by the double-bodied lion decorating another pin of that group,⁹ and by a gold ap-

pliqué from Salmas in Azerbaijan.¹⁰ Rounded ears project above the beetling brows that form a thick horizontal line broken only slightly by the upper part of the nose. The latter is the most variable feature. In A 26308 and in the Azerbaijan appliqué, which displays a particularly close similarity to the lion of our pin, the nose has a broad cordate end with flaring nostrils. In all these heads the large eyes display a characteristic triangular shape.¹¹ The remainder of the face consists of the bulging cheek and muzzle areas. Certain of the features just cited, notably the stylization of the eyes and cheeks, connect Plate VIII—and the group of objects related to it—with the lion heads serving as zoömorphie junctures between the sockets and blades of Luristan axes and daggers¹² and with other lion heads worked in the round.¹³ These relationships suggest that all such works may be considered as products of a single tradition of craftsmanship.

Although in A 26308 and related pins the lion head has been reduced to a flattened mask, its occurrence as the center of a circular object recalls the shields characterized by a plastic lion head projecting from the center. Assyria, where such objects are known only from reliefs, seems to have been the focus from which they were diffused.¹⁴ In the West the type spread as far as Crete.¹⁵ Reliefs of Sargon II showing the plundering of the temple at Musasir indicate that such shields had been introduced to Van and had continued to be used there even after falling out of fashion in Assyria itself.¹⁶ These shields may have been con-

⁶ C. J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, Pl. VI (bull; obelisk of Assurnasirpal II); E. W. Budge, *Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum, Reign of Ashurnasir-pal*, Pl. L, 2 (bull and goat).

The large curl falling backward from the ear in Pl. VIII, B, may possibly be related to those occurring on a horse (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XX [1940], 23, Fig. 38) and a bull (H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XXXI, k) during Middle Assyrian times. The apparent absence of Late Assyrian examples is disturbing, as it is inconceivable that the Luristan curls could have been derived directly from Middle Assyrian prototypes.

⁷ F. Lajard, *Recherches sur le culte et les mystères de Mithra en Orient et en Occident*, Atlas, Pl. XLIX, 9; L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux* (Musée du Louvre), Vol. II, Pl. LXXXIX, 701; Moortgat, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXIII, 608; *MonNin*, Vol. I, Pl. XXXIX, A.

⁸ *ILN*, May 6, 1939, p. 790, Fig. 8; p. 791, Fig. 9.

⁹ *ILN*, March 1, 1941, p. 293, Fig. 6.

¹⁰ *ILN*, May 31, 1941, p. 718, Fig. 3 (= MPA, Pl. VII, above).

¹¹ In our Pl. VIII, A, B, the circles appearing in the ear, eye, and muzzle on the more broken side of the boss are caused by the modern rivets with which the boss was repaired before its purchase.

¹² Godard, Pl. XXIII, 68; *SPA*, Vol. IV, Pl. L, A; *BMQ*, Vol. XII (1937-38), Pl. XII.

¹³ *SPA*, Vol. IV, Pls. L, E, and LI, B.

¹⁴ For discussion of this shield type cf. E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, pp. 61-63. Cf. *MonNin*, Vol. I, Pls. XIII, XVIII, XXI, XXVII (Assurnasirpal II); L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, Pls. XIX, LXXIV.

¹⁵ Kunze, *op. cit.*, Pls. IV, 3; VI, 4; XXV, 9; XXVI, 10; XXVIII, 11; XXIX, 12-16; LII, a, b.

¹⁶ P. E. Botta and E. N. Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, Vol. II, Pls. CXL, CXLI.

nected with the Luristan lion masks. The former may possibly have been the prototypes which stimulated the development of lion bosses in Iran. Unfortunately, such a hypothesis cannot be proved from the scanty material at our disposal. Moreover, the appearance of bosses with human faces provides some indication that both types of masks may have been indigenous in Luristan.¹⁷

The Luristan lion masks possess a successor on one of the gold medallions from the Oxus Treasure, a piece dated to the fifth century B.C.¹⁸ Here, however, the form is completely different from that of Plate VIII and its peers. The Achaemenid head is rendered in a Hellenized style. An intermediary between it and Luristan works may be found in a gold pin, said to be from Surkhah Dum, which is of the same type as the bronze ones but is finished in a different manner and can be considered to belong to the Achaemenid period.¹⁹

The comparisons cited for A 26308 delimit its chronological position fairly closely. It is one of the objects illustrating the strong influence exerted by Late Assyria upon the art of its mountainous neighbors²⁰ and can, therefore, be assigned a general range covering the ninth to seventh centuries B.C. Some evidence can be cited to indicate that the plaque was probably

¹⁷ *ILN*, May 6, 1939, p. 791, Figs. 6, 10; *ILN*, March 1, 1941, p. 293, Figs. 4-6.

¹⁸ O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus* (2d ed., 1926), p. 17; Pl. XII, 40.

¹⁹ *ILN*, May 31, 1941, p. 718, Fig. 2. The refined, smoothly finished workmanship closely resembles that of Achaemenid metal products. The elegant vegetal frieze contrasts strikingly with the coarser ones on Luristan pins (for references cf. n. 20). The elongated palmettes are similar to those on a fifth century "Perso-Greek" rhyton in the British Museum (*SPA*, Vol. IV, Pl. CXIV = Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus* [1st ed., 1905], p. 118 f; Pl. XXII). The gold pin's lion mask varies from those already discussed in the disappearance of the heavy eyebrows, and the thick root of the nose. The whole boss is suggestive of a later stage of development than that represented by Pl. VIII, A, B, and the Azerbaijan appliqué.

²⁰ Situlas with scenes carried out in Assyrian style: A. Moortgat, *Bronzegerät aus Luristan*, Pl. VIII, 23; Godard, Pl. LXIV, 228; *SPA*, Vol. IV, Pls. LXIX, A-C; LXX, B, D, LXXI, A-D; LXXII, A-D. The only example with provenience comes from Zalu-ab, thirty kilometers northeast of Kirmanshah (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6^e Sér., X [1933], 133, Figs. 13, 14). Objects with Assyrianizing plant designs: Moortgat, *Bronzegerät*, Pl. VI, 16; *ILN*, May 6, 1939, p. 790, Fig. 8; Godard, Pls. XXXIV, 145, and LXIII, 226.

made during the latter part of this period. There is, in the first place, the similarity between A 26308 and the gold "Surkhah Dum" pin. The latter, which is presumably Achaemenid in date, can hardly be separated from our pin by a period of several centuries. In the second place, the lion mask on a silver dagger hilt in the British Museum possesses some features connecting it with Plate VIII. The British Museum piece has been assigned to the seventh, or possibly the sixth, century B.C. by Gadd on the basis, chiefly, of the form of the hilt.²¹ This provides corroborative evidence as to the chronological position of A 26308. Accordingly, on the basis of stylistic comparisons, the most likely date for that pin appears to be the seventh century B.C. In addition, the existence of certain unpublished objects bearing fragmentary designs comparable to that of A 26308 and found in the Surkhah Dum sanctuary, tentatively assigned by Dr. Erich Schmidt to the eighth-seventh centuries B.C., provides further indication as to the date of this pin.²²

Since A 26307 is not a member of the well-defined Assyrianizing group, it constitutes a greater problem than the first pinhead. It possesses a close parallel in a "Kuh-i-Dasht" pin having a lion boss and two pairs of couchant, antithetical bulls, each animal being completely separated from the next by a vertical partition.²³ The design of A 26307 did not consist of antithetical groups, but probably of five bulls, all with their bodies facing the same direction (Fig. 1, B).²⁴ Simple trefoil plants serve as occasional filling motives. The beasts of Plate VII, B, display many stylistic similarities with those on the "Kuh-i-Dasht" pin just cited: in general posture, in the way in which their bodies conform to an invisible straight ground line rather than to the curved outline of the central boss, and in details such as the conformation of the head and

²¹ *BMQ*, XII (1937-38), 37-38.

²² I am indebted to Dr. Erich Schmidt for permitting me to examine the unpublished photographs of these objects and to refer to them here.

²³ *ILN*, May 6, 1939, p. 791, Fig. 9.

²⁴ The center of A 26307 has been restored as a small lion boss, modeled after those shown in *ILN*, May 6, 1939, p. 790, Fig. 8; p. 791, Fig. 9.

the treatment of the knee joint. However, the bulls of Plate VII, B, are more closely paralleled by lions on the British Museum hilt already cited. These animals also have thin, lithe bodies and clumsy legs. The same decorative schematization of the body was used on both A 26307 and the hilt. The shoulders are given a characteristic crescentic shape. The edges of many parts of the body are emphasized by a border, and the neck is broken up into registers. Despite considerable difference in detail, the same characters are clearly to be seen on an elaborate harness (?) pendant²⁵ and on a fragmentary pinhead, the latter from Surkhah Dum.²⁶ Other Luristan objects, too, are decorated by animals sharing in some of these stylistic features,²⁷ but these works just cited stand out as members of a very consistent and closely related group.

The fact that A 26307 is part of an elaborate pin comparable to A 26308 and the similarity of the former's decoration to that on the British Museum hilt indicate that the plaque in question probably does not antedate the seventh century B.C. In addition, there exists evidence that A 26307 is probably later than that century. On Plate VII, B, the upper outline

²⁵ Godard, Pl. XLVIII, 1-2.

²⁶ MPA, Pl. XVII, above.

²⁷ The horizontal bands of the neck recur on an ibex of one of the "Kuh-i-Dashit" pieces (JLN, March 1, 1941, p. 293, Fig. 9). Variants of the crescentic fore-shoulder appear on the same ibex and on the lions of another pinhead (*ibid.*, p. 293, Fig. 6).

of the wings displays a marked concavity that is in sharp contrast to the wing form used in Plate VIII, B. Wings with concave upper edges constitute one of the distinctive characteristics developed by early Greek art, whence it was borrowed by Phrygian²⁸ and Achaemenid artists.²⁹ At Persepolis, besides the animals whose wings have a simple concave curve,³⁰ there also occurs a bull possessing a notched concave wing that must likewise have been developed on the basis of Hellenic inspiration.³¹ Since this notched wing used at Persepolis is comparable to the wings in Plate VII, B, it seems likely that Achaemenid works were the sources from which the wing shape of A 26307 and of a number of other Luristan bronzes³² was borrowed. Accordingly, this second pinhead should probably not be dated earlier than the sixth century B.C.

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²⁸ F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, pp. 15, 90-91, 103, 114.

²⁹ *Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten*, Vol. III (1939), Pls. XXIV-XXVII, XXXIII.

³⁰ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXIII; *OIC*, No. 21, p. 28, Fig. 15; p. 39, Fig. 3, PT4 650, PT4 652; p. 40, Fig. 24, PT4 451.

³¹ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, Pl. LIX, right.

³² Godard, Pl. XLIII, 171, Moortgat, *Bronzegerät*, Pl. II, 6; *SPA*, Vol. IV, Pls. XXXII, A, B, XXXIV, A, B.

CORPUS OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN SEALS

The Iranian Institute in New York, the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and the Yale Babylonian Collection have agreed to sponsor jointly a Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals. The Corpus is meant to include all seals preserved in the United States and Canada. The project has been privately financed and a committee elected, of which Professor Albrecht Goetze of Yale University is the chairman and Professor Henri Frankfort of the University of Chicago the vice-chairman.

As a first step toward the realization of the project it is proposed to catalogue and to photograph all the unpublished seals that can be located. Ultimate publication of the accumulating file in the form of a book is contemplated.

The co-operation of all owners of seals, private collectors as well as museums, is invited. They are asked to communicate with the chairman of the committee, Professor Albrecht Goetze, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

BOOK REVIEWS

Light from the Ancient Past: The Archaeological Background of the Hebrew-Christian Religion. By JACK FINEGAN. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946. Pp. xxxiv + 500. \$5.00.

Because of the supreme importance of the Bible in Western civilization, biblical studies have naturally had more popularization than other fields of humanistic interest. But the level of popularization in this field has probably not been so high as it should have been. For that reason scholars are always happy when a first-rate work on biblical antiquities is published. Dr. Finegan's book belongs to this select group and fully deserves the high praise bestowed on it by Professor W. F. Albright, whose words are quoted on the dust-jacket.

An archeological handbook should have the following qualities to earn a place on the reserve shelf of a university course: it should be up to date, accurate, comprehensive, clear, and interesting, and it should have well-chosen and clear pictures and useful maps. All these qualities are found in the present work.

The book is divided into two roughly equal parts. The first covers the period of the Old Testament; the second, that of the New Testament. The four sections of the first are entitled: "Mesopotamian Beginnings," "The Panorama of Egypt," "Penetrating the Past in Palestine," and "Empires of Western Asia—Assyria, Chaldea, and Persia." Sections 5-9 are entitled: "The Holy Land in the Time of Jesus," "Following Paul the Traveler," "Manuscripts Found in the Sand," "Exploring the Catacombs and Studying the Sarcophagi," and "The Story of Ancient Churches."

These headings give a fair notion of the range of materials included. Where ancient oriental documents are quoted, the translation is usually based on the work of competent scholars. Where excavations are described, the site is so clearly and discriminatingly pictured

that any nonarcheologist can find his way about it.

In fields in which important new finds have been made, or a re-working of older materials has led to considerable revision of prevailing views, Finegan has supplied reliable though necessarily brief information about these revisions and discoveries—for example, the myths of Ugarit, the new historical material from Mari, the chronology of Israelite history, synagogues of the Roman period, social and religious documents among the papyri, early Christian inscriptions, etc. In a word, Finegan has proved himself a worthy disciple of his eminent teacher, Hans Lietzmann.

The slips and inaccuracies in detail noted by the reviewer are remarkably few. Among the suggestions for correction or change the following may be offered. Rodkinson's so-called "translation" of the Babylonian Talmud is hardly worth referring to. The Soncino Press translation should be cited. Lewis Browne's journalistic and thirdhand *Graphic Bible* seems a strange book to be quoted by a writer like Finegan, who undoubtedly knows much more about the subject than Browne. On page 127 Finegan's genealogy of the alphabet might be improved. The statement on page 243 that the mishnaic tractate Middoth is to be found in the section Kadashim of the Babylonian Talmud might lead an innocent reader to suppose that there is no such section in the Mishnah itself. The Roman governor of Judea in A.D. 132 was Tineius (not Timeius) Rufus, as the name is given on page 250. Apollo's epithet *Patroos*, mentioned on page 274, means "of the fathers," not "father." There seems to be a slip on page 246, where the date January 20, 1624, is equated with January 30, 1625; the Gregorian and Julian calendars are not so far apart as this statement indicates. These are the only errors noted by the reviewer, who is greatly impressed by the author's near-infallibility. Of course, some re-

cent works might have been added to the bibliographical footnotes, but of the citing of books there is no end. *Bene scripsit!*

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Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul. By S. N. KRAMER. "Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research," Vol. XXIII (1944).

Sumerian literature (like Akkadian) is still in the stage of having to be pieced together from numerous clay tablets, owing to breakage or damage caused by the elements. To reassemble and fill the gaps in the extant material is a prime prerequisite for advanced studies in this field, since the grammatical and syntactical structure of Sumerian is so intricate and so utterly at variance with Semitic and Indo-European languages that a complete text is an absolute necessity for getting at the sense of the material. Even if the text is complete, additional duplicates usually contribute a sufficient amount of variants to elucidate or uncover the writer's intent. This volume by Kramer therefore forms a valuable contribution, particularly where it adds to or supplements the epics, myths, hymns, lamentations, and "wisdom" compositions previously published. A wealth of references to duplicates increases its usefulness.

The worth of even small fragments is exemplified by the epical fragment of Lugalbanda, No. 2. Its content partly fills the gap of "Zu's" reply in *SEM*, Nos. 2+4, obv. II and rev. I (= *SLiT*, No. 2, obv. 12). Another striking example of the importance of a small fragment is furnished by text No. 9, a part of the Ninurta epic. The remnants of the nine lines of the reverse are just sufficient to show that they duplicate some material of Ashurbanipal's library at Kuyundjik, published by Meek in *AJSL*, XXXV, 140 (Th 1905-4-9, 10+12) to which belongs also the fragment Th 1905-4-9,

394(1) at the bottom of pages 143-44. This, furthermore, led to an identification of *SEM*, Nos. 44 obv. and 45 obv. as additional duplicates. These texts were already suspected of being a part of the Ninurta epic; fragment No. 9 in conjunction with *KAR*, No. 17, changes this uncertainty and allows us to assign all these texts to the "third" tablet of the epic, which comprises in the whole story approximately lines 91-134.

The importance of the epics and myths can easily be gauged from Kramer's *Sumerian Mythology*, in which a descriptive presentation of all outstanding material is given, and from lectures of Dr. Jacobsen in a series on ancient speculative thought, in which an attempt is made to evaluate these literary remains and work out the ideas and thoughts of the Sumerians and their cosmogony underlying these stories.

The religious field is represented by hymns to the more important gods and goddesses. Besides this group we find also some so-called "royal hymns" in honor of the kings of the Third Ur Dynasty and the succeeding kings of Isin and Larsa. To the duplicates of Nos. 81-83, a Shulgi hymn, should also be added Chiera, *SLT*, No. 115 (=ll. 9-16), and *PBS*, XII, Part 1, No. 37 (ll. 79-84, 99 ff.). A special subdivision are the hymns to temples, particularly the collection Nos. 88-89, enumerating the most important centers of the various gods and goddesses of Sumer. A checkup of the additional duplicate *PBS*, X, Part 2, No. 8 rev., may dissolve the uncertainty of the god's name after the hymn to the temple of Eulmaš (No. 36). It probably refers to Zababa, as Kramer suggests.

Lamentations and "tablet-house" compositions conclude this group of texts. To enlarge our knowledge of the first beginnings, let us hope for more publications and also translations of such Sumerian texts, so that the material may become available for further study.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE TERM *MĪNĀ* AND ITS MEANINGS

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ONE of the many neglected subjects of Islamic art is the study of its terminology. A systematic investigation of various technical terms employed during the medieval centuries and recorded in literary sources promises not only to throw light upon some clouded problems of arts and crafts but also to disclose some important cultural aspects of the Islamic Near East. To demonstrate this point, I propose to discuss in brief the term *mīnā*, its origin, its place in religion and cosmogony, its multiple meanings, and its application in art.

Up to now no attempt has been made to explain why this word, the etymological origin of which goes back to the Aves-

tic period of Iran, was employed to denote enamel—the vitreous material united with metal by the process of firing. It has been known, however, since the pioneering studies of P. Horn, that *mīnā* of the New Persian vocabulary is derived from the Avestic *mainyava-*, meaning “spiritual” and “heavenly,” the nominal form of which is *mainyū*.¹ Retained in the Middle Persian as *mēnōk*,² it passed into New Persian and was spelled *mīnō* but frequently written *mīnā*. In the literature of the Islamic period the word signified—besides its original meaning of “heaven”—“paradise”³ and, what is of importance for the thesis promulgated here, “emerald.” Because of the inadequacy of liter-

¹ *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie* (Strassburg, 1893), p. 227, and his “Neupersische Schriftsprache,” in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (Strassburg, 1895–1904), I, 185. Cf. also H. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien* (Strassburg, 1894), p. 100, and C. Bartholomae, “II. Awestasprache und altpersisch,” in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*; I, 228. The opinion of P. de Lagarde, *Beiträge zur baktrischen Lexikographie* (Leipzig, 1868), p. 47, that the word *mīnā* is etymologically related to *minu* of the Avesta, meaning “trinket” or “necklace,” must be considered invalid. The correct form of the Avestic word as C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg, 1905), cl. 1186, showed is *minav-* and not *minu*. Lagarde’s etymological explanation has been adopted by such outstanding scholars as N. P. Kondakoff, *Geschichte und Denkmäler des byzantinischen Emails* (Frankfurt am Main, 1892), p. 79, and B. Laufer, *The Beginnings of Porcelain in China* (Chicago, 1917), p. 126, n. 1.

² C. Salemann, “Mittelpersisch,” in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I, 273.

³ Asadī, *Lughat-i Furs*, ed. P. Horn (*Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* [“Philologisch-historische Klasse”], I [N.F., 1897], 111): “*mīnō* is paradise.” The same definition is also given by Fakhri-i Isfahānī, *Mi‘yār al-Jamālī*, ed. C. Salemann (Kazan, 1885), p. 115, 1, and by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Bagh-dādī, *Lughat-i Shāh-Nāme*, ed. C. Salemann (St. Petersburg, 1895), p. 212. Firdawsī used the word in the meaning of both “paradise” and “heaven” (see *Shāh-Nāme*, ed. J. Mohl [Paris, 1830–79], II, 172, 12; III, 278, 17; and IV, 222, 3).

ary monuments of the Avestic and the Middle Persian periods, we are not informed from firsthand sources whether the word was employed, during those periods likewise, to denote the precious stone mentioned. There are, however, certain affirmative evidences that such was the case, at least, in the Middle Persian. A number of accounts to this effect are found in Chinese literary sources dating from as early as the Wei dynastic period (A.D. 220-64). The occurrence in these sources of a word transcribed as *mu-nan-chu*,⁴ *mu-nan*, or *mo-nan* is well known to Sino-logues and has been variously interpreted. The oldest of these accounts is a poem by Ts'ao Tzū-chien, entitled "The Beauty" and composed sometime during the third century. The couplet in which the word is mentioned reads: "Around her brilliant body glitters the pearl, among the corals shines the *mu-nan*."⁵ It is evident that the word *mu-nan* has been employed in this couplet to denote a precious stone of some kind. The clue to its identity is found in an account dating from the period of the Eastern Chin Dynasty. In a passage quoted from the *Nan-yüeh-chih* by Shên Huai-yüan in the *T'ung-tien* composed between the years 766 and 801 by Tu Yu, it has been stated that "the *mu-nan-chu* is a green stone which is condensed from the saliva gathering in the beak of the *chin-ch'ih* bird," and, what is of considerable importance, that it is a product of Ta-ch'in,⁶ which is the Chinese name given to the Roman Orient.

It is of interest to observe that the view

about "the green stone" as being formed of the saliva of a fabulous bird is the Chinese version of the Indian mythological lore concerning the origin of emerald. In the treatise on lapidary by Buddhahatṭa entitled *Ratnaparīkṣā*, the episode of the creation of this precious stone has been depicted in the following manner :

Avec la bile du roi des Dâvanas s'en allait en hâte Vâsuki, roi des Serpents, coupant, pour ainsi dire, le ciel en deux. Pareil à un immense pont d'argent brisé, il se reflétait dans la vaste mer que le joyau de sa tête incendiait de sa splendeur. Alors, avec un battement d'ailes qui semblait embrasser le ciel et la terre, Garuḍa s'avança dans le ciel pour l'attaquer. Aussitôt l'Indra des Serpents laissa tomber la bile au pied de la montagne reine de la terre, où les arbres *uruṣkas* ruissellent d'encens, où des forêts de lotus embaument la terre de leur parfum. Dès qu'elle fut tombée, cet endroit de la terre situé au delà du pays de Barbara, sur les confins du désert, près du rivage de la mer, devint par elle une mine d'émeraudes. Garuḍa saisit dans son bec une partie de la bile qui était tombée là: mais soudain, pris de défaillance, il la rejeta sur la montagne, par les trous des narines.⁷

The location of the emerald mine in a mountain in the country of Barbara, situated in the confines of a desert, near the shore of a sea, is a vague reference to the famous Egyptian deposit which was the only known source of the emerald before and during the Middle Ages. Islamic authors place this mine in Upper Egypt in the neighborhood of Aswān and expressly indicate it as being the only existing mine

⁴ The last part of the word, *chu*, signifies "bead" or "gem."

⁵ This and the following two Chinese accounts have been discussed in the highly interesting paper of Kurakichi Shiratori, "The *Mu-nan-chu* of Ta-ch'in and the Chintāmaṇi of India," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, XI (1939), 4 ff.

Loc. cit.

⁷ Not being able to read the original text, I quote its French rendering by L. Finot, *Les Lapidaires indiens* ("Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes: Sciences philologiques et historiques," Fasc. 111 [Paris, 1896]), pp. 33-34; cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 123-24.

in the world.⁸ Thus also the geographical element of the Chinese account, in locating the source of "the green stone" in Ta-ch'in, corresponds to that of Indian mythology and, as a matter of fact, to the information offered by the Islamic geographers.

Kurakichi Shiratori was the first among the modern writers on the subject to recognize in *mu-nan* (or *mo-nan*) the Chinese transcription of the Persian word for emerald. After pointing out that the character standing for the last part of the word during the period of the accounts presented was pronounced *nan* as well as *na* (thus *mu-na*, or *mo-na*), the author rightly concludes that "the emerald was introduced into China probably by some Iranian people such as the Bactrians or the Soghdians, hence was known in China by its Persian name."⁹ This identification by Shiratori finds further confirmation in the statement of Yang Shên's *Nan chao ye shi*, written in the year 1550, according to which the *mu-nan* of ancient literary writings is the stone called, during his own time, *tsie-ma-lu*. As Laufer pointed out, this last Chinese word is a transcription of *zumurrud*,¹⁰ a word itself derived from

σμάραγδος. Thus we gain fairly safe ground to assume that the word under discussion was already applied to emerald during the period of the Middle Persian language.

Instances of the employment of *mīnō* to mean emerald in the Islamic-Persian literature are numerous. Some illustrative examples are contained in the poems of Nizāmī-i Genjawi. The best known among these is the couplet: "*zabarjad* by the assload and *mīnō* by the maund; sheets of gold (and) Yamanian coats of mail." 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, who quoted this couplet, defined the word *mīnō* as "glaze."¹¹ As we shall see later, *mīnā* was actually applied also to signify glaze, but in this particular case it undoubtedly means emerald. First of all, the mention of such a cheap material as glaze, among precious stone, gold, and much-valued coats of mail of Yaman is an utter impossibility. Second, the appearance of the word *zabarjad* next to *mīnō* is a definite indication that the latter has been used by the poet to mean emerald. *Zabarjad* is another Islamic term for this precious stone. In the expert opinions of such authoritative writers as al-Bīrūnī¹² and Nāṣir

⁸ Al-Iṣṭakhri, *Masālik al-Mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1870), p. 51, 1; Ibn Hawqal, *Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1873), p. 99, 1. For the later centuries see al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 22, 4, and al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aṣḥā fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1331-38), III, 286. Remains of extensive emerald workings have been observed in Jabal Sikait and Jabal Zabara, both situated east of Aswān, near the coast of the Red Sea. In the old continents emerald also occurs, outside of Egypt, in the Urals, but its discovery is of recent date (see M. Bauer, *Precious Stones* [London, 1904], p. 317).

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁰ Quoted by B. Laufer, *The Diamond: A Study in Chinese and Hellenistic Folk-Lore* (Chicago, 1915), p. 70, n. 3. Other Chinese transcriptions of *zumurrud* are: *ču-mu-la*, *tsu-mu-lū* and *tsie-mu-lu* (see Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* [Chicago, 1919], pp. 518-19).

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*:

زبرجد بخردار و مینو بن
در قوی زر در عوای بن

¹² *Kitāb al-Jamāhir fī Ma'rifat al-Jawāhir*, ed. F. Krenkow (Haydarabad, 1335), p. 160, 14.

al-Dīn Tūsī,¹³ it was applied to the best and rarest kind. Hence the poet wanted simply to make a distinction between the ordinary emerald, *mīnō*, and that of the best quality, *zabarjad*. Moreover, the reason for using *mīnō* instead of *zumurrud* can be explained by the metric character of the verse.

Another couplet by the same poet is an apt example. In a descriptive passage of *Haft Paykar* it has been said: "This valuable garden of *mīnō* color, which was acquired with the blood of the heart."¹⁴ The use of the word *reng* ("color") in connection with *mīnō* shows without the slightest doubt that the poet depicts the emerald

hue of a garden, an expression which is not alien even to our own poetic concept of today. Moreover, it is of particular significance for the thesis promulgated here that the heaven was frequently pictured in the Persian literature as having the color of emerald. Nizāmī-i Genjawi offers again a conclusive example: "In the morning that *mīnā* colored heavenly sphere, blew upon the stone a dust of ruby."¹⁵

In view of the evidences presented we may question the reasons for calling heaven and emerald by one and the same name and for considering the color of the heaven to be of emerald green. The answers to these questions must be sought in

¹³ *Tansūkh Nāmeh*, fol. 31a, 3:

بعضی گفته اند زبرجد جوهری بوده است که از زمرد بهتر بود و اکنون موجود
نیست و درست تر آنست که بهترین انواع زمرد را زبرجد خوانده اند

i.e.: "Some have said that *zabarjad* has been a precious stone which was of better quality than *zumurrud* and at present is nonexistent. The truth is, however, that the best kind of *zumurrud* has been called *zabarjad*." I wish to express my indebtedness to the Cambridge University Library Syndicate for the microfilm of the manuscript of this important work, belonging to the late Professor E. G. Browne, and for their kind permission to publish any passage I may desire.

¹⁴ Ed. H. Ritter and J. Rypka ("Archiv orientální Monografie," Vol. III [Prague, 1934]), p. 210, couplet No. 256:

این گرانمایه باغ مینو رنگ که بخون دل آلودست بپنگ

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 190, couplet No. 221:

بامدادان که چرخ مینا رنگ گرد پاخوت بردمید بنگ

C. E. Wilson, *The Haft Paykar (The Seven Beauties)* (London, 1924), I, 183, translated *mīnā* of this couplet as "azure," which is, of course, free interpretation. There is a verse by the famous fifteenth-century statesman and poet, 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, in which the word *mīnā* has been used in an analogous combination. It reads:

انصاف بده ای فلک مینا فام

i.e., "Give justice, O celestial sphere of *mīnā fām*" (quoted by Vinzenz Edlem v. Rosenzweig, *Biographische Notizen über Mevlana Abdurrahman Dschami nebst Übersetzungsproben aus seinen Diwanen* [Vienna, 1840], fol. 176). The word *fām* joined to nouns implies the color. Thus *mīnā fām* means "emerald-color."

the cosmogonical concept of the Iranian. It is a well-known fact that, according to the primeval concept of the Aryans, the heaven was made of stone. This is not the place, however, to go into detailed discussion of the subject, which has been dealt with by H. Reichelt in his learned paper, "Der steinerne Himmel."¹⁶ Hence I need not repeat his linguistic and mythological evidences, except for a few pertaining to our thesis.

The concept of the stone-heaven finds its perpetuation in Yasht 30:5 of the Avesta in the expression "the holiest Spirit, which wears the hard heaven as a garment."¹⁷ Most certainly the characterization of heaven as being hard is a deduction from its stony nature. Moreover, this concept manifests itself in the Avestic word *asan-* (= *asman-*), which signifies "heaven" as well as "stone."¹⁸

Also in the *Bundahishn* we encounter the echo of this ancient Aryan cosmogonical view. One of the spurs of Harburz,¹⁹ the holy mountain of the Iranians, namely, Mount Ōsindām, is said to be "of bloodstone, of which the substance of the heaven consists."²⁰ In the Middle Persian

cosmogony the substance of heaven has been referred to as being of bloodstone. There is, however, an apparent exception in *Dāstān-i dēnīk*, in which the heaven has been described as "stone, the hardest and handsomest of all stones."²¹

After consideration of these data, it will be permissible to assume that the relation between the heaven and emerald, both signified by one and the same word, should also be looked for in the Iranian cosmogony. It seems more than probable that this particular view, namely, of the heaven being made of emerald, was expressed in some now nonexistent writing of the pre-Islamic period. An unmistakable allusion to this effect is the Islamic tradition concerning the creation of the heavens. One of the earliest records of this tradition is found in the writing of the tenth-century encyclopedist, Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī. Here is the passage: "Wahb relates from Salmān al-Fārisī: God created the world's heaven (the first heaven) of green emerald and called it *birqī*; the second heaven of white silver and gave it also a name; the third of ruby, and he (Wahb) enumerated seven heavens

¹⁶ *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XXXII (1913), 23 ff. I wish to thank Dr. Bernard Geiger for calling my attention to this article.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*: *minyūš spenīštō yō xraōdīštāng asōnō vastē*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25. See also Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, cl. 207–8, and J. Hertel, *Die Sonne und Mithra im Avesta* ("Indoiranische Quellen und Forschungen," Heft IX [Leipzig, 1927]), p. 158.

¹⁹ Haraitī (or Harā) of Avesta and Alburz of Islamic geographers.

²⁰ See n. 29.

²¹ *Sang i hamāk sangān saxtūm u hučihrtum-* (quoted by Reichelt, *op. cit.*, p. 50, n. 3). The conception of the stone-heaven was also widely disseminated among non-Aryan people. According to the Babylonians, the three heavens of the cosmos were made of various stones. The higher heaven consisted of *luludanitu*-stone, the middle one of *saggilmūt*-stone, and the lower heaven was made of *aspū*, meaning red-jasper (see E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* [Berlin and Leipzig, 1931], I, 29–30 and 33). I am indebted to Dr. Leo Oppenheim for this reference. The concept was likewise not alien to Chinese mythology. Well known is the story of the goddess Nü-Wa, who is said to have repaired the heaven with five differently colored stones melted together (see E. T. C. Werner, *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology* [Shanghai, 1932], pp. 334–35). Reference can be made also to the belief of the Altaic people recorded by U. Holmberg, *The Mythology of All Races; Finno-Ugric, Siberian* (Boston, 1927), IV, 342.

with their names and substances."²² At this point it should be strongly emphasized that the tradition has been attributed to Salmān al-Fārisī, thus to an Iranian, who was the son of a *dihqān* from a village near Iṣbahān (or Rāhmburmuz) and whose name, before embracing Islam and becoming a companion of the Prophet, was either Māhbēh or Rūzbēh.²³ The reflection of this cosmogonical concept is already noticeable in the Arab poetry of the early ʿAbbāsīd period; for example, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muʿtazz (executed in 296/908), the ʿAbbāsīd prince and poet, depicts the heaven of the earth as a spread carpet of emerald with dinars strewn upon

it.²⁴ Moreover, because of this Iranian influence, one of the synonyms for heaven in Arabic is *al-khadhrā*, "the green."²⁵

There is another important element in Islamic tradition which has an affinity to the Iranian cosmogony and a direct connection to our subject. As is well known to students of Islam, several chapters of *al-Qurʾān* contain after the opening *basmala* some singular letters, the purpose and symbolic meanings of which are obscure and which caused considerable speculation among medieval and modern commentators. One of these letters is *qāf*.²⁶ The most popular interpretation is that it stands for the name of the mountain Qāf

²² *Kitāb al-Baḍʿ waʾl-Taʾrikh*, ed. C. Huart ("Ecole des langues orientales vivantes," Sér. 4, Vols. XVI-XVIII [Paris, 1899-1919], II, 6, 3):

وروى ذهب عن سلمان الفارسي رحمه الله أن الله خلق السماء الدنيا من
زمردة خضراء وسمّاها برقع وخلق السماء الثانية من نفخة بيضاء وسمّاها
كذا وخلق السماء الثالثة من ياقوتة حتى عتد سبع سموات بأسمائها وجواهرها

For the name of the heaven, *birqāʿ*, see E. Hahn, "Hadith cosmogonique et Aggada," *Revue des études juives*, I (new ser., 1937), 70.

²³ G. Levi Della Vida, "Salmān al-Fārisī," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV, 116. The reasons of A. Guillaume ("The Influence of Judaism on Islam," in *The Legacy of Israel* [Oxford, 1928], p. 134) for considering Salmān al-Fārisī as a Jewish convert to Islam are unknown to me.

²⁴ Quoted by al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-ʿArab fi Funūn al-ʿAdab* (Cairo, 1937), I, 33, 9:

لأنّ سماء الأرض نزع زمرد
وقد فرشت في الدنيا نير للصرف

I would like to call attention to a parallel Turkish couplet recorded by Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī in *Diwān Lughat al-Turk* (facsimile ed. by Besim Atalay [Ankara, 1941], p. 166, 9):

"Yaratıl yashıl chash
Sawurdı ūrtung qash."

I.e., "He created (the heaven) of green turquoise, (and) strew (in it) white jade." Of interest is the word *qash*, denoting jade. In the light of this Turkish couplet we can now restore a word in F. Krenkow's edition of *Kitāb al-Jamāhir fi Maʿrifat al-Jawāhir* by al-Bīrūnī (p. 198, 2). In the discourse on *yashm* (jade) it is said that the stone is quarried in the district of Khotan and is called by the local inhabitants *fāsh* (another variant is *fās*). This is beyond any doubt a misspelling of the scribe and should be corrected to read *qash*. Khotan was one of the important sources of jade. See also Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *op. cit.*, p. 511, 4.

²⁵ Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb Jamhara fi ʿIlm al-Lughah* (Haydarabad, 1925-32), II, 209, 13; al-Jawharī, *Ṣiḥaḥ al-ʿArabiyya* (Bulāq, 1292), II, 314, 8; Ibn Manẓur, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Bulāq, 1299-1308), V, 328, 22; and al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt* (Cairo, 1354), II, 21, 8.

²⁶ Sura 50.

which surrounds the earth.²⁷ Long ago F. Windischmann²⁸ pointed out the connection of this world-embracing mountain with the Iranian cosmogony. Let us consider first the Iranian original. In 12:3-6 of the *Bundahishn* the sacred mountains of Iran are described in the following manner: *

The Harburz is around the earth (and) is connected with the heaven. The Tērak of Harburz is (the mountain) through which the stars, moon, and sun pass in, and through it they come back. Hukar, the lofty, is that from which the water Ardvīsūr leaps down the height of a thousand men. The Ōsindām mountain is that of bloodstone of which the substance of the heaven consists, (and) is in the midst of the wide-stretched ocean . . . excepting Harburz, the Apārsēn mountain is the greatest: . . . Mount Qāf has grown from the same Mount Apārsēn. . . .²⁹

Among many Iranian eschatological and mythological concepts perpetuated in Islam,³⁰ this is one of the most striking. As far as I am aware, Bal'āmī, the vizier of the Sāmānids and the reviser of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, is the

first authority to record the Islamic version. It is wanting in the Arabic original of al-Ṭabarī's work and is probably an addition of the Iranian reviser. The passage in the rendering of L. Dubeux and H. Zotenberg reads as follows:

Le prophète dit: Dieu a créé la montagne de Qāf tout autour de la terre. . . Ce monde est au milieu de la montagne de Qāf, et il y est comme le doigt est au milieu de l'anneau. Cette montagne est couleur d'émeraude et bleue. Aucun homme ne peut y arriver, parce qu'il faudrait pour cela passer quatre mois dans les ténèbres. Il n'y a dans cette montagne ni soleil, ni lune, ni étoiles, et elle est tellement bleue que la couleur azurée que tu vois au ciel vient de l'éclat de la montagne de Qāf qui se réfléchit sur le ciel, et il paraît de cette couleur. Si cela n'était pas ainsi, le ciel ne serait pas bleu. Toutes les montagnes que tu vois dans le monde tiennent à la montagne de Qāf. . . .³¹

Al-Tha'labī records the version in an abbreviated form: "And Allāh created a large mountain of green emerald, from which the green color of the heaven is derived; it is called Mount Qāf and it surrounds the entire world."³² Also al-Bīrūnī

²⁷ Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān fi Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Cairo, 1903), XXVI, 84, 15.

²⁸ *Zoroastrische Studien* ("Abhandlung zur Mythologie und Sagen Geschichte des alten Iran" (Berlin, 1863)), p. 7. Cf. also A. J. Wensinck, "The Ideas of the Western Semites concerning the Navel of the Earth," *Verhandelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen* ("Afdeeling Letterkunde: Nieuwe Reeks," Vol. XVII 1917)), p. 5.

²⁹ *The Būdahishn*, ed. Ervad T. D. Anklesaria (Bombay, 1908), fol. 40a. Cf. Reichelt, *op. cit.*, p. 47, or E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts* ("The Sacred Books of the East," Vol. V, Part I [Oxford, 1880]), pp. 35-36.

³⁰ See the studies by I. Goldziher, "Islamisme et parsisme," *Actes du premier Congrès international d'histoire des religions, Paris, 1900*, I (1901), 119 ff., and L. H. Gray, "Zoroastrian Elements in Muhammadan Eschatology," *Le Muséon: études philologiques, historiques et religieuses*, III (1903), 153 ff.

³¹ *Chronique d'Abou-Djafar Mohammed Tabari*, trans. L. Dubeux ("Oriental Translation Fund"), I, 32; the same in *Chronique de Tabari, traduite sur la version persane de Bel'ami par H. Zotenberg* (Paris, 1867-74), I, 33. The passage has been left out in the lithographed edition of the text in Cawnpore, 1313. Thus the original text remains unknown to me, therefore I am not sure whether the French rendering is exact or not. It should be noted that the color of the heaven has been depicted as being blue and not green as in the Arabic versions presented below. Also Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī in *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange (Leyden, 1915), p. 198, 12, referring to Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, speaks of "blue atmosphere" as the reflection of the same mountain of emerald. Yāqūt, however, does not depict the heaven as blue but as green (*Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld [Leipzig, 1866-73], IV, 18, 3).

³² *Qiṣṣas al-Anbiyā'* (Cairo, 1325), p. 4, 18:

دخله الله تعالى جلا غلما من زبرجة خضراء خضرة السماء منه يقال له جبل
خاف فاحاط بالكلية

mentions the same mountain in his discourse on emerald and gives as the source of his information a certain *Kitāb Dalīl al-Dunyā wa-l-Ākhira*.³³ Mount Qāf is likewise depicted in al-Bīrūnī's source as being of emerald and surrounding the world; the heaven which overtops it receives its color also from the mountain, which from its foot to its top has a distance of 80 *farsakhs*.

Of the many writers on the subject, the account by Ibn Wardī³⁴ deserves attention. Although his work is a plagiarized compilation, nevertheless it transmits a detail worthy of consideration, namely, that Mount Qāf grows forth from lofty mountains like a tree grows from the root of a tree.

The relation between Mount Harburz of the *Bundahishn* and Mount Qāf of the Islamic tradition is obvious. Both are depicted as surrounding the earth and as the principal mountain from which the other lesser mountains are grown forth. The transference of the earth-embracing function from Harburz to Qāf can be explained by the desire to interpret the letter *qāf* of *al-Qurʾān*. As a matter of fact, Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī emphatically declares that the ancients called Mount Qāf in Persian Kūh-i Alburz.³⁵ Another important parallel is between Mount Ōsindām

and the Islamic Qāf. The former is made of bloodstone, while the latter's substance consists of emerald. They both stand in close relation to the heaven. Although in known Iranian cosmogonical writings no mountain has been depicted as being of emerald, nevertheless it is not impossible that there actually existed a lore about such a mountain, which might have been known directly or indirectly to the early Islamic authors. And again it is possible that the Islamic traditionalists, being familiar with the nature of Mount Ōsindām's material relation to the heaven, and at the same time considering the first heaven as being made of emerald, simply substituted the bloodstone with this precious stone and ascribed it to Mount Qāf. In the absence of Iranian evidences, this second possibility seems to be more plausible. There are innumerable instances in folklore when various mythological elements have been blended and have issued forth in novel, sometimes almost unrecognizable, composite forms.³⁶

One more point should be stressed. The Iranian concept of a mountain made of precious stone and its relation to the heaven evidently was widely diffused. Al-Bīrūnī, in connection with Mount Qāf, records an interesting parallel relating to the shamans. According to them, the four

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 166, 19:

وَمَا فِي كِتَابِ دَلِيلِ الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ أَنَّ جَبَلَ قَافِ الْمَحِيطِ بِالْأَرْضِ هُوَ مِنْ زَمْزَرٍ أَخْضَرٍ
وَمِنْ سَفْحِهِ إِلَى قَلْعَةِ تَمَانُونَ زَمْزَرٌ وَمَا يَرَى مِنْ خُضْرَةِ السَّمَاءِ نَحْنُ أَطْلَلُهَا عَلَيْهِ

Unfortunately, the book referred to by al-Bīrūnī is unknown. See also M. Jahia Haschmi, *Die Quellen des Steinbuches des Bīrūnī* (Inaugural dissertation [Bonn, 1935]), p. 26.

³⁴ *Kharidat al-ʿAjaʾib* (Cairo, 1872), p. 13, 8:

وَأَنْتَ جَبَلَ قَافِ الْجِبَالِ الشَّوَاهِقِ كَمَا أَنْتَ الشَّجَرُ مِنْ عُرْقِ الشَّجَرِ

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, II, 46, 8. Cf. also Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 18, 9, and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, p. 191, 20.

³⁶ See, e.g., the interesting studies of Sir J. C. Coyajee, *Cults and Legends of Ancient Iran and China* (Bombay, 1936).

sides of a high mountain standing below the North Pole are made of various kinds of corundum. One of the sides of this mountain is of a darker gray, from which the dark-gray color of the heaven derives.³⁷ There is also a Mandaean lore recorded by H. Petermann.³⁸ The disk-shaped earth, it is said, is surrounded by the world-sea, with the exception of the North, where the earth ends with a mighty mountain made of pure turquoise. It is further narrated that, from the reflection of this turquoise mountain, the blue color of the heaven originates. The parallel is striking, and I am not inclined to see in this Mandaean lore the influence of the Islamic tradition, as M. Streck conjectures;³⁹ rather all these versions, including the Islamic, are derived from the Iranian cosmogony.

Now it can be asked: Why was a word which signified "spirit," "heaven," "paradise," and "emerald" applied to denote enamel? In the first place, it should be noted that *mīnā* was primarily a technical

term for glaze.⁴⁰ The earliest scientific record of the word in this application is found in the chemical *karshūnī* text of the tenth century.⁴¹ Although in R. Duval's translation the term has been interpreted as "émail,"⁴² the formula, however, clearly indicates glaze, as J. Ruska correctly recognized. Also al-Zamakhsharī defines *mīnā* as "the substance of glass (i.e., glass frit), and the decoration of a bowl."⁴³ As evidenced by innumerable material documents, it is a well-recognized fact that the most characteristic and favored glaze employed in Iranian or Iranian-influenced pottery since the earliest period has been green. The Parthian pottery excavated in Seleucia on the Tigris has a predominantly green glaze.⁴⁴ The same is true of the glazed pottery of the Sasanian period, examples of which are known from Ctesiphon.⁴⁵ Various shades of green are also the characteristic mark of Iranian pottery of the early Islamic period. Specimens unearthed in Tali-Bārz (near Samarqand) in ancient

³⁷ Al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 167, 1:

ويشبه قول الشمية في الجبل النافع الذي عندهم تحت قطب الشمال ان
جوانبه الاربعة من الوان اليواقيت وان الكربة في الجانب الذي يليها ومن لونه
كسبة السماء

³⁸ *Reise im Orient* (Leipzig, 1861), II, 452.

³⁹ "Kāf" (art.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, 614.

⁴⁰ K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen (germanischen romanischen und slavischen) Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs* (Heidelberg, 1927), p. 121, No. 1514, lists a word *mūr* as a Persian term for "glaze and enamel," from which supposedly the Russian *murāva* is derived. The word remains unknown to me. A. Preobrazhenskii, *Etimologicheskii slovar' russkavo yazyka* (Moscow, 1910-14), p. 568, does not indicate *murāva* as a foreign word. Laufer (*The Beginnings of Porcelain in China*, p. 125), while discussing the Latin term *murra*, expressed the opinion that it must be of Persian origin and suggested its possible relation to the Persian words *mōri*, *mūri*, or *mūrish* meaning "small shell," or "glass beads." I wish to thank Dr. Benjamin Schwartz for directing my attention to Lokotsch's book.

⁴¹ J. Ruska, "Die Alchemie ar-Rāzī's," *Der Islam*, XXII (1935), 313.

⁴² "L'Alchimie syriaque" in P.E.M. Berthelot, *Histoire des sciences: La chimie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1893), II, 155.

⁴³ *Muqaddimat al-'Adab*, ed. J. G. Wetzstein (Leipzig, 1850), p. 10, 8.

⁴⁴ N. C. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1934), pp. 31 ff.

⁴⁵ E. Kühnel, *Die Ausgrabungen der zweiten Ktesiphon-Expedition 1931/32* (Berlin, 1933), p. 28.

Soghd and belonging to the strata dating from approximately the end of the sixth to the beginning of the eighth century have a bluish-green glaze.⁴⁶ Similarly, glazed pottery pieces were found in great quantity in the ruins of Afrāsiyāb.⁴⁷ Moreover, green is also a very characteristic color of old Iranian glasses.⁴⁸ The conclusion to be drawn from these archeological data is apparent. It is, therefore, not incidental that the word for emerald was employed as a term for glaze.⁴⁹ A carefully prepared green glaze actually has the effect of the emerald's color.

In Iran the word under discussion was also applied to glass which was otherwise called, during the Middle Ages, *ābgīne*. Medieval Persian texts to this effect are unknown to me, but modern Persian dictionaries are unanimous in including glass among the definitions of *mīnā*.⁵⁰ There is, however, an important account by al-Maḡdisī,⁵¹ in which the word has been used to denote glass mosaic. The author, who traveled extensively in Iran, Iraq, and elsewhere, while speaking about the ill-fated ʿAbbāsid residence, Samarra, relates that the walls of the Great Mosque were covered with *mīnā*. As a matter of fact, the archeological excavation in the ruins of the Great Mosque, built by al-

Mutawakkil, yielded a considerable quantity of glass mosaic.⁵² The absence of any remains of glazed tiles in the ruins of the mosque establishes beyond doubt that the *mīnā* of al-Maḡdisī's text signifies glass mosaic. It is interesting to observe that the same author employs the proper term for mosaic, *fusāfīsā*⁵³ (from the Greek *ψῆφος*), in his description of the Umayyad mosque in Damascus.⁵⁴ This indicates that in Iraq, which stood under strong Iranian influences, a Persian term was current, while in Syria, one of the centers of late Hellenistic culture, the Greek term was known.

There is a distinct possibility that *mīnā* in the meaning of glass was also used during the Fāṭimid period in Cairo. In a passage of *Kitāb al-Dhakhār wa'l-Ṭuḥaf*, a treatise on the Fāṭimid treasury by an anonymous author, written during the last decades of the eleventh century, and quoted by al-Maqrīzī,⁵⁴ we possess an intimation to this effect. The passage describes the content of some chests brought out of the treasury chamber:

And they found in them something like *Fuqqa*-pitchers (made) of pure crystal, decorated and undecorated, and in great quantity; all of them were filled with this or that. And it has been reported to me by somebody in whom I have trust that he had seen a crystal

⁴⁶ A. Y. Yakubovskii, "Kratkii palevoi atchot o rabotakh Zarafshanskoï arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii Ermitazha i IIMK v 1939 g.," in *Gasudarstvennyi Ermitazh: Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, II (1940), 65.

⁴⁷ V. Vyatkin, *Afrasiab—Gorodishche bylovo Samarkanda* (Tashkent, 1926), p. 47.

⁴⁸ C. J. Lamm, *Glass from Iran in the National Museum, Stockholm* (Stockholm and London, 1935), p. 2; cf. also Vyatkin, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁴⁹ This was already recognized by Shiratori, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–11, but his conclusion is based solely on data of current dictionaries.

⁵⁰ Ghāzī al-Dīn Haydar, *Haft Qulzum* (Lucknow, 1822), V, 80 and 130; Mollā ʿAbd al-Rashīd Tatāwī, *Farhang-i Rashīdī* (Calcutta, 1875), II, 251; ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Aḥmad Sūr, *Kashf al-Lughat* (Lucknow, 1900), II, 231; and others.

⁵¹ *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1877), p. 122, 15.

⁵² E. Herzfeld, *Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Samarra* (Berlin, 1912), p. 8.

⁵³ Al-Maḡdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 152, 12.

⁵⁴ *Al-Mawāʿiz wa'l-Iʿtibā fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa'l-Āthār* (Bulāq, 1270), I, 414, 24.

cup which, although undecorated, was sold for 200 dinars; and that he had seen a *khurdādi* of crystal which was sold for 360 dinars; and a crystal ewer sold for 210 dinars; and that he had seen many *ṣuḥūn mīnā*, which were sold from 100 dinars downwards.

The passage continues by mentioning two objects of genuine crystal with the name of the Fāṭimid caliph ʿAzīz Billāh inscribed on them, and ends with the statement that there were sold altogether eighteen thousand objects of crystal and cut glass. P. Kahle, who published the translation of the treatise with copious commentaries,⁵⁵ is of the opinion that the inclusion of *ṣuḥūn mīnā* (*mīnā* plates) among objects consisting entirely of crystal and cut glass is perhaps an indication that these plates were actually of glass. The deduction made from the context seems to be plausible. I would like to make a further suggestion. During the Fāṭimid period an attempt was made to imitate the millefiori glass of the earlier periods, for which Egypt since pre-Islamic times was known to be one of the leading centers. Such imitations show a variety of colors produced by the application of glass pastes and are in their appearance not unlike that of glass mosaics. It is therefore quite possible that the plates in the treasury were of such type of glass and hence qualified by the term *mīnā*, as were the mosaics of Samarra by al-Maḡdisī.

The problem of the introduction and development of enamel within Near East-

ern decorative arts is one of those subjects about which much has been written but little is known. Exactly where and when for the first time the technique of enameling was evolved is at present impossible to determine with certainty. I am not prepared to accept the opinion heralded since the days of C. de Linas⁵⁶ and N. Kondakoff⁵⁷ that the technique of cloisonné enamel was practiced in Sasanian Iran. There are at present neither material nor literary evidences for such an assumption; it is therefore advisable not to try to venture into "thick-coming fancies." The recent attempts to revive the much-discussed golden ewer in Saint Maurice d'Agaune as an Iranian work of the Sasanian period should be considered as futile.⁵⁸

The most important discourse on enamel in the Islamic scientific literature came down to us from the pen of al-Bīrūnī, but he does not tell us whether the technique was practiced in Iran.^{58a}

The first unmistakable reference to enamel in Iran to my knowledge is the account by Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. In his important book on lapidaries, written by the order of Hulagu, the subject has been discussed under the heading of *mīnā*. Here is the short discourse in its entirety:

Mīnā like glass is artificially produced. Various kinds of *mīnā* have various colors and the green colored is the best of all; the purer (in make) it is, the more pleasant in color, so that the green *mīnā* (occasionally) is being perfidiously passed as emerald. Many rare things are

⁵⁵ "Die Schätze der Fatimiden," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXXIX (1935), 329 ff.

⁵⁶ *Les Origine de l'orfèvrerie cloisonnée* (Arras-Paris, 1877-87), I, 251.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁵⁸ E. Margulies, "Cloisonné Enamel," in *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman (London and New York, 1938), I, 779 ff. See my article, "Is the Ewer of Saint Maurice d'Agaune a Work of Sasanian Iran?" *Art Bulletin*, XXVIII (1946).

^{58a} *Op. cit.*, pp. 224, 14-15. For the translation see P. Kahle, "Bergkristall, Glass und Glassflüsse nach dem Steinbuch von el-Bīrūnī," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XC (1936), 349 ff.

made and incrustated with *mīnā*. They possess more (of these rare things) in the regions of Syria and Maghrib.⁵⁹

Of course, the technique must have been known in Iran before Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's time (d. 672/1274), but evidently it was not exercised so extensively as in Syria and Maghrib.⁶⁰

Another reference to enamel has been made by the court historian of the Īl-Khāns, Rashīd al-Dīn.⁶¹ In a lengthy, and no doubt exaggerated, account of the accomplishments of his patron, the author

narrates how Ghāzān Khān became interested in and acquired in a short time a knowledge of chemistry, of all arts the most difficult, and that he knew well that not every person is able to achieve success in the field of chemistry, so that he brought about him those who were proficient in it and forbade them to waste a thing on it, but devote themselves to the practical matters in which they were skilled, as, for example, the making of *mīnā*. It is of importance to note that Rashīd al-Dīn mentions enameling as an

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, fol. 26a, 8:

مینا چون آبگینه معمول باشد و انواع مینا برنگهای مختلف باشد و سبز از همه بهتر
بود و هر چه مہافعی تر خوشی رنگتر باشد کہ مینای سبز را بخیاقت ز سرزد کنند
و از مینا طرایف بسیار سازند و مرصع کنند و باحد و شام و مغرب با خود بیشتر
دارند

⁶⁰ R. Harari, "Metalwork after the Early Islamic Period," in *A Survey of Persian Art*, III, 2494, n. 1, states that "some Rayy gold filigree presents traces of cloisonné enamel," but does not make reference to any particular piece with such traces.

⁶¹ *Ta'rikh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzāni*, ed. K. John (London, 1940), p. 172, 6:

و اما صنعت کیمیا که مشکل ترین صناعات است هوس فرمود و باندک زمانی
بر کیفیت آن واقف گشت و چون بحقیقت ہی دانست کہ آن عمل را هر کسی بجائی
توان رسانید آن جماعت کہ دعوی آن میکردند نزد خود خواند و راه باز نداد کہ
چیزی بر آن خرج کنند... کلن تا عملی چند کہ ایشان دانند و دست افزان
ایشان باشد مانند مینا ساختن...

Cf. also H. Howarth, *History of Mongols* (London, 1888), III, 493. P. Ackerman ("Jewelry in the Islamic Period," in *A Survey of Persian Art*, III, 2666, n. 2), in connection with Rashīd al-Dīn's account, writes that "Dr. Christy Wilson has found, on the site of Sham-Ghazan, a lump of emerald green enamel, now in the possession of the editor." To be positive about the true nature of this lump, it is necessary to examine the piece chemically. It could also be a lump of glass or glaze.

art practiced by those engaged in chemistry and not by goldsmiths. If such actually was the case, then one is justified to presume that the technique was not generally practiced during the Mongol period in Iran, a probability which has also been intimated by Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī.

Reserving the presentation of pertinent Persian texts of the fourteenth and following centuries for the chapter on enamel in the introductory volume of my *Corpus of Islamic Metalwork*, some observations should be advanced about the enamel in Egypt during the Fāṭimid period. It is a recognized fact that the earliest known specimen of a true Islamic enameled work belongs to that period.⁶² The few preserved material evidences are corroborated by a literary account of considerable art historical significance. The aforesaid treatise quoted by al-Maqrīzī mentions many "golden plates covered with *mīnā*."⁶³ These were evidently of local manufacture, since the same authoritative source speaks also of enameled works of foreign origin. In the treasury of the Fāṭimids were "twenty-eight *mīnā* trays covered with gold in cubes (which)

the king of Rūm (Byzance) had sent to 'Azīz Billāh."⁶⁴ Considering the Byzantine origin of these trays, one would conceive them to have been decorated with the prevailing technical method of that time, the cloisonné enamel. The descriptive phrase of the text that the trays were "covered with gold in cubes (*kuṣūb*)" causes, however, considerable difficulty. C. J. Lamm explained the phrase simply as "Zellen-emaillé,"⁶⁵ E. Kühnel suggested "Tabletts mit feinem Mosaikschmuck,"⁶⁶ and K. Röder interpreted the cubes as "erhabene Goldarbeit, vielleicht eine Granulation."⁶⁷ All these suggestions, in my opinion, are conjectural, and there are other points of interpretation which I am not prepared to offer convincingly at present.

The presence in the Fāṭimid court of enameled works given by the Byzantine emperor is a circumstance of particular historical significance. Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in the Preface of his treatise on court ceremonies clearly indicates that enameled objects were preferred when choosing presentations to be made to foreign rulers.⁶⁸ In this connection, an interesting account has been re-

⁶² Aly Bahgat Bey and Albert Gabriel, *Fouilles d'al-Fouṣṭāṭ* (Paris, 1921), Pl. XXX; Zaky Mohammad Hassan, *Kunūz al-Fāṭimiyyīn* (Cairo, 1937), pp. 245-46; M. S. Dimand and H. E. McAllister, *Near Eastern Jewelry* (New York, 1940), p. 3, Fig. 8; and M. Ross, "An Egypto-Arabic Cloisonné Enamel," *Ars Islamica*, VII (1940), 165 ff.

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, I, 414, 31.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 415, 8.

نمان دخترون صينية مينا مجرا بالذهب بكعب كان ارسلها ملك الروم الى
الوزير بالله

'Azīz Billāh ruled from 365/975 to 386/996, and his contemporary Basil II Bulgaroctonus from 976 to 1025.

⁶⁵ *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten* (Berlin, 1929-30), p. 512.

⁶⁶ Kahle, *op. cit.*, p. 352, n. 1.

⁶⁷ "Das Mīnā im Bericht über die Schätze der Fatimiden," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXXIX (1935), 370.

⁶⁸ *De caerimoniis aulae byzantinae* ("Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae" [Bonn, 1829-30]), I, 517. Cf. also Kondakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

corded by al-Maqqarī in his compilatory, but very important, work on Spain. Quoted from an early historical source, the account relates the arrival in the year 947 of the embassy of the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III of Spain. The letter of the emperor, it is said, was inclosed "in an ornamented silver case over which was a cover of gold with the image of King Constantine executed of admirable variegated glass."⁶⁹ The term *zujāj mulawan*, employed here to denote enamel, is a fluid one. It also signified glass mosaic. For example, in a letter of Ibn Buṭlān from the year 440 (1049), the mosaics of Christian churches in Antioch are mentioned by this term.⁷⁰

In another place al-Maqqarī offers a different term, again based on an earlier account. In a description of a *muṣḥaf*, once treasured in the Great Mosque at Cordova, he relates that its gold and silver cover was decorated with *alwān al-zujāj*

al-Rūmī—"variegated Byzantine glass."⁷¹ This particular expression is of considerable historical interest, since it points to the fact that the technique of enameling was introduced to Maghrib from Byzance. I shall discuss this question in the light of other evidence in the *Corpus*.

There is another term, *zujāj mīnā*, meaning "glass enamel." *Kitāb al-Dhakhāʾir wa-l-Ṭuhāf* describes a golden peacock in the Fāṭimid treasury as being "incrusted with precious stones; its eyes were of red ruby, and its feathers of gold-covered glass enamel (*al-zujāj al-mīnā*) in the colors of a peacock plumage."⁷² The term most certainly signifies translucent enamel as distinguished from the opaque variety.

Considerable predicament is presented by a passage of the same treatise, in which *mīnā* has been employed in combination with niello. The passage reads: "And they found by ʿAbda, likewise one of the daughters of al-Muʿizz . . . 1300

⁶⁹ *Kitāb Naṣḥ al-Ṭib min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb*, ed. R. Dozy et al. (Leyden, 1855–61), I, 236, 21:

ربيع فضة منقوش عليه غطاء ذهب فيه صورة قطنين الملاك معمولة من
الرجاج الملون البديع

See also D. P. de Gayangos, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* (London, 1840), II, 137–38; J. Labarte, *Histoire des arts industriels au moyen âge et l'époque de la renaissance* (Paris, 1864), III, 530–31 (2d ed., 1875, III, 74); and A. A. Vasiliev, *Vizantiya i Araby: Politicheskaya i knizhnaya Vizantiya i Araby v vremiya Makedonskoj dinastii* (St. Petersburg, 1902), p. 274 and Appendix, pp. 188–89.

⁷⁰ Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), p. 297, 3.

⁷¹ *Op. cit.*, I, 403, 23. See also A. Dessus Lamare, "Le Muṣḥaf de mosquée de Cordoue et son mobilier Mécanique," *Journal asiatique*, CCXXX (1938), 563.

⁷² Al-Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 416, 6:

مرصع بنفيس الجواهر عيناه من ياقوت احمد و ريشة من الرجاج المينا المبر
بالذهب على الدان ريش الطادس

In Tunisia, Algiers, and Morocco, enamel is called *tazjij* (see P. Eudel, *Dictionnaire des bijoux de l'Afrique du Nord* [Paris, 1906], p. 231). In modern Egypt the term *mīnā* is still in usage (see M. Brugsch and G. Kampfmeyer, "Arabische Terminologie der Gegenwart," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen an der Friedrich-Wilhelm Universität zu Berlin*, XXIX [1926], 12).

pieces of *mīnā fiḍḍat muhraqa*, and the weight of each *mīnā* amounted to 10,000 dirhams."⁷³ First of all, it should be noted that *fiḍḍat muhraqa* is a *terminus technicus* for niello and means, translated verbatim, "burned silver." It occurs very early in Arabic texts. For example, in the late ninth century, al-Washshā⁷⁴ mentions it while enumerating various materials for finger rings and seals.⁷⁴ The combination of this term with *mīnā*, as it occurs in the above text, is not only unknown from other sources but the phrase itself as such is an awkward one indeed. Kahle and his counsels were unable to agree in their interpretation. Max Meyerhof suggested "gebrannter Silberschmelz," that is, argenterous glaze employed in the manufacture of lusted pottery. Kahle himself thought of furniture pieces made of massive silver and decorated with enamel, to which Kühnel remarked that they could also have been ornamented with niello.⁷⁵ Röder, on the other hand, interpreted the phrase as denoting silver bullions, because they were heavy pieces of equal weight.⁷⁶ None of these interpretations, in my opinion, is acceptable for the following reasons. In the first place, one may question the purpose of keeping in the treasury cham-

bers of the caliph's daughter such an enormous quantity of unused glaze. Was her residence a storehouse of a pottery-producing establishment, or was she a merchant specializing in this particular material? Moreover, we know that pottery production in Egypt during the Fāṭimid period, unlike that of *ṭirāz*, was not a state manufacture. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that the phrase in our text could have meant glaze. Also the interpretation of Röder is devoid of foundation, because silver bullion or uncoined silver was never called in Arabic by this anomalous combination of two terms, one meaning enamel and the other niello. The Arabic term for bullion is *nuqra*.⁷⁷ Another rarely employed word is *naṣṭk*. There are three Persian terms for bullion: *shūshe*, *khafṣe*, and *sūfṣe*.⁷⁸ All these terms were used throughout the medieval centuries. Hence there is no reason to believe that they remained unknown to the author of *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir*, who evidently was also versed in Persian terminology current during his time in Egypt.⁷⁹ As a matter of fact, the term *nuqra* occurs in the same text, where it is said that 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Jarjārā⁸⁰ utilized 167,700 *dirham nuqra*⁸⁰ for the building of a can-

⁷³ Al-Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 415, 6:

الف، وتلثمائة قطعة مينا فضة حمرية

⁷⁴ *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, ed. R. E. Brunnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 125, 12. This and other terms for niello will be discussed in the *Corpus*. In the meantime see J. von Karabacek, "Eine römische Cameo aus dem Schatze der Aljūbiden-Sultāne von Hamāh," *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, CXXIX (1893), 9, n. 1.

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 350, n. 3.

⁷⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 369-70.

⁷⁷ Ibn Durayd, *op. cit.*, II, 409. Cf. also al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. A. von Kremer (Calcutta, 1856), p. 196, 16.

⁷⁸ Asadī, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁷⁹ The treatise contains a number of Persian words.

⁸⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, p. 416, 16:

وفيه مائة الف و سبعة وستون الفا و سبعمائة درهم نقرة

opy, a barge, a boat, and traveling equipment. I do not think that Kahle's interpretation of this passage—"und auf sie waren 167,700 Silberdirhem verwandt"⁸¹—is correct. *Nuqra* does not signify silver in Arabic. Moreover, *dirham* itself is a term for silver coin. *Dirham* in this case is used in the meaning of a metric unit; thus the passage should be translated "167,700 *dirham* (silver) bullions." This observation alone is sufficient to preclude Röder's interpretation. There remains the suggestion of Kahle, and again it is hardly permissible to see in "1300 pieces of *mīnā fīḍḍat muhraqa*" an allusion to massive silver furniture decorated with enamel and niello. In my opinion, the only possible explanation for this extremely confused wording of the passage is that it is corrupt in al-Maqrizī's Būlāq edition as well as in the manuscripts collated by Kahle. For final clarification and subsequent interpretation, however, we have to wait until the edition of al-Maqrizī's work by G. Wiet, now in progress, is completed.

To all these meanings of *mīnā* we must

also add the definition given by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī. Here is what this well-known philologist of the seventeenth century says: "*mīnā* comes also in the meaning of that dark blue (substance) with which goldsmiths decorate the surface of silver; it is presently known as *sawād*."⁸² *Ṣawād* is one of the terms for niello. It should be noted that still today in Baghdad the so-called 'Amāra silversmiths employ the term *mīnā* for niello.⁸³

It is appropriate to close this paper with a couplet by the dean of Persian mysticism, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī: "Behold the alchemists of Heaven; hear at every moment the sound (of the words that come) from the (spiritual) makers of *mīnā*."⁸⁴ The term has been used here in the symbolic meaning of "philosopher's stone."

Mīnā, which lured us through the span of centuries from Avesta to *Mathnawī* and over a great span of lands stretching from Spain to China, is, indeed, one of the most fascinating terms of Islamic art.

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⁸¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 360.

⁸² *Op. cit.*, p. 212.

مینا اول لا جودری معنا شده کلور که تدبیر کارکش یوزنده نقش ایدر حالا سوادیه

مشهور در

⁸³ During my sojourn in that city in 1934 I had the opportunity to observe the method employed in niello work by these able artisans. The substance used is principally of bluish-black color, but frequently red, light blue, and other pigments are employed, and this is probably the reason for the application of the term *mīnā*. See also the observations of E. Kühnel in P. Kahle, *op. cit.*, p. 342, n. 1, and Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London, 1937), p. 358.

⁸⁴ *The Mathnawī of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī*, ed. and trans. R. A. Nicholson (London, 1925-40), Part III: *Text*, p. 459, and Part IV: *Translation*, p. 441, couplet 3074:

کیما سازان گردون را بین بشنوا ز مینا گران هر دم طنین

THE ORIGIN OF WINNIRKE'S CYLINDER SEAL

EDITH PORADA

IN AN article entitled "The Early Scribes of Nuzi," Pierre M. Purves has singled out the earliest tablets found at that site.¹ He was able to do so because one can trace through four or five generations the family of the well-known Tehip-tilla, whose name occurs more often than any other on the tablets discovered in the excavations of this town and dated in the later half of the fifteenth century B.C.² The tablets written for the first generation, Tehip-tilla's parents Puhi-šenni and Winnirke, can be easily distinguished from the later ones. Puhi-šenni appears on only one tablet,³ which is sealed with a cylinder later used by Tehip-tilla and engraved in a style which shows

On both imprints the Old Babylonian⁴ scheme of a seated deity receiving offerings from a worshiper⁵ is transformed in characteristic manner. The goddess wears a miter composed of one pair of large horns on which rests a cone marked by parallel lines. This is an abbreviated rendering of the multiple pairs of horns seen on Old Babylonian and earlier Mesopotamian representations. In Figure 2 her hair falls loosely over her shoulders. Whether or not this also was the case on the seal of Winnirke cannot be stated with certainty; at any rate, no Old Babylonian rendering of a female figure in profile ever shows her with loose hair falling over her shoulders.¹⁰ On



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Fig. 1

strong Syrian influence.⁴ Winnirke, on the other hand, was found to be the business negotiator for the family in several texts which do not mention Puhi-šenni. Purves suggested that "Winnirke, while a widow, conducted the affairs of the family before their sons Tehip-tilla and Haiš-tešup attained majority."⁵ At any rate, fairly clear impressions of her cylinder seal are found on two tablets in Chicago,⁶ of which one is here reproduced as Figure 1. The design of this impression is quite distinctive and appears to be representative of a well-defined style which is also manifested by another seal impression from Nuzi (Fig. 2).⁷

the imprint of Winnirke the enthroned goddess holds in her hand a staff surmounted by a star; in Figure 2 she holds a branch, whereas, as a rule, an enthroned Old Babylonian goddess is seen with no other emblems in her hand

because older seals were frequently re-used in Nuzi, either by members of the same family or by apparently unrelated persons.

⁴ "Old Babylonian" is used here as the shortest term for the glyptic style of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

⁵ This indicates that the present group of seals is derived from the Old Babylonian and not from the preceding style of the Third Dynasty of Ur, where (in contrast to the Akkad and Old Babylonian representations) the worshiper is never portrayed bringing an offering to the deity.

¹⁰ Only Ishtar as goddess of war (characterized at least by the lion club, as on Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* [Berlin, 1940], Nos. 393 and 394, and Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux ... de la Bibliothèque Nationale* [Paris, 1910], Nos. 235 and 236), another goddess who may have specific significance because her miter varies from those of the other deities by its wide top (e.g., Moortgat, *op. cit.*, Nos. 305 and 393), and the nude female—all exclusively in front view—are seen with long hair falling over their shoulders on cylinders of unadulterated Old Babylonian style.

¹ *AJSL*, LVII (1940), 162-87.

² Cf. I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, and A. A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names* (*OIP*, Vol. LVII [Chicago, 1943]), p. 5.

³ JEN 552 (Purves, *op. cit.*, p. 164).

⁴ No. 662 in the writer's forthcoming publication of seal impressions from Nuzi.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 164. ⁶ On JEN 82 and JEN 562.

⁷ This imprint is found on JEN 507, a tablet deriving from the second or third generation of Nuzi. However, this cannot be taken as a dating criterion.

than the so-called staff and ring.¹¹ The stool on which the deity is seated on both seal designs is covered, as on Old Babylonian representations, with a founced material; however, that material is here made to represent the fleece of an animal whose feet form the throne and whose head the back. Lastly, both seals show the worshiper with hair *en brosse*, which distinguishes these imprints from all Mesopotamian designs.

While the group of god and worshiper which completes the scene in Figure 1 is too badly preserved to permit further comment, additional details of Figure 2 deserve attention. These details give the first indication as to where we have to look in our effort to localize



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FIG. 2

the two seals under discussion. The first is the offering which the worshiper presents to the goddess: it is a small nude female figure. While the interpretation of this gesture falls outside the scope of this short note, the only parallel for such an offering of a human figure or statue is found on a seal excavated at Susa.¹² Furthermore, the row of female figures (reversed) in the ancillary motive, diverging radically from all Old Babylonian representations (which never show more than one nude female on a seal), finds a parallel in a cylinder of the Collection Dieulafoy in the Louvre—a collection which was principally acquired in Susa and vicinity.¹³

The indication for the origin of the cylinders

¹¹ In a few cases an enthroned goddess is represented holding a lion club and is thus almost certainly characterized as Ishtar (e.g., Delaporte, *op. cit.*, No. 236; cf. n. 10).

¹² Cf. *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, XXV (Paris, 1934), 232, Fig. 82:3. Judging by the drawing, we believe the seal to belong to the Akkad period.

¹³ Cf. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux ... (Musée du Louvre)* (Paris, 1920), D 109; for the origin of the Collection Dieulafoy cf. *ibid.*, p. 67.

which were used to produce the imprints in Figures 1 and 2 are fully confirmed by the evidence presented by two cylinders in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figs. 3 and 4).¹⁴ The first, conforming more closely to Old Babylonian style and therefore probably a little earlier



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

FIG. 3

than the originals of the two impressions discussed above, shows a goddess facing a worshiper (Fig. 3). While his hairdress is not clearly marked *en brosse*, it nevertheless shows an outline never found on truly Old Babylonian designs. Furthermore, the goddess represented in profile with long hair falling over her shoulders is, as indicated above, at variance with Babylonian conventions. Lastly, the staff



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

FIG. 4

which she holds, although not crowned by a star, nevertheless recalls the staff of the goddess on Winnirke's seal impression. The inscription

Be-el-lu-da-ri
mâr Puzur ʾŠušinak
ardu šà Te-im-ti-a-gu-un

leaves no doubt, finally, as to the origin of this seal within the realm of the Elamite god Šušinak.¹⁵ The second seal further proves the

¹⁴ Fig. 3: Accession No. 41.160.322. Rock crystal; h., 20.5 mm.; d., 12 mm. Fig. 4: Accession No. 43.102.39. Green steatite; h., 25 mm.; d., 10.5.

¹⁵ A similarly rendered worshiper and long-haired deity are seen on a cylinder of the Collection Dieulafoy, D 115, which, like D 109 (see n. 13), was probably acquired in Susa or its vicinity.

Elamite origin of this group of seals. Found in Luristan, this piece shows the god seated on a throne which is again formed by an animal (Fig. 4). He wears the same type of miter as we had previously found in Figures 1 and 2, and the worshipers are again seen with their hair *en brosse*. A last confirmation of the Elamite provenance of this group is provided by a seal impression on a tablet which was found at Susa and which shows again a long-haired goddess seated on an animal throne holding a staff in her hand.¹⁶

Now that we know that this group of cylinders derives from Elam, perhaps more specifically from Susa, we recognize the peculiar shape of the head as being characteristic of the sculptures in the round discovered in Susa.¹⁷

Having thus established the origin of Winnirke's cylinder in Elam, the question arises of how great significance should be attached to

this fact. In this connection it must be stated at once that the occurrence at Nuzi of a seal impression made by a cylinder of manifestly foreign or earlier origin is by no means unique¹⁸ and that a large number of impressions are, if not outright imported products, nevertheless produced under the obvious influence of such cylinders. An example in point is the above-mentioned seal of Puhi-senni, Winnirke's husband, which shows strong Syrian influence. Winnirke's seal, therefore, no more than underlines the already well-documented fact¹⁹ that Nuzi was influenced by and entertained relations not only with the Syrian West but also with the Elamite East.

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¹⁸ The forthcoming publication of seal impressions from Nuzi mentioned in n. 4 contains 1,011 impressions; of these, 8 are made by Syrian cylinders, 19 by Babylonian, 24 by "Cappadocian," and 5 by cylinders of earlier periods dating from the Jemdet Nasr Age to the Third Dynasty of Ur.

¹⁹ Cf. Oppenheim, *Studien zu den albabylonischen Stadtrechten* ("Orientalia," Vol. IV, No. 2 (1935)), pp. 145 ff., esp. pp. 156 and 164. For a general statement cf. A. Götze, *Hethiter, Churriter und Assyrer* (Oslo, 1936), p. 34.

¹⁶ *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXII (1935), 151.

¹⁷ Cf. *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* (Editions TEL), Tome I, p. 278, C, D; p. 281, C, D; and Tome II, pp. 46 and 47.

THE OPENING LINES OF THE ANTEF SONG¹

WALTER FEDERN

SINCE the excellent article of Miss Lichtheim on "The Songs of the Harpers" has focused the attention of students of Egyptian literature upon these texts, the following suggestion of how to avoid emendations in a crucial and well-known passage may be opportune.

The Antef song begins: *W3d pw šr2 pn nfr š3w nfr hdy*. It seems unnecessary to adopt Erman's emendation of the last word, *hdy*, into *hpr* (substituted from the Neferhotep parallel).² In order to make good sense as it stands, the sentence needs merely to be dissected as follows: *W3d4 pw šr2 pn; nfr š3w; nfr hdy*, "A happy one is this prince; good is the destiny; good is the injury."³

The beginning of the Neferhotep song, similarly dissected, gives: *Wrd-wy šr2 pw; m3c p3*

š3w; nfr hpr, "How weary is this prince; just is the destiny; good is what has happened."

The first few phrases of the song of Khai-Inheret likewise, if dissected in this manner, make good sense without any emendation:⁴ *3Ink šr2 pw; s pw wn7 m3ty8 m h3w; nfr ir-n nfr r-f*, "I am this prince;⁵ this man, what is more, who was righteous; good is what God has done against him."

Thus, in every instance, the sentence ends with a variation of the consoling words with which another Neferhotep is greeted by his parents on his arrival in the other world:¹⁰ *Nfr-wy hpr n-k*: "How good is what has happened to you."

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¹ Except that of disregarding the determinative of *h3w*.

² Cf. Erman, *op. cit.*, § 377.

³ Cf. *Urk. IV*, p. 971, l. 16; *Annales du Service*, IV, 282, l. 4.

⁴ I.e.: "It is the deceased that speaks through me, the harper." This is a transitional stage in a development that ends in the direct appeal of Taimhotep to her surviving husband on her mortuary stela.

¹⁰ Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes*, Pl. XXXIX.

¹ See Miriam Lichtheim, "The Songs of the Harpers," *JNES*, IV (1945), 178-212, esp. 192 ff.

² Or *wr*.

³ Erman-Blackman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 133, n. 2.

⁴ A noun; cf. *Wörterbuch*, I, 266, 10 (*Urk. IV*, p. 974, l. 10).

⁵ *Hdy* is a normal infinitive; cf. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (2d ed.), §§ 401, 408.

THE EDICT OF KING HAREMHAB¹

KURT PFLÜGER

THIS important inscription of Haremhhab consists of an introduction, a legal part, an administrative part, and a conclusion. It has no unity of construction or style. Introduction and conclusion are more or less of a poetical character, though without any distinctive form. Also the administrative part seems to be but loosely knit, "prose" alternating with poetical passages. The legal part, however, is molded into a rigid shape; all its enactments show fundamentally the same construction, and no poetical phrases interrupt the barren legal prose.² Philologically, the legal as well as the administrative part of the edict can be reckoned among the so-called "Amarna texts";³ the language is on the verge of turning into Late Egyptian.

TRANSLATION⁴

A. INTRODUCTION (LL. 1-13)

(1-4) — (5) — [Haremhhab], granted life for ever and [ev]er, in eternity. Be-

¹ On a stela in the Temple of Amen-Re at Karnak; the edict was first published by Bouriant, *Recueil de travaux*, VI (1885), 41 ff., with a drawing of the scene in the upper part of the stela and sketches of a number of fragments found near the monument. For a more accurate copy of the text see W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Vol. I, Pls. 90-104. The latest translations of the text are by Breasted, *Ancient Records*, Vol. III (1927), §§ 50 ff., and Maspero, in Davis, *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatânkhamanou*. For further literature cf. *ibid.*, p. 46, nn. 1-5.

² On comparing the legal part of this edict with other legal decrees from ancient Egypt, we find, on the whole, an essentially identical construction. Cf. Weill, *Les Décrets royaux*, and Sethe's review in *Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1912, No. 12 (Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period), and Griffith, *JEA*, XIII (1927), 195 ff. (Nauri Stela of Sethos I.).

³ Cf. Frida Behnk, *Grammatik der Texte von El Amarna*.

⁴ My translation is based chiefly on W. Max Müller's copy and a collation of the text made by Sethe in 1905 for the *Wörterbuch*. I am much indebted to Professor Grapow for his kindness in having made this collation and all the other material of the *Wörterbuch*

ginning of an eternity of receiving [joy, hundreds of thousands of peaceful years,] (6) [millions of jubilees upon the throne of]⁵ Him-who-is-[i]n-heaven,⁶ (and) the kingdom of Re. Bestowed upon him is the throne of 'Horus' — (7) the land is flooded with 'his' love. Righteousness has come; she has united [with it] — (8) they⁷ [are] in exultation. Egypt, it is re-born;⁸ the whole of the Black Land, its heart is merry in jubilation — (9) —. He⁹ has come in dignity. He has filled the Two Lands with his beauty, for the Good God, he was born to Re — (10) doing righteousness throughout the Two Lands. He⁹ rejoices at her¹⁰ beauty being exalted.

Then His Majesty took counsel with his heart — (11) — [in order to ex]pel sin (and) destroy lying. The plans of H.M. are an excellent refuge warding off the wrath (all) around¹¹ — [cases of oppression] (12) — which have been occur-

accessible to me. The service rendered to me by Breasted's translation is obvious, and I have retained its wording wherever I thought it advisable. Square brackets indicate that words have been restored by me, italics being used for guesses or approximate restorations. Half-brackets (' ') indicate that the words are doubtful. Round brackets indicate that the words have been added by me. The following abbreviations are used on the plates: S (Sethe), M (W. Max Müller), B (Bouriant), P (my own restorations or remarks on the text), Wb. (copy of the text in the possession of the *Wörterbuch*, used by Sethe for his collation). The photo mentioned was taken by Dr. Lippmann, who kindly put it at my disposal. The plates have been specially redrawn for this publication by Edwin L. Hynes of the Oriental Institute, to whom the author wishes here to express his deep appreciation.

⁵ Cf. the Nauri Stela of Sethos I, I. 1 (*op. cit.*, and Sethe, *ZÄS*, LXVI, 1 ff.).

⁶ Re.

⁷ The inhabitants of Egypt.

⁸ Literally, "it has repeated (itself)."

⁹ The king.

¹⁰ Refers to *m³.t*, "righteousness."

¹¹ I.e., like a wall.

ring among them. Now H.M. was watchful day and night, seeking the benefit of Egypt and searching out [excellent]¹² occasions — (13) His Majesty. He¹³ took palette and papyrus-roll; then he wrote down in accordance with all that H.M. said.

The king himself, he says in command:

— (14) [ca]ses of oppression in the land.

B. LEGAL PART (LL. 14-3, LEFT)

I. ENACTMENT AGAINST THE TAKING-AWAY OF TRANSPORT VESSELS USED FOR DELIVERING DUES

If the commoner makes for himself a craft with its equipment (?)¹⁴ in order to be able to serve Pharaoh — [*and the craft is taken away, so that he cannot deliver*] (15) the dues, the commoner being¹⁵ deprived of his property,¹⁶ frustrated in his many labors — [*My Majesty has commanded to leave him alone because of*] (16) his good intentions.¹⁷

(Now) if there i[s]¹⁸ the man] who (wants to) deliver dues¹⁸ [for] the breweries (?)¹⁹ and abattoirs (?)²⁰ of Pharaoh on behalf of²¹ the t[wo] deputies [of the army]²² — [*and there is anyone who interferes*] (17) and

¹² Cf. Tutankhamun's restoration inscription, l. 12 (*Recueil de travaux*, Vol. XXIX, and *JEA*, XXV [1939], 9).

¹³ A scribe.

¹⁴ *ḥnfy.t*; cf. Pleyte and Rossi, Pl. LXXIV, l. 4.

¹⁵ The verb is *ḥꜥ*, "to stand."

¹⁶ I.e., the craft and its equipment.

¹⁷ Literally, "plans" (*šḥrw*).

¹⁸ *ḥi*.

¹⁹ *wꜥbw.t*; in the Old Kingdom *wꜥbw.t* meant a workshop; later, a room for preparing and storing food. *Pap. Anastasi*, IV, 16, ll. 3/4, suggests a brewery.

²⁰ *ḥsw.t*; *ḥst*, actually "seat," seems to denote also an abattoir. This is suggested by the evidence of Tombs 2 and 3 at Beni Hasan, where persons with the title of *mr ḥst* are represented in slaughtering scenes; cf. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, Vol. I, Pls. 17, 19, 20 (Tomb 2), and 35 (Tomb 3).

²¹ *ḥr*.

²² Cf. l. 21.

he takes away the craft of any military man²³ (or) of any (other) [per]son in any part of the country,²⁴ the law shall be applied against him by cutting off his nose, he being sent to Si[le].²⁵

[*If, however, an official finds*] (18) a commoner without a craft, then he shall get him a craft for his contribution from another and shall send him²⁶ off to bring the wood in his stead;²⁷ for he²⁸ will have to serve [*Pharaoh at all events*].

II. ENACTMENT IN AID OF SHIPOWNERS ROBBED OF CARGOES WHICH WERE TO BE DELIVERED TO THE KING

[*If there is an official who finds a commoner in possession of his craft but his goods taken*] (19) away,²⁹ (the ship) emptied of its cargo by an act of theft,³⁰ and the commoner is³¹ deprived of hi[s] property] — (20) and he has nothing—seeing that it is not good, this report of a very bad case, My Majesty has commanded to leave him alone. Behold —.

III. ENACTMENT, AGAINST INTERFERING WITH THE DELIVERY OF DUES FOR THE HARIM AND DIVINE OFFERINGS

[*If there is anyone who interferes with those who*] — (21) and those who are supplying³² the harim as well as the offerings of all (kinds of) gods in that they deliver dues on behalf of³³ the two deputies of the army, a[nd he] —, (22) the law [shall be applied] against him by cutting off his nose, he being sent to Sile likewise.

²³ *ḥnḥ n mšꜥ*: here and in l. 34 probably a man belonging to the army reserve; in l. 28, a soldier on active service.

²⁴ Literally, "who is in the whole land."

²⁵ Cf. l. 22.

²⁶ The owner of this craft.

²⁷ Literally, "for him."

²⁸ The man who was robbed of his ship.

²⁹ *nḥm*.

³⁰ Literally, "its cargo having been emptied by the theft of them (*ḥḥ.w*)."

³¹ Literally, "stands."

³² *ḥḥ r*.

³³ *ḥr*.

IV. ENACTMENT AGAINST THE REQUISITIONING OF "KT"-PLANTS AND THE APPROPRIATION FOR THIS PURPOSE OF THE SERVICES OF PRIVATELY OWNED SLAVES³⁴

If the employees³⁵ of Pharaoh's department of offerings go requisitioning³⁶ in the village with a view to seizing³⁷ [*kt-plants* also, and if they appropriate for this purpose the services of privately owned slaves] (23) for six or seven days, without their³⁸ being able to get away from them at will³⁹ —seeing that this, too, is an unbearable state of affairs,⁴⁰ it shall also be done accordingly.⁴¹

As for any place — [where one] (24) shall hear: "They are requisitioning with a view to seizing *kt*-plants," also and another comes to report: "My man slave (or) my female slave has been taken away — [the law shall be applied against them by] —.

V. ENACTMENT AGAINST THE LOOTING OF FARMS FOR HIDES, WITH A CLAUSE IN FAVOR OF TAXPAYERS

[If] (25) the two divisions of the army which are in the country, the one in the southern region, the other in the northern

³⁴ It appears that the requisitioning of *kt*-plants referred to in Enactment IV was in itself an illegal act and amounted to theft. *Kt* is the name of a plant which, according to Ludwig Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten*, I, 7-8 and 127-29, is the same as the one known to modern botanists under the name of *Carthamus tinctorius* L. This plant was used for dyeing purposes and in oil production; it gave the well-known cnecos oil mentioned in the Greco-Roman papyri. In summarizing, Keimer says (*op. cit.*, p. 8): "Jedenfalls war Cnecos nur das Speiseöl der ärmeren Bevölkerung."

³⁵ *šgmw*.

³⁶ *kt*.

³⁷ *št*.

³⁸ Literally, "one's," referring to the slaves; cf. I. 24.

³⁹ *m wštn*.

⁴⁰ Literally, "a matter of excess" (*hn n šw*).

⁴¹ *m m.t.t* here seems to have the vaguer meaning of "accordingly," i.e., in accordance with the nature of the crime, and not that of "likewise," referring to a punishment previously mentioned; for the construction of the enactment suggests that a punishment, probably of a new type, has once been announced in detail at the end of I. 24. Cf. I. 27 and Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, 27, n. b.

region,⁴² are taking away hides⁴³ throughout the land, without stopping for a (single) year⁴⁴ so as to grant a respite to [the peasants] — (26) — and seize those (hides) among them which are branded,⁴⁵ while they are going from house to house beating and maltreating (?),⁴⁶ without hides being left for [the peasants] —, and if the one who — of (?) Phar[ao]h [goes] [to carry out the census of his cattle⁴⁷ and h]e — [interviews] (27) them (?), but the hides are⁴⁸ not found with them, (so that) — they are (virtually) in debt,⁴⁹ and they gain

⁴² W. Max Müller (*ZÄS*, XXVI [1888], 82-83) and Breasted (*Anc. Rec.*, III, 27, n. c) saw in "the two divisions of the army" forerunners of the Kalasiries and Hermotybies mentioned by Herodotus. This can hardly be correct, for the Kalasiries and Hermotybies represented different kinds of arms, whereas the two divisions mentioned in the edict correspond to what in the British army is called "commands" (a southern and a northern command).

⁴³ The soldiers, by looting farms for hides, were apparently interfering with the collection of the cattle tax. (This implies that the peasant, and not the king, was the virtual owner of the cattle. Breasted [*Anc. Rec.*, III, 28, n. c] offers a different explanation; he sees in the cattle loan-herds belonging to the king "which were contracted to be maintained by private individuals." Cf. Müller, *ZÄS*, XXVI [1888], 85-86. At the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to decide one way or the other, but I think that my suggestion is the more plausible.) It seems that a peasant, if he wanted to avoid being taxed for any animal that had died since the last assessment, had to produce its hide to the "overseer of the cattle of Pharaoh" in order to prove its death (cf. Maspero, in Davis, *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatankhamanou*, p. 51). It looks to me as if a distinction is made between "hides" (*dḥw*) and "branded" (*šb*) hides, in which case the enactment would be directed against the theft of the latter only. However, the text is by no means clear. If my suggestion is correct, we may presume that some cattle were exempt from taxation, as the purpose of the branding must have been to mark those animals for which a tax had to be paid.

⁴⁴ Literally, "without passing a year in cessation."

⁴⁵ Literally, "the one of them which is branded."

⁴⁶ *štwh*; cf. *twh*, "to rob," "to destroy," or the like.

⁴⁷ Cf. I. 27. Literally, "... the cattle-census with regard to him (*r.f.*)" It seems that there was a tax on all or certain livestock and that the census mentioned here was carried out periodically with the object of assessing the cattle-tax for the following term.

⁴⁸ Actually singular.

⁴⁹ Literally, "a residue (remainder, balance) can be established against them."

their⁵⁰ confidence,⁵¹ saying: "They have been taken away from us"—seeing that this, *t[oo]*, is a wretched case, it shall be [done acc]ordingly.⁴¹

(Now) if the overseer of the cattle of Pharaoh⁵² goes to carry out the cattle-census throughout the land—for it is he (alone), who shall collect⁵³ the hide(s) of the dead (animals) which —, [My Majesty has commanded that *the peasant* shall be left alone] (28) [because of] his honest intention.⁵⁴

But as for any military man (concerning) whom one shall hear: "He goes about and also takes hides away," starting from today, the law shall be applied against him by inflicting upon him a hundred blows, causing five open wounds,⁵⁵ and taking from him the hide which he has seized as (being) something that has been unlawfully acquired.⁵⁶

VI. ENACTMENT AGAINST EXTORTION AND CORRUPTION IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE REVENUE

But as for this other type⁵⁷ of offense which on[e — *the catering officers*] (29) of the house of the queen and the catering officers of the *harim* running after the *h3.tiw-c*,⁵⁸ importuning⁵⁹ them and demanding the "[some]thing"⁶⁰ of the traffic

down and up the river⁶¹ which had (already) been demanded of the *h3.tiw-c* in the time of King Thutmose III—

but as for him who sails down or up the river, whom they⁶² got hold of,⁶³ as soon as [the *h3.tiw-c* of the time of King] Thutmose III went about,⁶⁴ (30) every year, [*robbing people on*] the journey to the City,⁶⁵ and the [*sdmw-*]-š of the *harim*⁶⁶ came to the *h3.tiw-c*, saying: "Give (us) [the] 'something' for the careless inspection,"⁶⁷ then, behold, Pharaoh made the journey (of inspection at the occasion) of the Opet Festival every year without being careless; (on the contrary), one was making preparations before the arrival of⁶⁸ Pharaoh — (31) — [*the sdmw-š*] of the *harim* — causing it to be well prepared.⁶⁹

But what shall one think of these new attempts⁷⁰ to demand the "something" [of them]!—

now, the *h3.tiw-c* (also) shall take part in⁷¹ [the] (royal) [jour]ney for the sake⁷² of the

⁴¹ It appears that the compensation consisted of a certain percentage of excessive harbor dues which the "mayors" used to extort from shipowners; cf. the following sentence and l. 33.

⁴² The "mayors."

⁴³ *šdi*.

⁴⁴ Restored from a fragment found by Bouriant.

⁴⁵ Thebes.

⁴⁶ Actually servants; a more general designation for the previously mentioned catering officers (*šw wdhw*). The "harim" (*pr-hnr*) seems to have included the "house of the queen."

⁴⁷ Literally, "journey" (*wḏy.t*), probably the same as the one mentioned in the following sentence.

⁴⁸ Literally, "in front of." The preparations probably consisted of interviewing people.

⁴⁹ It seems that the catering officers referred to used to accompany the king on his annual journey of inspection and had formerly taken advantage of the opportunity to make illegal profits.

⁷⁰ Literally, "but (*tr.f*) how is it, the going out again, afterward, to. . . ."

⁷¹ Literally, "go with."

⁷² Literally, "property" (*thw.t*).

⁵⁰ Referring to the overseer of the cattle and his assistants; see below.

⁵¹ Literally, "they fill their heart."

⁵² The cattle may have belonged to the king only in theory.

⁵³ Literally, "bring (*ini*)."

⁵⁴ Literally, "plan (*šhr*)."

⁵⁵ Literally, "by beating him with a hundred blows, opened wounds (by the number of) five."

⁵⁶ *m ḥw*; cf. the Nauri Stela of Sethos I, ll. 54–55, 79, 93, 96, and Griffith's translation (*JEA*, Vol. XIII).

⁵⁷ Literally, "case (*sp*)."

⁵⁸ Probably "mayors"; cf. *Urkunden*, IV, 196, l. 13.

⁵⁹ *ꜥc*, known from the Nineteenth Dynasty only; for its meaning cf. *Wörterbuch* ("beschuldigen") and Gardiner, *Untersuchungen*, IV, 21, n. 59 ("to do harm," or the like).

⁶⁰ Apparently a compensation for a careless inspection; cf. l. 30.

commoners⁷³ — (32) — seeing that this [*is a bad case*], My Majesty has commanded to prevent this [als]o from being done,⁷⁴ starting from today. (But) as for the — who (still) seizes⁷⁵ [*a ship* ?] which⁷⁶ [*is in*] the harbor, he is the one against whom an inquiry shall be opened.⁷⁷

VII. ENACTMENT AGAINST THE UNLAWFUL COLLECTION OF "šm"-HERBS

Furthermore, those who [take away] šm-herbs for the breweries (?) — (33) — of (?) [the] commoners, taking away their šm-herbs daily, saying: "They are for the revenue⁷⁸ [of Pharaoh]" —, [and there is] no [*success for*] the commoners in their labors—seeing that t[his, too], is a bad case, [My Majesty has commanded] —. [*But as for those officials who go out*] (34) — to take šm-herbs [for the] revenue⁷⁸ of Pharaoh from the orchards and the⁷⁹ — of the estates of Pharaoh — of Pharaoh, which contain šm-herbs,⁸⁰ if one shall hear that they [*take away the property*] of any military man (or) [any] (other) person [*in any part of the country*] — [*the law shall be applied against them* ?] — (35) — [*for they are* ?] people who have disobeyed orders.

VIII. ENACTMENT AGAINST THE UNLAWFUL COLLECTION OF CEREALS, VEGETABLES, ETC.

Now as for these keepers⁸¹ of the *kyky*-monkeys⁸² who are going about [*taking*]

⁷³ Whereas Thutmose III contented himself with an ordinary, though particularly careful, inspection, Haremhab went a step further by compelling the "mayors" to accompany him on his annual journey so that he could keep an eye on them.

⁷⁴ Literally, "not to allow that one acts in such a way either" (*grw*).

⁷⁵ šdl.

⁷⁶ Or: "gets hold of a person who . . ." Cf. the end of l. 29.

⁷⁷ *tw.tw r šn.t.f r.f.*

⁷⁸ Literally, "contribution" (to), (*bšk*).

⁷⁹ Plural.

⁸⁰ The genitive *pr-š* after *prwt* ("estates") probably refers to "*w.t n.t ht* ("orchards") as well. It seems that the king leased orchards, etc., to peasants.

⁸¹ Literally, "herdsmen" (*mtw*).

⁸² Kept for religious purposes (?).

— in the southern region and the northern region and (unlawfully) taking⁸³ corn⁸⁴ from the [inhabitant]s of the village, (making ?) the "house-measure" fifty hins⁸⁵ in that they falsify⁸⁶ the measure of the (State ?) Granary⁸⁷ and are (thereby unlawfully) taking⁸⁸ flax, vegetables, and *rn*p[y.t]⁸⁹ — [*seeing that this is a bad case, My Majesty has commanded to prevent this from being done* ?] — (36) — [in that th]ey [are] (unlawfully) taking⁸⁸ from the estates and are taking⁸⁸ from the ships, and 'other' (?) people are going about *doing* — in the southern region and in the northern region and (unlawfully) taking⁸⁸ a house-measure (of fifty hins) from the commoners. [*But as for* ?] these honest (?)⁹⁰ ones, [*they shall be* ?] reward[ed] —.

[*As for the commoners who* ?] — (37) — loaves with which [*they are*] supplied, My Majesty has commanded to remit it⁹¹ altogether so as to prevent — the commoners —.

IX. ENACTMENT AGAINST SOME OTHER KIND OF ENCROACHMENT (?)

Now as for the other wretched [*case whose report*] is not good, [*if those who* — do] — (38) — all the estates in which they are [and they]⁹² — of the king — (39) — the overseer of the foreign countries [*is*] giving the gold [of] the king — to those who —

⁸³ šdl.

⁸⁴ šš; in the present context it seems to be a general designation for edible plants.

⁸⁵ Literally, "(to wit), a house-measure of fifty hins"; a "house-measure" (*tp.t n pr*) seems to have indicated the quantity of cereals, etc., levied on farmers as a tax.

⁸⁶ ḥdl.

⁸⁷ *dbh šn* (?).

⁸⁸ šdl.

⁸⁹ A general term for fresh plants of various kinds.

⁹⁰ šš.

⁹¹ Referring to some feminine noun.

⁹² ḥn^c nty.šn (?).

X. ENACTMENT AGAINST THE UNLAWFUL APPROPRIATION OF SLAVE LABOR (?)

(1, left) — [If the "messengers"⁹³ of the *harīm*] go about requisitioning to get hold of⁹⁴ any serf (?)⁹⁵ who has been pointed out to them — it is, however, —⁹⁶ in (?) washing (?) — if one hears repeatedly: (2, left) — everything [they *do* is] a crime — "messengers" of the *harīm* who go about [requisitioning] in the vi[llage] — of 'the inhabitants' of the village (?) — fishermen and fowlers — carry (?) their (?)⁹⁷ —

C. ADMINISTRATIVE PART (LL. 3, LEFT-6 OR 7, RIGHT)

I. INTRODUCTION

(3, left) — I have set this entire land in order — I have traveled (through) it thoroughly as far as the south; I have surveyed (?)⁹⁸ [it (?) — 'entirely': I have learned its whole condition (?),⁹⁹ having first toured its interior.

II. THE REORGANIZATION OF THE "K_{NB}.T"-COURTS

I have sought out people — (4, left) — discreet (?),¹⁰⁰ of good character, knowing how to judge thought,¹⁰¹ listening to the words of the Palace (and) to the laws of the throne-hall. I have appointed them to judge the Two Lands and

to satisfy [their] inhabitants — I have set them in the great cities¹⁰² [of] Upper and Lower Egypt, every one of them, without exception, enjoying the benefit of a stipend.¹⁰³ I have given them¹⁰⁴ precept(s) (and recorded) laws in [their] journal — (5, left) — true. I have taught them the (right) course of life (by) guiding them to justice. I have instructed them, saying: "Do not associate with other people. Do not take a bribe from¹⁰⁵ another. Not —. What (shall one think of) men of your station,¹⁰⁶ (appointed) to replace others, as long as there is one among you¹⁰⁷ who violates justice?"

But as for the tax of silver and gold — (6, left) — [My] Majesty [has commanded] to remit it so as to prevent a tax of any description¹⁰⁸ from being collected from the *k_{NB}.t*-courts of Upper and Lower Egypt.

But as for any lay official¹⁰⁹ (or) any priest¹¹⁰ (concerning) whom one shall hear: "He sits (there) to administer justice¹¹¹ in the *k_{NB}.t*-court (which has been) set up for administering justice,¹¹² and (yet) he violates justice therein," it shall be (reckoned) to him (for) a great capital crime. Now, behold, My Majesty has done this to restore the laws of Egypt, in order to prevent that there will be another — (7, left) — of the *k_{NB}.t*-court.

⁹³ *šdiw*; in the present context probably tax-collectors; cf. l. 2, below.

⁹⁴ Literally, "bring" (*int*).

⁹⁵ *tw*?

⁹⁶ *ššty*, "fraud" (?).

⁹⁷ *p₃yw* (?).

⁹⁸ *inb*; cf. Pap. Bibliothèque Nationale, 199, l. 3 (Spiegelberg, *Correspondence des rois prêtres*, p. 78): "when my letter reaches you, you shall join X and collect (*inb*) the herb(s)." The verb is etymologically akin to *inb*, "wall," and means actually "to act like a wall" (around something), "to hold together," "to bundle up," etc.

⁹⁹ Literally, "bowels," "midst" (*k₃b*).

¹⁰⁰ Or "secretive" (*imm-r*); it may also mean "perfect in speech," referring either to rhetorical abilities or to integrity of speech.

¹⁰¹ Literally, "that which is in the body" (*imy-h.t*).

¹⁰² *nw.ty wrw*, "the two great cities." The dual can hardly be correct. In l. 7, left, it says: "a *k_{NB}.t*-court has been set up all over the country." This does not suggest that the institution was confined to two administrative centers (Memphis and Thebes).

¹⁰³ Literally, "(being) on his stipend" (*mdn*).

¹⁰⁴ Literally, "I have put before them."

¹⁰⁵ Literally, "of."

¹⁰⁶ Literally, "what is he, [one] being like you?"

¹⁰⁷ *iw grt n.tn*.

¹⁰⁸ Literally, "of anything."

¹⁰⁹ *h₃.t*-; cf. Spiegelberg, *Studien und Materialien zur Rechtsgeschichte des Pharaonenreiches*, p. 51, and my "Conclusions."

¹¹⁰ *hm-nfr*; cf. my "Conclusions."

¹¹¹ *r tr.t wpt*.

¹¹² *r wpt*.

Hm-ntr-priests of the temples, *h3.ti-c*-officials of the residence of this country and *w^cb*-priests of the gods, forming¹¹³ every honorable¹¹⁴ *knb.t*-court, [th]ey shall judge the citizens of every town.

[My] Majesty has taken great pains over¹¹⁵ Egypt, in order (to assure) that the life of its inhabitants may prosper while he appears (every morning) upon the throne of Re. Behold, *knb.t*-courts¹¹⁶ have been set up all over the country [to judge] every [man living], to hold court in the towns according to the excellent plans of [My Majesty].

III. THE KING AND HIS ARMY OFFICERS

(8, left) — entirely. I have issued the instruction because My [Majesty] (wants to) protect every per[son]. They are around¹¹⁷ My [Majesty] three times a month. [It is] to them like a feast, every man sitting by¹¹⁸ (his) share of every good thing, consisting of good bread, meat, and cake—consisting of the property of the king —. Their voice, it reached the sky, extolling the goodness of the lord of [the Two Lands].

The chiefs¹¹⁹ of the armed forces,¹²⁰ every officer¹²¹ of the army,¹²² every man among (9, left) [them are entertained as it was done] before by (gifts) being thrown to them from the balcony and every man being called by his name by the king himself, they stepping forward, rejoicing, and receiving presents out of¹²³ the property of

the royal house. Indeed,¹²⁴ they are taking (with them) provisions from the (State) Granary, every one of them being in possession of barley and emmer; there has not been found one who had not [his] share¹²⁵ —¹²⁶ (10, left) — their towns (?), without allowing themselves a moment's rest during the whole period of three days which they spend there.¹²⁷ Their *h3htw*¹²⁸ instantly hasten after them to the spot where they are (standing),¹²⁹ (and) everything they find there is (their masters') property for ever — heart's desire — (1, right) — department¹³⁰ of the lord of the Two Lands —.

IV. REVIVAL OF COURT CEREMONIES OF THE PRE-AMARNA PERIOD (?)

— (2, right) — [san]dal-bearers, they follow in the halls of the inner palace, quickly going and coming through its doors — (3, right) — "I¹³¹ am the *sr.*" They enter through the gates of [the palace], speedily, by chariot,¹³² (and betake themselves) to the Sublime Place,¹³³ (with) a greyhound as companion following after (each of) [them] — (4, right) — [th]rone-hall, clothed [in —, sh]od with sandals, (with) a staff (?) as *imy-hf^c.f*¹³⁴ like (the one of) shepherds (?) — (5, right) — in its¹³⁵ (right) place as be-

¹²⁴ *iw sw.t*.

¹²⁵ According to Bouriant's reading.

¹²⁶ Apparently the continuation of the description of the scene in the courtyard.

¹²⁷ Literally, "without having completed there (in the palace) the period of three days, giving (themselves) a rest."

¹²⁸ A hapax legomenon.

¹²⁹ Viz., in front of the balcony.

¹³⁰ *c.t*.

¹³¹ Not the king.

¹³² Literally, "on horse(back)" (*hr ssm.t*).

¹³³ *bw d^{sr}*, usually the holy of holies of a temple; here probably a secluded part of the palace.

¹³⁴ "He-who-is-in-his-fist," a staff, etc., used here in the meaning of an outward sign of office; cf. Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Appendix B, Pl. 5 and p. 47.

¹³⁵ Or "his" (?).

¹¹³ Literally, "making."

¹¹⁴ Literally, "praised" (*h^{sy}.t*).

¹¹⁵ *n^{hp} hr*.

¹¹⁶ Actually singular.

¹¹⁷ Literally, "go round."

¹¹⁸ Literally, "upon."

¹¹⁹ *hryw-tp*.

¹²⁰ *mⁿfy.t*.

¹²¹ *c³*.

¹²² *m^{sc}*.

¹²³ Literally, "being regaled with" (*sd/f³w m*).

fore. I have pointed out the course for the inner palace and (given) instructions for the "house of the princes."¹³⁶ I have — (6, right) — the speakers of the throne-hall follow¹³⁷ their (prescribed) course and are "making *ḡṣr*"¹³⁸ in the whole house; the courtiers of the king are in their (right) place, the *mḥḡy.t*-court is (functioning) in accordance with its¹³⁹ instruction — (7, right) —.

D. CONCLUSION (LL. 6 OR 7,
RIGHT-9, RIGHT)

If the time of (my) being on earth will last, (I) making monuments for the gods, then I shall be reborn like the moon. I — (8, right) — united with life, duration and prosperity. His¹⁴⁰ body has illuminated the ends of the earth like the sun-disk of Re; his light is strong like (that of) Re, when he shows himself in springtime. His¹⁴⁰ beauty has been brought to great radiance;¹⁴¹ his might is in the hearts of the people. (9, right) —

May you hear these commands which My Majesty has newly issued so as to set the whole land in order, after My Majesty had taken to heart¹⁴² these acts of oppression which are being committed in this country —.

CONCLUSIONS

It appears that the edict does not contain any direct attack upon the Amarna regime. It is even doubtful whether that epoch is referred to at all. Yet one would expect a precise denunciation of the revolution, such as is seen in Tutankhamun's restoration inscription. Haremhab, how-

ever, exercises powers of restraint, owing, no doubt, to the intention of reconciling past and present times instead of emphasizing their antagonism.

Another significant aspect of the text is the way in which the language of the legal-administrative parts of the edict is imbued with colloquial elements. One of Akhenaton's most conspicuous revolutionary acts had been the introduction of the colloquial language into official documents.

Add to this that the description of the scene in the courtyard of the palace, in front of the balcony, as given in lines 8, left, ff., vividly recalls certain representations in Amarna tombs. It is very likely that the practice of publicly conferring honors on people and the tumultuous, undignified form in which this was done goes back to Akhenaton.

Other impressions gained from the text, in particular from the legal part, tally well with the points just mentioned. In five of the ten enactments¹⁴³ the offenders are stated to be either officials or soldiers. Although gaps in the remaining five enactments deprive us of the exact information which we desire, it seems very likely that the crimes mentioned there were committed by people of similar status. On the other hand, those in whose aid all the ten enactments had been issued were the *nmḥyw*, the working-class people, and, in addition, in at least four cases,¹⁴⁴ the king.

The enactments are framed (1) to insure the regular payment of various dues and taxes to the king and (2) to gain the favor of the people by protecting them against the rapacity of officials and soldiers.

It appears that Haremhab selected only such types of crimes as were particularly

¹³⁶ Literally, "the interior of . . ." (*ḥnw k3p*).

¹³⁷ Literally, "(are) in accordance with" (*r*).

¹³⁸ *ḡṣr*, causative infinitive, derived from *ḡsr*, "holy," "sublime," "splendid." Meaning (?).

¹³⁹ Literally, "their."

¹⁴⁰ Referring to the king.

¹⁴¹ Literally, "has been made very radiant."

¹⁴² Literally, "remembered."

¹⁴³ Nos. IV, V, VI, VIII, and X.

¹⁴⁴ Enactments I, II, III, and V.

common or particularly prejudicial to the administration of the state or to the welfare of the working people, leaving the innumerable other cases to the reorganized *knb.t*-courts.

It would, however, be a mistake to think that Haremhab was impelled by "humanitarian" motives. It was the necessity of popularizing and thereby stabilizing his regime which induced him to put an end to the unscrupulous exploitation of his weaker subjects and to prescribe individual ways of procedure, acknowledging nothing less than the *good intention* of the plebeian taxpayer in cases of *force majeure*.

Haremhab's reorganization of the *knb.t*-courts shows how conservative a statesman he was. According to line 7, left, the new courts were to be composed of (1) *hm-ntr*-priests "of the temples," (2) *h3.ti*-officials "of the residence of this country," and (3) *w-b*-priests "of the gods." The order in which these groups are mentioned seems to be based on considerations of rank. Of the two categories of priests, that of the *hmw-ntr* was probably the higher one.¹⁴⁵

It is noteworthy that the *h3.tiw*- ("lay officials") are mentioned after the *hm-ntr*-priests. The addition of "of the residence of this country" shows that Haremhab chose only from among those "lay officials" who held offices in the residence, that is, under his very eyes. He evidently trusted priests more than laymen.

The fact that outside the residence only priests were allowed to sit in the new *knb.t*-courts finds its explanation in the

¹⁴⁵ Although both words, *hmw-ntr* and *wbw*, are often used in the general meaning of "priests," only *hm-ntr* occurs in reference to the king as the "priest" of a god or to a god as a "priest" of another god.

following passage from Tutankhamun's restoration inscription (l. 17):¹⁴⁶ "He appointed *w-b*-priests and *hm-ntr*-priests, children of the *srw* of their¹⁴⁷ towns, each the son of a (well-)known man whose name was known."¹⁴⁸

The social meaning of this policy is only too plain. Under Akhenaton many people of low birth had been given the chance of rising to important positions in society and administration. When, after his death, monotheism was dropped, great numbers of plebeians seem to have gained admission to the priesthood of the ancient gods. Now, under Tutankhamun, these plebeians are to be replaced by men of rank.

It is owing to this "reactionary" reorganization of the clergy that Haremhab considered priests on the whole more suitable for sitting in his courts than secular officials. His antiplebeian attitude, however, was obviously confined to the realm of politics; beyond that he seems to have done everything in his power to improve the lot of the workingman. The revolution of Amarna had been a warning.

Haremhab's edict is important not only in that it throws light on certain legal and administrative details; it also teaches us a good deal about the spirit of the restoration in showing that this restoration, severe though it was, was not a mere way back but embodied revolutionary features in the traditional scheme.

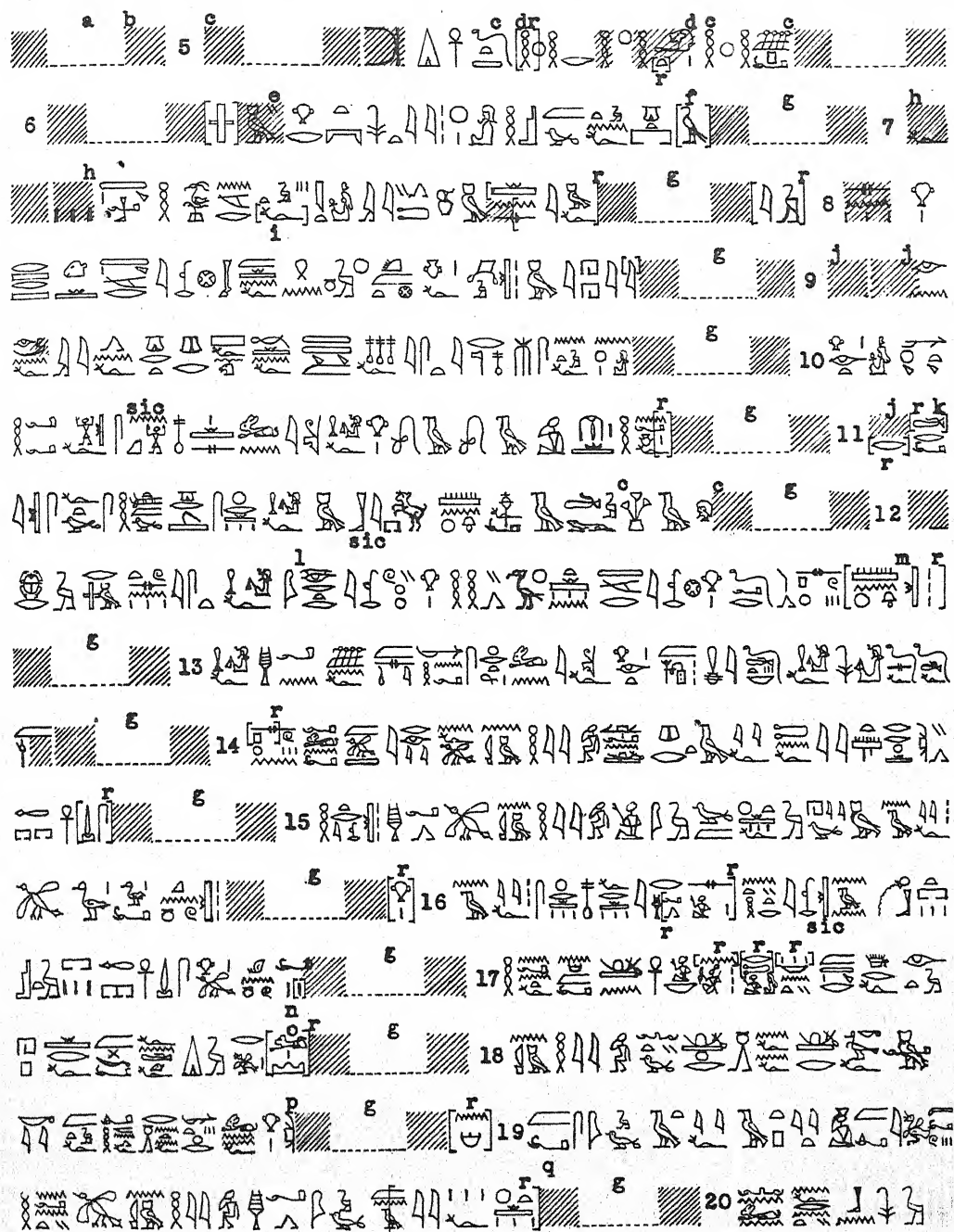
BELTANE SCHOOL
MELKSHAM, WILTSHIRE
ENGLAND

¹⁴⁶ It is almost certain that Tutankhamun, at the time when this inscription was published, had been only a puppet in the hands of his minister Haremhab.

¹⁴⁷ Referring to gods.

¹⁴⁸ Note the emphasis. Cf. Bennett, *JEA*, XXV (1939), 13.

PLATE I



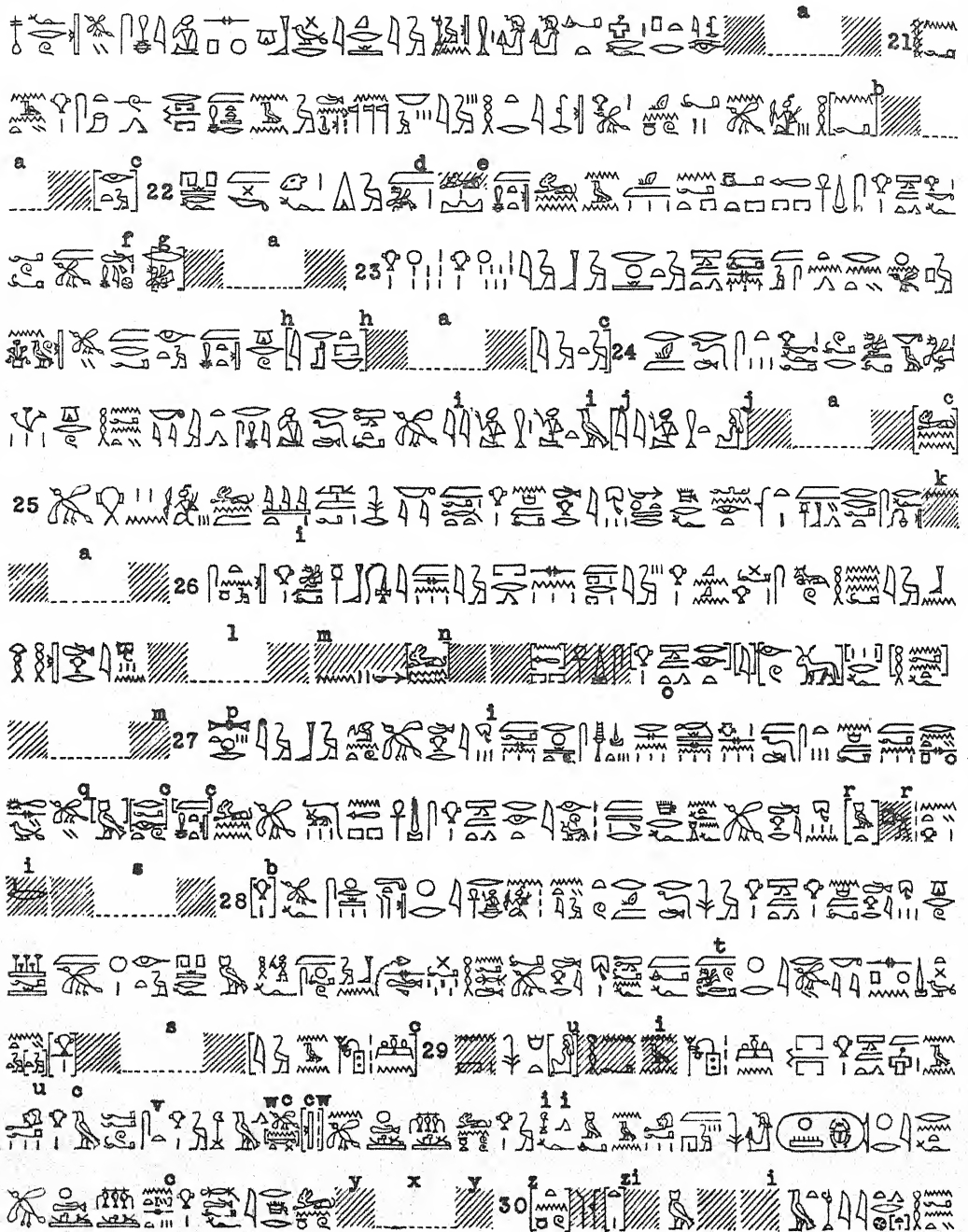
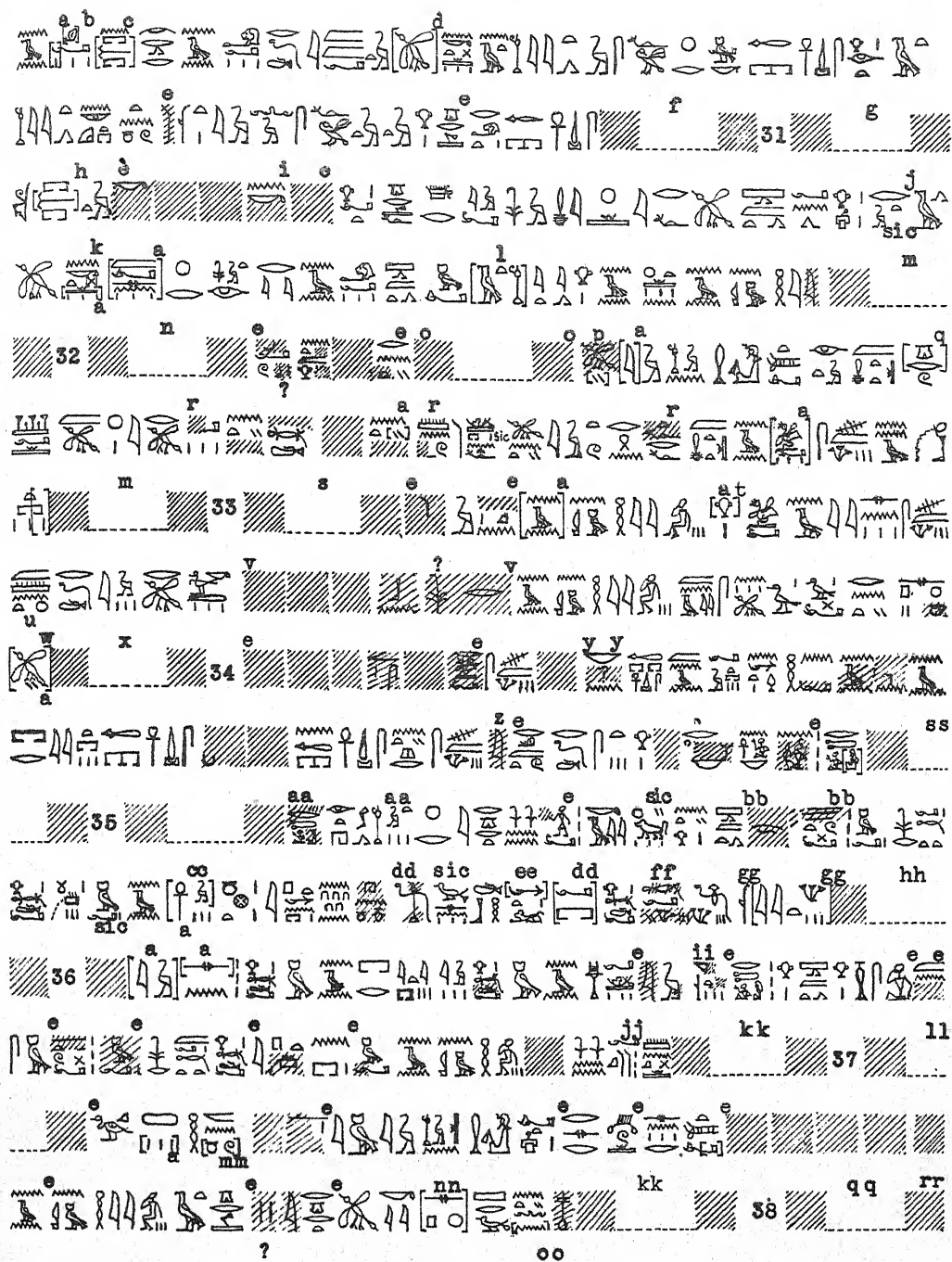
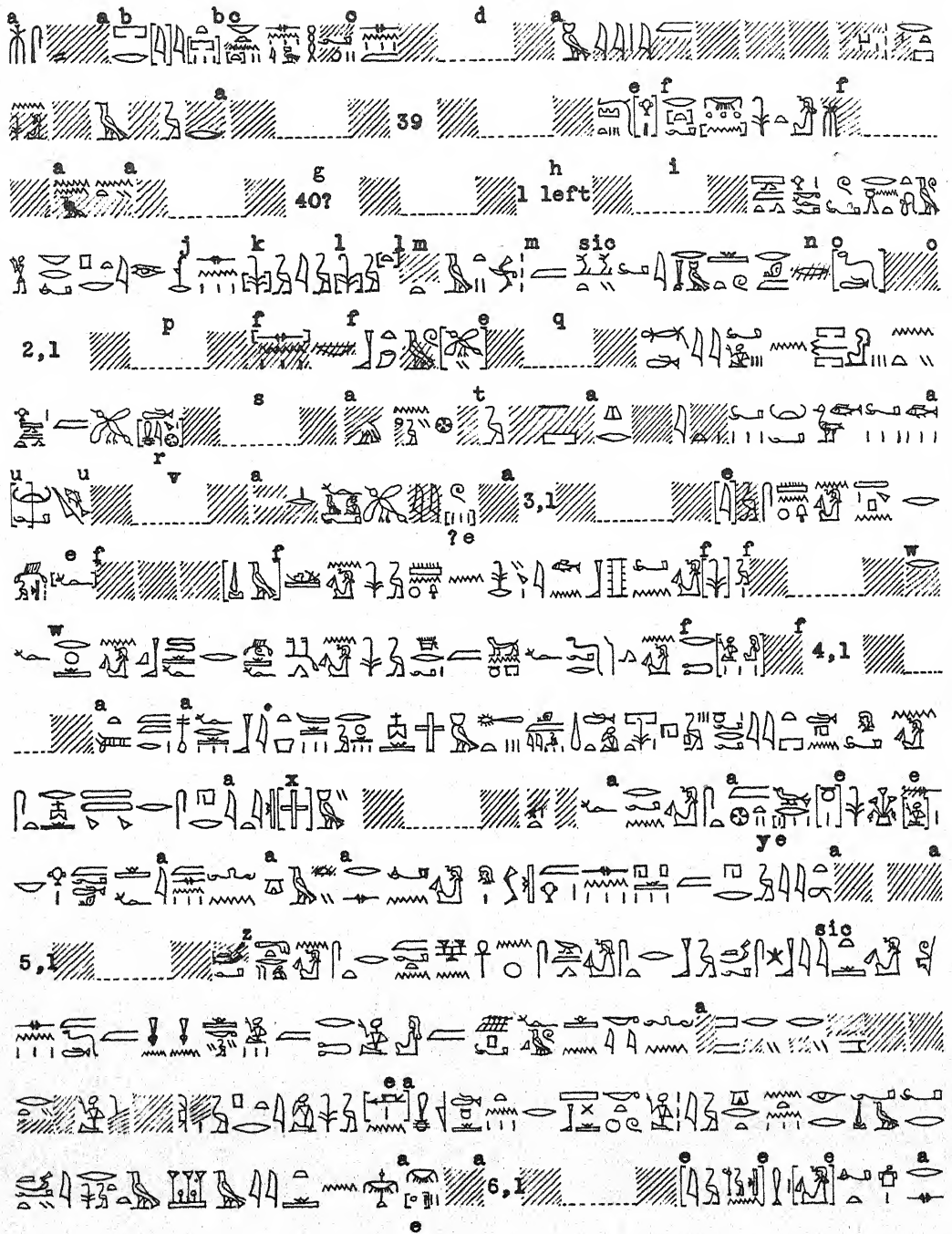


PLATE III





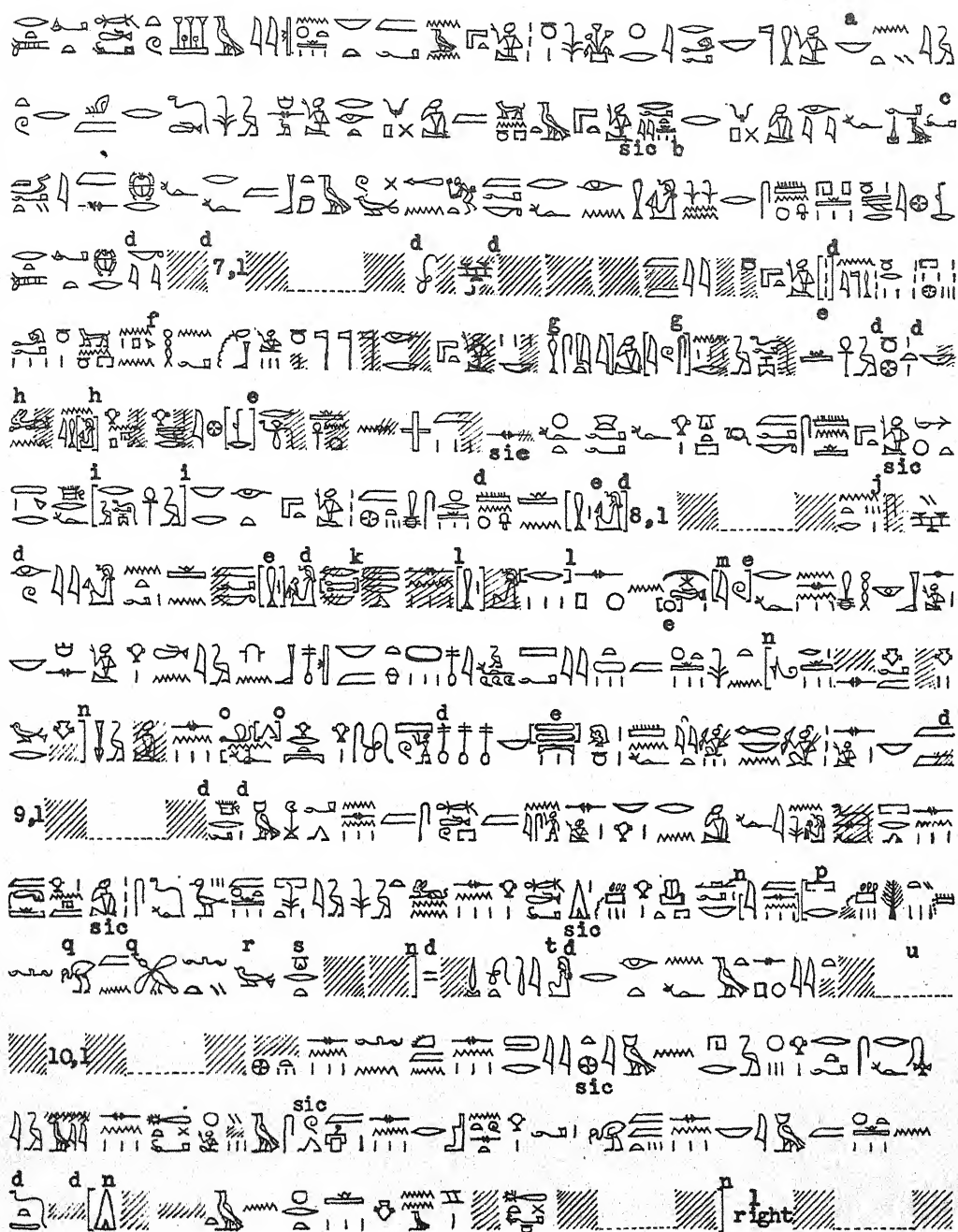
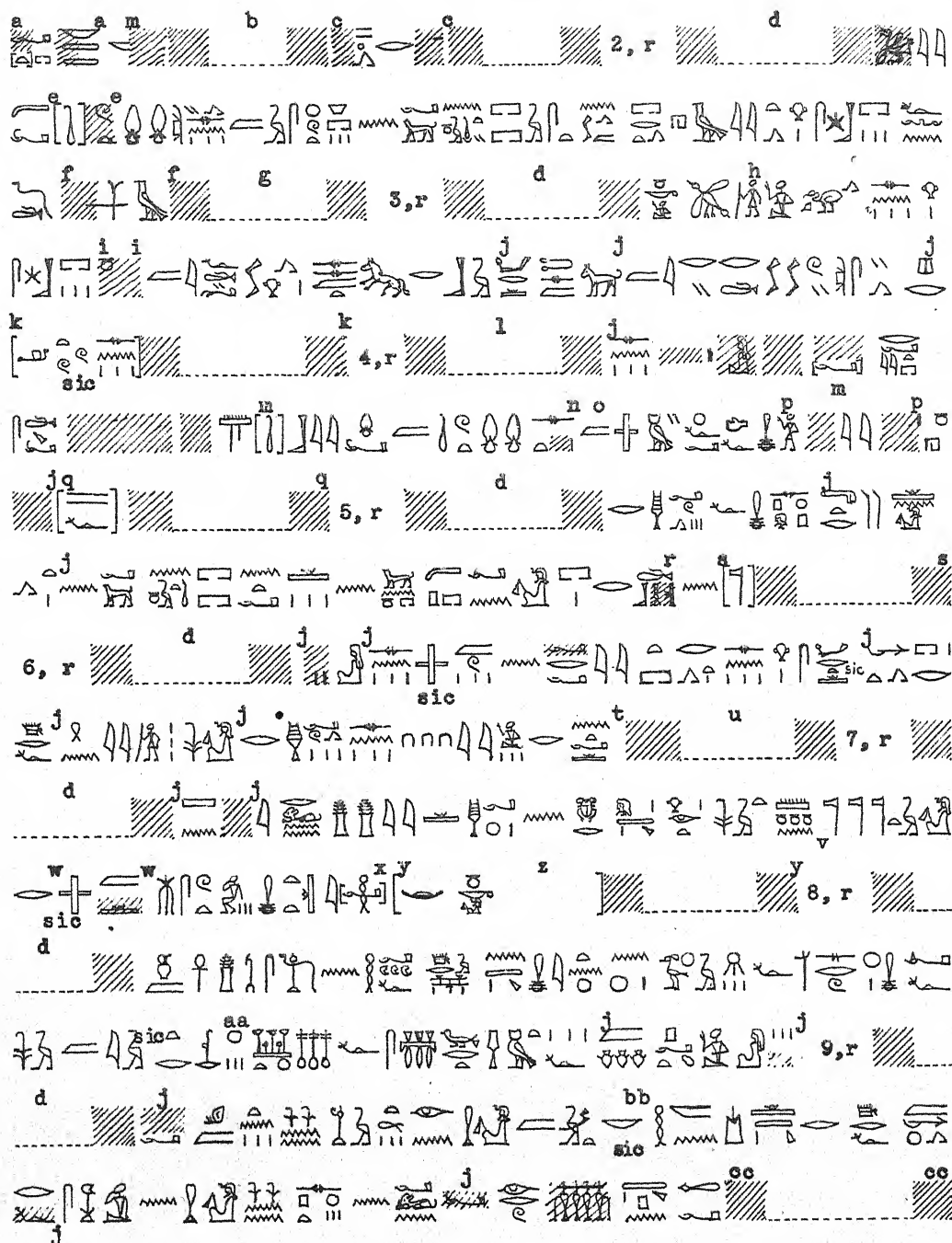


PLATE VI



NOTES TO THE PLATES

Notes to Plate I.-- a) Ll. 1-4 nearly completely destroyed; only a few odd signs remain. b) Cf. M, pl. 90. c-c) S. d-d) S: ; last group M: . e) S; restored by P. f) In M's copy only the legs of the bird (an owl) are visible; restored by P. g) More than $\frac{1}{2}$ line lost. h-h) S; first group M: . i) Restored by P; S: ; M: . j-j) Photo. k) S: with the remark, "also dr." l) S. m) Cf. transl. and note 12. n) Position of first acc. to S and photo; restored by P. o) Cf. 1. 22. p) B and S. q) S; M: . r) Restored by P.

Notes to Plate II.-- a) More than $\frac{1}{2}$ line lost. b) Restored acc. to B. c) Restored by P. d) B and S: ; M: . e) S, with the remark, "So glaube ich zu lesen!" f) acc. to S. g) M, B: ; S comments on : "nachsehen" with "??". h-h) B: ; M and S saw only . i-i) S. j-j) Restored acc. to B, who saw it undestroyed. k) B. l) Acc. to M, 30 cm. m-m) S, restored chiefly acc. to Maspero in Davis, Tombs of Harmhabi and Toutânkhamanou. n) M . o) S shows and closer together. p) Read ? q) The text used by S for his collation shows lacuna of $\frac{1}{2}$ group between and . M does not show it. r-r) S; M: restored by P. s) 7 groups lost (Wb). t) acc. to M and photo. u) Restored acc. to M. v) at acc. to S and photo; M omits it. w-w) S: ; M: . x) 4 groups lost. y-y) Insert at end of the line (fragment found by B). z-z) S: restored acc. to M.

Notes to Plate III.-- a) Restored by P. b) S: ; B: ; S thinks "unmöglich". c) S: ; restored acc. to M. d) S: ; suggests ; omitted by M. e) S. f) $7\frac{1}{2}$ groups lost (Wb). g) 4 groups lost (Wb). h) Restored acc. to M. i) nkt? j) B, S, M read . k) S: . l) $1\frac{1}{2}$ groups (S); restored by P. m) 7 groups lost (Wb). n) 10 groups lost (Wb). o-o) 3 groups lost (Wb). p) acc. to S; M shows as well. q) Restored by P; S: . r-r) S; suggests . s) 4 groups lost (S). t) Omitted by M; S: . u) acc. to S. v-v) S; after M restores and then reads ; in the next group but one he reads . w) M: . x) $12\frac{1}{2}$ groups lost (Wb). y-y) S; M: . z) S; omitted by M. aa-aa) acc. to M; the rest acc. to Gardiner (from a collation made for the Wb). bb-bb) S comments on "sieht wie das nachher aus"; read ? cc) S: ; M: . dd) S (first group); restored by P. ee) A determinative written as if it were a separate word; cf. such determinatives as , , etc. Restored by P. ff) S: ; M: . gg-gg) { only M; restored by P. hh) $15\frac{1}{2}$

groups lost (Wb). ii) kiwi? jj) M instead of i. kk) 16 groups lost (Wb). ll) 5 groups lost (S). mm) S only ||||; restored acc. to M. nn) S and B ||||; restored by P. oo) S; ||||; M: ||||. pp) 16 groups lost (Wb). qq) 4-5 groups lost (S). rr) M reads ? before M. ss) 15 groups lost (Wb).

Notes to Plate IV.-- a-a) S. b-b) S: ||||; restored by P. c-c) S; his first group ||||; in third group read ||||; restored by P. d) 9 groups lost (Wb). e) Restored by P. f-f) S; restored by P. g) S: "es folgte vielleicht noch eine 40. Zeile, die jetzt fehlt". h) Beginning of left side in vertical lines on the stela. i) 2/3 of the line lost (Wb). j) M. k) S: ||||. l-l) S: ||||; M: ||||. m-m) S; read si,ti? n) S. o-o) 1 1/2 groups (S); restored by P. p) 4-5 groups lost (S). q) After bt; 3-4 groups lost (Wb). r) S and M; restored acc. to M and l. 22. s) 9-10 groups lost (Wb). t) ||||? u-u) S: ||||; restore ||||? v) 4 groups lost (S). w-w) S; read ||||? x) S: ||||; restored by P. y) Cf. footnote 102. z) S: ||||; restored by P.

Notes to Plate V.-- a) Omitted by M. b) M omits ||||. c) — "against" is missing. d-d) S. e) Restored by P. f) — is missing. g-g) S: ||||; restored by P in spite of narrowness of lacuna. h-h) wn-in hm-i; i acc. to M; S: ||||?; royal figure restored acc. to M. i-i) S: ||||; restored by P. j) |||| B and S. k) S: ||||; restored by P. l-l) S: ||||; comments on ||||: "Zahl 3"; restored by P. m) S: ||||. n-n) Only B; S: "fortgebrochen". o) S; restored by P. p) Read ||||. q-q) Read ||||. r) Read ||||. s) = ||||? t) S; M distinctly shows a woman: ||||. u) 1 1/2 groups (M,B); "vielleicht leer gewesen" (S).

Notes to Plate VI.-- a-a) S; restored by P; B and M show |||| under ||||. b) About 2 groups (M). c-c) S; above |||| M shows ||||. d) Ca. 2/3 line lost (Wb). e-e) S: ||||; there is, however, room in M's lacuna for ||||. f-f) S; M: ||||. g) Buried in sand (S). h) S and B; M: ||||. i-i) S; read ||||? j-j) S. k-k) Acc. to S buried in sand; |||| B; restored by P; M: ||||?; read hr ph-wy-sn. l) Over 2/3 line lost (Wb). m) Restored by P. n) Read ||||? o) S: ||||. p) |||| cf. Gardiner, Pap. Chester Beatty, II, 7, 8. q-q) B; acc. to S buried in sand; M: ||||. r) S: ||||. s-s) Acc. to S buried in sand; M comments on |||| (B): "not much like ||||". t) M: |||| (before lacuna). u) Buried in sand (S). v) S and B. w-w) S and B read ||||. x) S: ||||; restored acc. to M. y-y) M; acc. to S buried in sand. z) A few odd signs. aa) M: |||| "sic." bb) Read — "in order to". cc-cc) S: "3 1/2 Gruppen wegen der Ortsverhältnisse nicht zu erkennen".

BOOK REVIEWS

Old Assyrian Letters. By FERRIS J. STEPHENS. ("Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, Yale University," Vol. VI.) New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944. Pp. vii+30+lxxxvi. \$5.00.

From the apparently inexhaustible treasury of cuneiform tablets in the Babylonian Collection of Yale University, Professor Stephens has offered us a new and impressive instalment. With 270 texts, more than half of which are letters, this publication ranks among the most extensive presentations of this type, while it definitely occupies the first place as to the scholarly and typographical aspect.

The Introduction, in which Stephens presents his interesting discovery of the practice of the Old Assyrian scribes of including a "second page" in the clay envelope of their letters, is followed by the customary set of indexes. These list the personal names, the names of the deities mentioned in the texts and in the theophoric names, and the names of the cities. As an additional feature we are given indexes with the headings "Gentilic Names," "Limum Eponyms," "Hamuštum-Eponyms," and "Names of Months." A catalogue containing a list of the tablets and their descriptions and a "Register of Museum Numbers" precede the splendidly autographed texts, which are followed by five plates of photographic reproductions showing *inter alia* photographs of forty-one seal impressions.

A book review dealing with a publication of this type is necessarily either couched in a very general and panegyric language, or it abounds with more or less detailed corrections, emendations, etc., which are bound to convey the impression of an undue criticism of the author's efforts. To the uninitiated it might therefore be said that the texts published in this volume belong for various reasons to the most difficult groups of cuneiform documents. Few know this better than the author himself, who spent much time and effort on the task of

preparing this publication. He will—I trust—accept my modest contribution toward the interpretation of these documents as a more genuine expression of scholarly appreciation than a book review of the type just mentioned.

To the index of personal names I would like to add only two names: [*Lá-m*]a-sà-tum (44:2) and *Li-pí-<ti>-Ištar* (60:18). Stephens informs me that, after renewed collation, he reads in 152:14–15 *A-šur-ma-lik*. Some references could, furthermore, be added to the list: [*A-šur-i*]-mí-ti (34:1), *A-šur-na-da* (201:32), *Be-lá-nim* (261:13), *I-ku-[pí-a]* (index sub *I-ku* . . .) (57:2), *I-ku-pá-[ša]* (index sub *I-ku-pá* . . .) (249:13), *Im-di-[(i)lim]* (index sub *Im* . . .) (48:2), *Ha-na-[na-ri-im or -na-nu-um]* (index sub *Ha-na* . . .) (50:1), *I-tur₄(!)-ili* (128:14), *La-ma-si* (222:8), *Šu-Ḫu-bu-[ur]* (195:38), *Za-ba-[]* (43:1), *Zu-zu* (187:26).

I propose the following corrections with regard to these names: *A-dá-a* (57:3) could be a mistake of the scribe for *A-dá-lal* because a man named *A-dá-lá-l* in 149:3 has also a son with the name *I-ku-pí-a*; *A-ma-X* (178:7) read probably *A-ma-k[u-um]* as in TC III 38:13;¹ read *A-lu-lá-a* (54:20) omitting the sign *lá* after *a* as an error of the scribe; *E-di^a-A-šur* (4:1) should be separated from *E-di-in-A-šur* (205:14 and 15, where the scribe forgot the *in*); the reading *Iatarum^{um}* (7:15) is far less likely in our texts than *Watarum^{um}* or even *Utarum^{um}*; I doubt whether *I-ri-bi-im* (29:20) is definitely to be considered a personal name (*errēbum?*); also *Ma-ru-a-ḫu-a-ḫi* (22:14) seems strange, since we have *Ma-ru* (VAT 9216:6, cf. Eisser-Lewy, No. 281), *Ma-ru-ru* (TC III 246A:4), and *A-ḫa-ḫa*; read *Za-al-pu-na(!)* on page 16b.

The *modus transcribendi* in ARAD^a-NANNA is difficult to understand, first, because it is not unlikely that Nanna(r) has a good Semitic ety-

¹ The abbreviations used are those of G. Eissler and J. Lewy, *Die Altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kueltepe (MVAeG, XXXIII, XXXV)*.

mology and, second, because the readings *wardu* or *urdu* of the first element are amply attested in such names as *Ū-ra-ad-Ku-bi-im* (BIN IV 162:40), *Ur-da-A-šūr* (TC I 82:17), *Ur-dum* (TC III 81:7) and *Wa-ra-ad-Ku-bi-im* (TC III 159:16), *Wa-ar-di-im* (this publication). Furthermore, I would like to question whether it is advisable to transliterate ^{dingir}IM simply and consistently with ^aAdad, thus excluding the possible readings *Mer(a)*, *We/ar*, and *Adda* (cf. *Me-ra-li* in TC III 82:1, *Dan-We-er* in TC III 83:6, *Wa-ar-we-di* in this coll., *A-di-lá-at* *ibid.*).

In the index "Gentile Names" should be mentioned, besides *Ha-ti* and *Ha-ti-tim*, *Ba-ab-il-a-e* (43:6), *Ib-lá-i-um* (193:14), *Tal-ḥa-ti-e-im* (237:7) and *Zi-lu-na-um* (193:4); among the names of cities [*Ša-lá-d*]*i-wa-ar* (208:2) a spelling which corresponds to *Ša-lá-di-mi-ar* in BIN IV 148:27. The line 13 of the text 116 contains the remnants of the name of a *limum*-official.

The autographed texts are well provided with "sic"; apart from the already mentioned corrections in personal names, I am adding only: 74:18 (last sign: *lam(!)*), 84:15 (^{subat}š*i-ri(!)-a*), 96:18 (*ša(!)-aḥ-ri-im*), 128:16 (*lá(!) i-mu-a*), 180:5 (dittography of *qá*), 241:4 (*i* omitted).

The texts, letters as well as business documents, contain only little of general appeal, but to those interested in lexicography they offer quite a few new words, new idiomatic expressions, and references for the countless *cruces interpretum* which the Old Assyrian tablets contain. The following remarks are the outcome of my more or less cursory reading through the present publication.

28:16 contains a unique reference for *erām piqum*, "refined copper," instead of the usual terms *erām dammuqum* and *erām masium* (cf. my "Material Culture of the Neo-Babylonian Period," Index, s.v. "*patāqum*").

28:33 has *dannatam apālum*, "to give a rough, unfriendly answer." This phrase recurs in BIN IV 114:29-30 (*dan-nu-tam u e-mu-gi apālum*, cf. for *emāqum* CCT III 35b:9, IV 30b:28; for another interpretation cf. Lewy *EL*, II, 85 and note b) and is paralleled

by *dannatam qabārum* (Cont 22:14-15, Lewy KTS 5a:25), *dannutam amārum* (TC II 3:44, CCT IV 22a:10-11) and *dannatam šapārum* (Eisser-Lewy, *EL*, No. 243:8-9). All these passages refer to the refusal of the debtor to meet his obligations.

30:14-15 mentions the fabrication of a golden votive sun disk (*šamšum*) weighing 15 shekel (for other references cf. my article, *Afo*, XII, 345, n. 6).

59:5-6 elucidate a peculiar meaning of the idiom *qātam maḥāšum*: "till they will pay according to what you have written we shall not 'hit the hand' following your order." For other references cf. CCT III 43b:13-14 ("do not hit the hand of Tūram-il"), TC II 17:9-10 ("the master has written to me but I did not 'hit the hand'"), and TC III 128:20-25 ("if B. on account of the *kutānum*-garments of Z. has 'hit your hand,' give them to A.>"). *Qātam maḥāšum* seems to have originally denoted a formal gesture with definite legal implications, performed in order to press the man whose hand was hit for the payment of a debt.

73:18-19 and 183:12-13 mention donkeys used for riding purposes (*emārum a-na ra-kā-bi-a*) which is unique in our texts and deserves attention.

80:7 (*kunuk šit-di-iš-tim*) mentions the "Collegium of Sixty" (cf. also Gelb, *OIP*, XXVII, 57:3).

93:7 shows the phrase *ḥimītātim šapārum* (also CCT II 6:7, Golén. 18:4, and with *lapputum* in CCT IV 8a:31) in a peculiar context: "You have heard silly things (*ḫillāti*) and have written to me express messages as follows: . . ." Cf. also *awātam ḥimītātim šapārum* in CCT III 24:48, 35:7, IV 30b:29-30, etc.

114:4 can be used to establish the exact meaning of *u₄-ma-kal* (in TC III 102:15 *u₄-ma-kā-al*) which in our texts always appears in negative phrases (cf. BIN IV 1:12, KTS 1a:31, 10:25, 19b:23[!], Cont. 11:7, TC II 4:25, 13:12, CCT IV 28a:19, etc.) as "not a single day," "not (even) one day long." Correct accordingly my remarks in *BASOR* No. 93, p. 17, n. 2, and *BASOR*, No. 97, p. 29, "whole day" into "full day."

137:2 (and 90:14) mentions *ku-bu-ur šé-ni-im*, "sandal buttons," made of gold.

193:1 and 13 contain names of two officials: *rab ta-ar-gus-ma-ni*, "chief interpreter" (cf. CCT IV 29b:7, 30), and *rab ri-i-e*, "chief shepherd" (cf. Lewy KTHahn 26:9).

232:1-10 contain a welcome confirmation for my assertion in *AfO*, XII, 358, that the dry measure *naruggûm* (lit.: "sack") was subdivided in four or more *karpatum* (lit.: "pot"). The sum mentioned in this tablet actually proves that four *karpatum* constitute one *naruggûm*.

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The Ark, the Ephod, and the "Tent of Meeting."

By JULIAN MORGENSTERN. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1945. Pp. 166. \$1.50.

President Morgenstern's articles on the ark, the ephod, and the tent of meeting in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Volumes XVII (1942-43) and XVIII (1944), are here republished in one volume. Scholars will be grateful to have these important studies in book form. The primary contribution of these researches lies in the thorough collection and sober evaluation of the data concerning the *ʿuifa* or *markab*, *maḥmal*, and *qubba*, Arabic institutions which have some analogy in the Hebrew sacred tent and related objects. The *ʿuifa*, a sacred tribal litter mounted on a camel, and the *maḥmal* of Damascus and Egypt, a covered tentlike structure with a wooden frame carried on a camel, are rightly interpreted as recent, semi-Islamized forms of the pre-Islamic *qubba*. The *qubba* was a red-leather tent with a domed top, small enough to be mounted on a camel, and within which were the two sacred stones representing the goddesses al-Lat and al-ʿUzza. A study of these institutions is necessary for an appreciation of the function of the Hebrew ark, ephod, and tent of meeting but more important for understanding the form of the tent of meeting than the form of the ark and the ephod.

The ark can be interpreted too narrowly in terms of these Arabic parallels, without taking into sufficient consideration the biblical and archeological data. This the author seems to do when he identifies the ark with the *qubba*, as a tent shrine regularly mounted on a woman's camel saddle. The process whereby the Hebrew ark became in tradition the boxlike structure of the P Code began, he thinks, with Asa's reform, when the golden image of the enthroned Yahweh was removed from the temple and the ark was put in its place. Ultimately all memory of its original tentlike form disappeared. The author does not attempt to take into consideration the kind of archeological data suggested by the reviewer in "The Ark: A Miniature Temple,"¹ in which the form of the ark is interpreted as a temple in miniature. The close association of the cherubim and the ark cannot be as easily explained on Morgenstern's hypothesis. He does allow for "some minor variation" in external form of these portable sanctuaries, but he is certain that the general tent form was scrupulously adhered to. Certainly, any association of the camel and the ark seems somewhat farfetched, despite the ingenious identification of *ʾrgz* of I Sam. 6:8, 11, and 15 with Arabic *rijāza*, interpreted as a kind of *hawdaj* of tent shape or the pouch appended to it. Incidentally, if the ark, as Morgenstern suggests, was the cult object of Ephraim and is not to be associated in any way with Moses, in contrast with the tent of meeting, which was of specific desert origin and cannot be divorced from Moses, then we are justified in seeking to understand the nature of the ark, in part, in the light of our knowledge of institutions and practices in Canaan. This is particularly true when we consider the syncretism characteristic of Israel as over against Judah.

Morgenstern propounds the theory that "ephod" was the generic name for the Israelite tent sanctuary with its baetyls or divine images, the teraphim. The evidence he adduces does point to the fact that the ephod was analogous to the ark and may be used as a synonym for the ark, as the reviewer tried to show sev-

¹ *AJSL*, LII (1936), 215 ff.

eral years ago.² But that every ephod was a tent shrine seems to be a conclusion beyond what the data require. 'Ephod' does seem to have meant basically "covering," i.e., 'housing.'" This interpretation of the ephod is more in the right direction than the currently accepted views of Thiersch and Sellin.

The author makes a suggestive analysis of the history of the tent of meeting, dividing it into three periods. The first period followed the fabrication of the tent of meeting by Moses, and Yahweh as God of the federation of southern clans was thought to dwell within it. Morgenstern is certainly right in stressing the fact that this tent of meeting was imageless and in accrediting to Moses the idea of the imageless Yahweh. It is probable that Moses must be credited with the fabrication of a new and special tent shrine for the God of the "people" whom he had just united together in covenant with that God. The second period in the history of the tent of meeting is traditional rather than actual historical circumstance and is found in the J Code (Exod. 33:7-11). The tent of meeting was now considered no longer the dwelling of Yahweh but merely the place of divine revelation. In the third period, represented in the P Code, the tent of meeting was first not the dwelling-place of Yahweh but the meeting-place of Yahweh and his people. Then that meeting-place was transferred from the door of the tent of meeting to its interior, and it became once more the dwelling of Yahweh, the *miškan*. For now the tent of meeting had become the pattern for the post-Exilic temple.

President Morgenstern's writings are always creatively original, and this book is no exception. He makes a noteworthy contribution to our understanding of Hebrew religion. In the interpretation of the ark and ephod, the reviewer would take more into consideration the portable shrines of the settled territories, the archeological data for model shrines, and even the Torah Shrine of the early synagogues. This is not to deny the relevance of the data available from a study of the tent sanctuary.

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² "Ephod and Ariel," *ibid.*, LVI (1939), 44 ff.

The Apocryphal Literature: A Brief Introduction. By CHARLES CUTLER TORREY. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945. Pp. x+151. \$3.00.

C. C. Torrey of Yale is much less well known for his work in the intertestamental field than for his *Ezra Studies*, for example, or his various Islamic studies, or his highly controversial books about the Aramaic backgrounds of the Gospels and Acts. Yet he certainly deserves great respect as one of the outstanding American pioneers in intertestamental studies. A full half-century ago, when he was professor of Semitic languages in Andover Theological Seminary, he introduced into the curriculum a course on the uncanonical Jewish literature of the intra-biblical period. One cannot but admire the nerve of the young professor for doing that with the scanty aids to study available at that time. The Revised Version Apocrypha had not yet appeared, and Zöckler's German translations of these books had only recently been published. With profound gratitude we compare the equipment of texts and translations and introductions and commentaries on these important Jewish writings available for student use today. To this constantly bettering equipment C. C. Torrey himself now adds a distinctive, challenging, and concise *Introduction*.

The unique feature of this work is the amount of uncanonical Jewish literature that it introduces. It covers not only the more familiar group of writings known as "Apocrypha," and the less familiar group known as "Pseudepigrapha," but also some other more unfamiliar Jewish books as well. In such inclusiveness there is no match for the Torrey *Introduction* in England or America today.

Another distinctive feature of the volume is the "General Introduction" that precedes the main section entitled "Special Introduction." Most introductionists these days consider that they have discharged their scholarly obligations to the full when they have written special essays on all the different books in their purview. Not so the rigorous Professor Torrey. He writes an invaluable General Introduction covering broadly the evaluation and use of

these writings by the Jews, who originated them, and by the Christians, who preserved and transmitted them to modern times. Nearly one-third of the volume is thus devoted to "the story of the long process of sifting and evaluating" this fascinating Jewish literature.

In this section the author makes a very good case for calling these writings the "Outside Books," as the Jews themselves have done ever since the rabbinic period. Having made this point, Torrey surprises his readers by advocating, instead, that the traditional Christian designation "Apocrypha" be extended to include the so-called "Pseudepigrapha" and other uncanonical Jewish writings also. If this advice were followed, the nomenclature in this area, already badly confused, would surely become worse confounded. The Apocrypha had a separate history and achieved a somewhat different status than was the case with the Pseudepigrapha and the others.

In his special introductions the author habitually gives close attention to certain particular matters in a manner that merits appreciation. When he discusses Semitic originals, he differentiates precisely between Hebrew and Aramaic, and specifies which the original was in each instance. Not infrequently he assigns to a given book a different date from the one usually accepted. In all such cases the reasons for his position are indicated in full. All special introductions are supplemented by well-selected and up-to-date bibliographies.

At the end of the Special Introduction two books are discussed which are not included in either the Apocrypha or the Pseudepigrapha groups: the Lives of the Prophets and the Testament of Job. These are valuable additions. It must be questioned, however, why the introductionist stopped with only these two additions. Why did he not prepare critical introductions on the Letter of Aristaeas, the Story of Ahikar, the Zadokite Fragment, and the Biblical Antiquities of Philo, and especially one on Aboth? To observe the critical acumen of C. C. Torrey coping with the nexus of problems represented by the Zadokite document would be a sight worthy of the gods—to parody a pagan comparison.

One more criticism must be registered. There is no evident rationale to the sequence of Torrey's special introductions. The listing is apparently fortuitous and unorganized. Here is an opportunity lost. An approximately chronological arrangement of the writings would have had historical significance. Grouping in accordance with literary types would have had both literary and thematic meaning. A differentiation between Palestinian and Diaspora writings would have had cultural implications. A synthesis of all these significant relationships could actually have been worked out in a fairly simple arrangement of the introductions. This would have increased the convenience and usefulness of the series as a whole.

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Palestinian Figurines in Relation to Certain Goddesses Known through Literature. By JAMES B. PRITCHARD. ("American Oriental Series," Vol. XXIV.) New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1943. Pp. 99. \$1.75.

The problem examined in this careful study is whether the nude female figurines found plentifully in Palestinian excavations can be identified with any of the goddesses known through literature. The basic facts are presented in the form of a listing, with brief notation, of such known figurines—a total of 294 examples. These are arranged in eight classes, the last being a catch-all of fifty-four fragments and unclassified figures. A chapter is given to a discussion of the several types, and another to literary references to Asherah, Ashtart, and Anat. A final chapter recapitulates the evidence and reaches the conclusion in regard to perhaps three of the classes, that, "while it is as yet impossible to associate the plaques definitely with Asherah, Ashtart, or Anat, this fact does not warrant the dismissal of a working hypothesis that the figure was in some way symbolic of a personage of the cult of a prominent goddess. Whether it was the goddess herself, a prostitute of the cult of the goddess, a talisman used in sympa-

thetic magic to stimulate the reproductive processes of nature, remains an open question." Four other types "seem to be associated more definitely with the process of child bearing." Of the figures as a whole, "it is perhaps not too much to assert that these representations are symbolic of womankind in general; yet they may have served a variety of purposes in their long history."

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Tribus semi-nomades de la Palestine du Nord.

By TOVIA ASHKENAZI. Paris, 1938. Pp. xviii+286.

The fact that this volume appears as Volume II of the "Etudes d'éthnographie, de sociologie et d'ethnologie" is sufficient indication of the point of view from which the study has been made. In this it is the more welcome, since we have all too few of these patient detailed investigations of the tribal life of the Arab groups, but without which it is impossible to appreciate fully the peculiar position they hold in the life of the Near East in our day.

From the very earliest times of which we have knowledge of the Arabs we have evidence of the process of sedentarization at work among them. Year after year there will be groups, sometimes larger and sometimes smaller, changing from the purely nomad to the seminomad state, and others changing from the seminomad state to that of settled agriculturalists or laborers on the fringes of the townships. There is, of course, some evidence, especially at times of crisis in certain areas, of the opposite process, of settled groups being forced to seminomadism and finally to nomadism by the deterioration of the conditions of settled life in their area. This, however, is not nearly so characteristic of Arab life as some modern writers would have us believe, and the great body of evidence from all periods is that of the progressive sedentarization of the nomad Arab. The seminomad is the halfway house, for he roams like a nomad part of the year and for part of it remains settled in lands which come to be his established camping grounds. In the north of Palestine there are

several such seminomad groups, interest in whom has been stimulated by Jewish colonization in that area, and it was on a Lord Plumer Fellowship from the Hebrew University at Jerusalem that the author was able to collect much of the material that is assembled in this volume.

Let us say at once that within limits it is an excellent study. The material available in government reports, in the records of earlier investigators who have lived much among the Arabs and studied various elements in their culture, and even in certain Arabic sources have all been used as commentary and illustration to the author's own first hand investigations among the tribes, and this has yielded a book of the first value not only to the student of ethnology but to all interested in the modern Near East and in the story of the life of the Arabs of the tents.

The study falls into three distinct parts. The first considers the general problem of the passage of these peoples from nomadism to sedentary life and seeks to illustrate the various factors that are and have in recent years been working to intensify this problem in the areas to the north of Palestine. This section is followed by some statistical material concerning the various groups in that area. The second, and by far the most interesting part of the three, is concerned with the life of these seminomads, their tribal organization, their family relationships and forms of social life, the ways in which justice is administered among them, with particular reference to the vendetta and the razzia, and some account of their popular songs and dances and their many curious beliefs and superstitions, their tribal and their domestic feasts and fasts, and customs at birth, marriage, and death. The third part is a study of their tribal economy, their food and drink, their houses and cattle, their clothing and comforts, their agriculture and means of livelihood—a section in which the author has gone so far as to be able to give even some sample budgets for the average Beduin ménage. In his appendixes he gives some specimens of the tribal tales that are told among the people, some specimens of the types of pact or covenant entered into by the various groups

to maintain peace, and some discussion of the ethnic connections of the groups with whom he has been in contact, with elaborate tables of such connections.

The volume is well indexed and has a useful bibliography and has been beautifully printed so that it is a delight to handle. The author is obviously in close sympathy with the subjects of his study and has done a great service in thus making available so complete an account of their life and its problems. One is oppressed all through the work with the tragic situation of these groups. By nature their lot is a hard one, but it is made the harder by their own ignorance and by the heartless exploitation to which they are subject at the hands of the supposedly more cultured peoples with whom they are in the present world thrown into contact.

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La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides, Vol. I.
By ROBERT BRUNSCHVIG. ("Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales d'Alger," Vol. VIII.) Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1940. Pp. xli+476.

It is a pleasure to be receiving once more the scholarly output from across the seas after the delays and hazards of the war years. Among the works delayed in reaching us is the above welcome volume on the Berber Hafsîd dynasty of North Africa—a dynasty that ran its course from the early thirteenth to the early sixteenth century. The author's interest in the history of this region is of long standing. His insight into its political and social developments—the two phases treated in this first volume—in these pregnant centuries of the later Middle Ages is keen and far-reaching. The emphasis is naturally enough on the Hafsîd dynasty itself. But the Hafsîds form a central point of departure into the byways of the history of the several neighboring and contemporary dynasties. These, like the Hafsîd, rose to supplant and partition the great Berber

Empire of the Muwāḥḥids (Almohades) founded earlier on the religious genius of al-Ghazzālî and the political acumen of Ibn Tumart the Mahdî.

Interesting as is the treatment of the internal history of Berber North Africa, the Western reader will find the sections devoted to its foreign relations as absorbing and instructive. These sections, scattered throughout the political history, could have been organized to better advantage into one or more connected chapters. Nevertheless, one watches here, on the one hand, North Africa's generally friendly contacts with Moslem Spain and Egypt and, on the other hand, her numerous diplomatic and commercial relations with the aggressive Christian countries on and beyond the northern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. When the different sections that deal with these themes are read in succession, one gets a fair outline of the story of the "Western Crusades" from the days of St. Louis IX of France to those of "the Catholic Kings"—Ferdinand and Isabella—of Spain. One can likewise follow here the forces at work that constitute the struggle of these centuries between peaceful trade and free piracy.

Of great value to the student of medieval North African history is the selected bibliography and the accompanying biobibliographical introduction which does justice to the sources and their authors. Thirteenth- to sixteenth-century primary historical sources, Islamic or otherwise, are not any too numerous, and those that are known to exist are not always easily accessible. Sources that have been recently published, in text or in translation, are brought into proper perspective as to content and scientific value.

With the completion of the succeeding volume(s) and an index, this extensive work of Professor Brunshvig promises to fill a long-felt need for an adequate treatment of the history of North Africa on the eve of Ottoman expansion from the Moslem East and European expansion from the Christian West.

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A CHALCOLITHIC SITE IN NORTHERN BALUCHISTAN

By

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With Prefatory Remarks by

DONALD E. MCCOWN

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PREFATORY REMARKS

DONALD E. MCCOWN

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BALUCHISTAN

How large is the ancient Near East? This seems a pertinent question when the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* publishes an article concerned with an early site in northern Baluchistan. Must the historian of Near Eastern civilizations concern himself with areas as far afield as the Indus Valley and the intervening barren lands of Persian and Indian Baluchistan? The answer to the second question is affirmative. As Mesopotamian civilization has been influenced by Iran since at least the time of the Ubaid culture, so the history of Iran (and, at certain periods, of Mesopotamia and countries to the west) is clear only when we study also its borderlands to the east. Baluchistan and the Indus area may be peripheral to the Near East geographically, but without their story Near Eastern history is incomplete.

If this be so, what contribution can these eastern areas make to our knowledge of the Near East in early historic times? The importance of the Harappa civilization as one of the three oldest civilizations

has been recognized since its discovery over twenty years ago. Its significant contacts with Mesopotamia in the third millennium and the possibility that some of the characteristics of its culture may derive from a tradition which also contributed to the formation of the civilization of Mesopotamia have been recognized for some time.¹ Less clear to many

¹ See the useful summaries by V. G. Childe, "Notes on Some Indian and East Iranian Pottery," *Ancient Egypt*, Parts I and II (1933), pp. 15-25, and "India and the West before Darius," *Antiquity*, XIII (1939), 5-15; H. Frankfort, "The Indus Civilization and the Near East," *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archeology for the Year 1932* (1934), pp. 1-12; W. Norman Brown, "The Beginnings of Civilization in India," *Supplement to the JAOS*, No. 4 (1939), pp. 32-44; Stuart Pigott, '46: "The Chronology of Prehistoric Northwest India," *Ancient India*, No. 1, pp. 8-26. Other works referred to below, by author and year of publication, are: Ghirshman, '38: *Fouilles de Sialk, près de Kashan 1933, 1934, 1937*, Vol. I ("Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités orientales, Série archéologique," Vol. IV); Mackay, '38: *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro: Being an Official Account of the Archaeological Excavations at Mohenjo-daro Carried Out by the Government of India between the Years 1927 and 1931* (Government of India Press); Mackay, '43: *Chanhudaro Excavations 1935-36* ("American Oriental Series," Vol. XX); Majumdar, '34: *Explorations in Sind: Being a Report of the Exploratory Survey Carried Out during the Years 1927-28, 1929-30, and 1930-31* ("Archaeological Survey of India, Memoirs," No. 48); McCown, '42: *The Comparative Stratigraphy of Early Iran* ("Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization," No. 23);

may be the importance of Baluchistan, an arid, sparsely inhabited region at present, where surveys have revealed simple village or seminomadic cultures, dating from at least the third millennium, of no very apparent consequence. Yet we will attempt to demonstrate below that, when its history is more fully known, Baluchistan will make valuable contributions to the study of the beginning of civilizations

culture to Mesopotamia.² The other is to the east and requires further description.

Sometime during the late fourth and the third millenniums, southern Baluchistan and the western part of the Lower Indus Valley are found populated by peoples with cultures which show certain points of resemblance to the earlier Buff-Ware culture of southern Iran.³ These similarities are apparently not due to local develop-

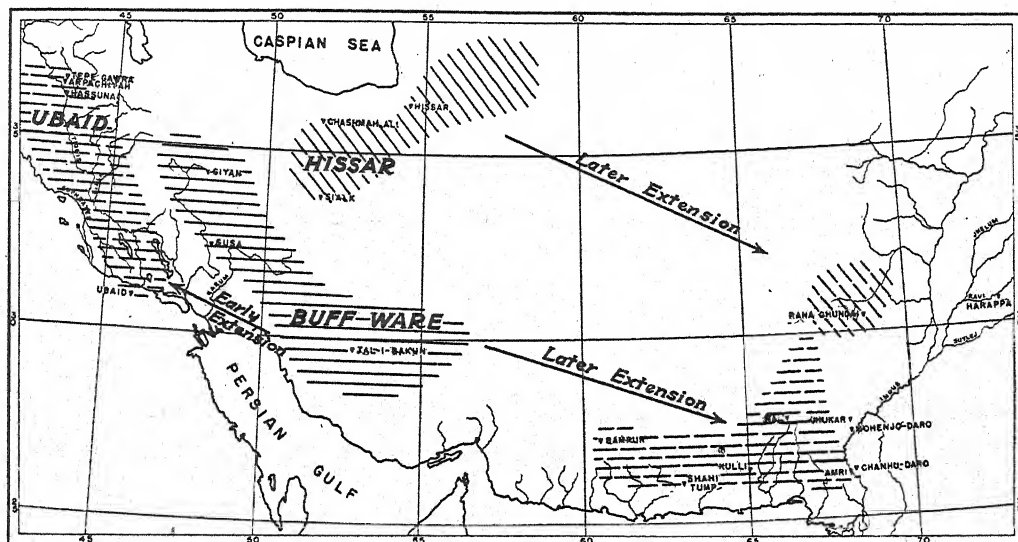


FIG. 1.—Extensions of early Iranian cultures and the main sites of Baluchistan and the Indus Valley.

and the subject of contacts between early urban societies.

In connection with the origin of civilizations in the Near East, it is of interest to sketch briefly two movements out of the area of the Buff-Ware culture of southwestern Iran (Fig. 1) which our scant archaeological sources permit us to draw. One is to the west and brought the Ubaid

ment in eastern aspects of the Buff-Ware culture, for there is no evidence of contemporary aspects of this culture so far to the east. It is known that, at a time roughly contemporaneous with the beginning of the Uruk period of Mesopotamia, the Buff-Ware culture was ended by people who made a very different type of pottery in plain red and gray. It is likely, therefore, that, when the Buff-Ware culture

Piggott, '43: "Dating the Hissar Sequence—the Iranian Evidence," *Antiquity*, XVII, 169–82; Schmidt, '47: *Excavations at Tepe Hissar Damghan* (University of Pennsylvania Press); Stein, '29: *An Archaeological Survey of India, Memoirs*, No. 37; Stein, *Archaeological Reconnaissance in North-western and South-eastern Iran* (London).

² McCown, '42, pp. 36–39.

³ A similar situation seems to be true of northern Baluchistan, where the culture represented at Rana Ghundai apparently derives from the earlier and distinct Hissar culture of northern Iran (see below, p. 289); but this does not concern the immediate discussion.

was displaced in Iran, it drifted eastward to fill the area up to the Indus River. To be sure, in its later stages in the East it is seen modified to varying degrees, but the mechanics of this change cannot be explained with the present limited evidence.

Thus, from the Buff-Ware culture of Iran there was an earlier western and a later eastern extension, the first creating the Ubaid culture of Mesopotamia, the second formative in the later-known cultures of Baluchistan and Sind. What is the difference in the history of these extensions? The eastern one does not seem to have developed beyond a simple village stage, probably not too different from that of the original Iranian center. In contrast, the Ubaid culture may have been fundamental to the development of Sumerian civilization.⁴ If this proves to be the case, why, from the same base, do we have one culture developing into a major civilization, while the other continues fundamentally unchanged? Is a deterministic, materialistic explanation the solution, or is some other answer to be sought? Did the extensions (and here may be included that of northern Baluchistan from the Hissar culture) of Iranian cultures in Baluchistan play a role in the development of the Harappa civilization similar to that which the Ubaid culture did in Sumerian civilization? These are questions vital to an understanding of the beginnings of civilization—problems which will be solved only by excavation in the dreary wastes east of southern Iran.

The problem of the origin of the Harap-

⁴ This is one of the most important unsolved problems concerned with the origin of Sumerian civilization. Would the Ubaid culture by itself have flowered into civilization in southern Mesopotamia, given sufficient time; or was the cultural stimulation, fertilization, or newly imported characteristics of the "Uruk peoples" necessary to bring about the development of civilization? Whatever the answer may be, it will acquire wider significance when we know why the Buff-Ware expansion to the east remained on a barbaric level.

pa civilization has already been briefly touched upon. If it did not develop in the Indus Valley—and this possibility is frequently discounted—its place of origin probably must be located to the west or north. In contrast to signs of underlying kinship between the Harappa civilization and the Sumerian civilization to the west, there is no evidence of any culture of comparable antiquity to the east. Certainly, the basic pattern of Chinese civilization is too different to permit even a remote connection with India. Though there is no evidence of pre-Indus stages of this civilization in Baluchistan, traces of its passage should be ascertainable there, which would help to determine the original area in which it is to be sought.

Baluchistan is also important in the third millennium as the land bridge between the Harappa civilization and Sumer. Whether maritime contact between the two lands existed is doubtful, though it is a possibility. But that caravan routes crossed Baluchistan at this time is a legitimate deduction, and it is possible that there were earlier contacts between the Baluchistan cultures and Sumer.⁵ The extent and significance of the influence between the Sumerian and Harappa civilizations will not be understood until the nature of the contact across Baluchistan is clarified.

ARCHEOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE OF BALUCHISTAN

The reader will have noted above the numerous questions which have been posed and which have remained unanswered. That is the result of the enigmatic character of our present archeological sources. Prior to the publication of Brigadier Ross's report, in the huge area extending from southeastern Iran up to the edge of the Indus Valley there were

⁵ Piggott, '46, p. 21; '43, pp. 174-75.

only three stratified sites known—Bampur, Shahi Tump, and Nal, all in southern Baluchistan (see Fig. 1). Most of the material collected from this region is from the surface of sites or, when the presence of laborers and time were available to the explorer, from small trenches or pits sunk a few feet into large mounds. This has resulted in large collections of pottery and some slight knowledge of other types of artifacts, burial customs, and architecture from these prehistoric settlements. It is obvious, however, that most of the extant material is ceramic.

In a sense, assemblages (the sum total of traits of material culture established over an area) can be distinguished. But they are defined for periods of indeterminate length, as a whole, since archeological evidence is lacking to differentiate phases of development. On this basis, and in view of the present limited evidence, it is scarcely legitimate to term these "cultures," although such they will probably prove to be when more information is available. That they are so called here is a concession to customary terminology.

Most of the archeological records have been published in preliminary form with the intention that experts should restudy the artifacts. What can be done with this material at present is to define cultures and to determine the areas in which they were established. Trustworthy results in relative stratigraphy depend on a first-hand study of the collections available in India. Well-documented stratigraphic results from the western edge of Sind, however, give some indication of the relation of some of the Baluchistan cultures to a pre-Harappan stage and to the Harappa civilization. Present conclusions are obviously tentative, but they are sufficiently sure to make apparent the importance of further work in Baluchistan.

• SIGNIFICANCE OF RANA GHUNDAI

The material so ably collected by Brigadier Ross is, consequently, a major addition to the scanty archeological sources. It is greatly to be regretted that he did not live to see the publication of this valuable contribution. Valuable it certainly is, for, though it may not provide the answers to questions posed above, in giving us the first sure relative stratigraphy in northern Baluchistan, it provides a block of the foundation on which the needed solutions will gradually rise. Brigadier Ross's small but significant collection is now in the possession of the Oriental Institute.

The stratigraphy of Rana Ghundai⁶ will be more immediately useful when it can be correlated with the known series of cultures in the Indus Valley and southern Baluchistan, for thus it can be linked to Mesopotamian protohistoric and early historic periods. It may be well to enumerate briefly this eastern series (see also Fig. 2). In the Indus Valley the stratigraphically determined sequence is: (a) Amri culture, with earlier Iranian affinities; (b) Harappa civilization, well known from its later stages at the name-site, Mohenjo-daro and Chanhudaro; (c) Jhukar culture, a poor successor to the Harappa civilization, without writing and other typical features of the preceding society; and (d) Jhangar culture, a distinct break with anything earlier. The Harappa civilization is roughly fixed chronologically in relation to Sumer by the numerous signs of contact during the Akkadian period. A discussion of a more precise temporal equation cannot be compressed to the

⁶ There are five levels (I-V) numbered from the bottom. Subdivisions of these levels are given by the letter designations of the successive pottery types on which the subdivisions are based, the sequence of strata with sublevels being I, IIA, IIIB, C, D, IVE, and V (see below, pp. 295-99).

space available here.⁷ In Baluchistan several cultures can be defined, though their sequence is not established stratigraphically. Aside from the Zhob culture, represented by Rana Ghundai II and III, there are the following. Two village cultures occupy approximately the same area just east of southern Sind: the Nal and Kulli cultures. Both are characterized by the use of buff- and red-surfaced pottery, but the former decorates its pottery with polychrome designs and has fewer "Indian" features than the latter. Piggott ('46, pp. 13, 16, 18) considers the Kulli earlier than the Nal culture. Though some evidence points to this conclusion, other facts produce uncertainty;⁸ so their rela-

tive age should be considered tentative pending further study. There is reasonably good evidence for a temporal overlap of the Kulli culture and the Harappa civilization. Two other cultures farther west can be defined, those of Shahi Tump and Bampur, but they are not of immediate concern.

The facts that can be used in integrating the Rana Ghundai levels with the above series of cultures are few. The only stratigraphical evidence is from the mound of Dabar-Kot, not far from Rana Ghundai, where the remains of a Harappan settlement or trading-post were found on a high level of this great mound; while at a lower level a pit revealed pottery not earlier than Rana Ghundai IIIC.⁹ Even if this tenuous evidence be considered acceptable, it suggests only that Rana Ghundai IIIC may be somewhat earlier than that period of the Harappa civilization when most foreign contact is seen, i.e., contemporaneous with the Akkadian period. This seems not an unreasonable inference despite two possibly contradictory facts. The first is the occurrence in early and intermediate levels at Mohenjodaro of some polychrome sherds¹⁰ whose

⁷ Piggott, '46, p. 21. The tentative nature of his conclusions needs stressing. It is not necessary to assume that the Harappa civilization began as late as "mid-Early Dynastic times." The incised stone vase from Mohenjodaro, which is an important factor in this correlation, is from an early level of that site; but the earliest stages of the Harappa civilization have not been exposed at the three great excavated cities of the period. The earliest stage is probably represented by small amounts of material, excavated by Majumdar, overlying Amrian strata at village sites in southern Sind. In connection with the above-mentioned special type of incised vessel, it is well to remember that its greatest known frequency is from the Bampur area of Persian Baluchistan and from Seistan (Piggott, '43, n. 15), from which examples known in the Kulli culture may also be imports.

⁸ The only stratigraphic evidence that is clear is from Sind, since at the site of Nal the tombs of the period under consideration were on lower slopes of the mound and may have been dug into an earlier level which is not described. Therefore the stratification of the burials in relation to the levels of the mound is unclear. The evidence from Sind for the position of the Nal culture relative to Amri and Harappa follows (all references are to Majumdar, '34). At Ghazi Shah, Harappa pottery ceases at about 30 feet (all levels below datum, the top of the mound). Amri ware occurs mixed with the above from 20-30 feet and then continues down to 40 feet. Several sherds with Nal design occur at 30 feet (Pl. XXVII, 47, 52, 53), at 32 feet (GS 200), at 35 feet (GS 303), and at 39 feet (GS 253-54). At Tando Rahim Khan only Amri ware was found. Two sherds (Pl. XXX, 26, 42) may be of Nal type. At Pandi Wahi in Trench I, Harappa ware was found down to 8 feet above ground level; Amri ware extends to 3 feet below ground level. At plus 3 feet three Nal type sherds (Pl. XXVIII, 17, 18, 22) were found. At Dambi Butli, near a Harappan village but separate from its remains, was a cemetery of the type at Nal with sherds (particularly Pl. XXV, 1) and vessels resembling Nal and Amri pottery (Pl. XXV and

pp. 116-17). This evidence, by itself, would suggest that the Nal culture was contemporaneous with at least the latter part of Amrian and was earlier than or as early as the beginning of the Harappa civilization. Yet Piggott considers that the Kulli culture is late Amrian and early Harappan in time, approximately the same chronological position that the data from Sind suggest for the Nal culture.

⁹ See Stein, '29. The Harappan pottery was found in area N.b, c (pp. 58-59, Pl. XV and Plan 5) at an elevation of approximately 80 feet on the north side of the mound. The pottery comparable to Rana Ghundai IIIC was found in area W 1, ii on the southwestern slopes at an elevation of about 48 feet (p. 63, Pls. XIV, D.W. i, ii 10, 14, 16, 19, 39; XV, D.W. i 2, 3). One sherd of Harappan pottery (Pl. XV, D.W. i 1) is probably intrusive, since the excavator apparently made no distinction between surface sherds and those found at lower levels, and there are Islamic burials in this area.

¹⁰ Mackay, '29, p. 229, Pl. LXX, 8, 9. The cream-white slip of these sherds, however, contrasts with Rana Ghundai IIIB.

decoration stylistically is not very different from polychrome designs of Rana Ghundai IIIB. The history of polychrome pottery in the Harappa civilization, however, is extremely uncertain, so the value of this comparison is doubtful. Second, the design of Figure 4:12, which seems typical of the Zhob-Loralai area at the time of Rana Ghundai IIID, is almost certainly related to a more artistically composed pattern of the post-Harappan Jhukar period.¹¹ It is not necessary to conclude from this fact that Rana Ghundai IIID is Jhukar in time, for the design of Jhukar pottery is, at least in part, non-Harappan and may be inspired from Baluchistan, postdating IIID. Indeed, Piggott ('43, p. 173) has evidence of Harappan influence in this level. The small, solid, flaring foot of pottery goblets from Periano-Ghundai (Fig. 4:12), of which several fragments were found at Rana Ghundai (D1[a], D2[b]), is characteristic in Harappan pottery and is found neither in the earlier Amri culture nor in Nal. This may mean that its appearance in Baluchistan and the Indus region is synchronous. Level IVE at Rana Ghundai also provides no *terminus ad quem*. Its typical pottery is found predominantly at sites where materials similar to those of the earlier levels of Rana Ghundai do not seem to be represented.¹² Thus Level IVE may be separated in time from Level III.

No greater certainty can be reached at present as to the age of the lower levels of the Rana Ghundai mound. A stylistic comparison of the Level IIB ware with those of Amri and Nal is suggestive,¹³ and it is possible that this stratum may take us back to the Jamdat Nasr period. This

leaves the "Bull" period (Level IIA) as still earlier and brings us to its connection with the earlier Hissar culture of north-eastern Iran.¹⁴

There is a marked similarity between the "Bull Vase" (Pl. IX:1) and other vessels of its type and pottery from northern Iran. The animals of the Rana Ghundai vessels are naturally local types and in a different style from those of Iran. But the use of groups of vertical lines on ring feet,¹⁵ of the double zone of grouped vertical lines between the base and the design zone,¹⁶ of two zones of design,¹⁷ and of separated groups of vertical lines in the upper design zone¹⁸ all remind one strongly of northern Iran. In addition, the shape of the Bull Vase is very close to that of bowls from Iran.¹⁹ There are differences, but they are not so pronounced as the resemblances.

Despite the similarity in design, shape, and ware, which indicates the direction from which at least part of the Zhob culture derived, it would be imprudent to conclude that the Zhob culture is roughly contemporaneous with the Hissar culture. This caution is reinforced by a similar situation in southern Baluchistan, where pottery of the Amri and Nal cultures com-

¹⁴ See also Piggott, '43, pp. 169-73.

¹⁵ McCown, '42, pp. 14 ("notes on Figure 5") and 24, n. 31. This design continues into Hissar IIB (Schmidt, '37, Pls. XXI-XXII, XXIV).

¹⁶ This design is found at Chashmah Ali IA, though the vertical lines are simply repeated and not grouped. Elsewhere it is found only in a single zone.

¹⁷ McCown, '42, p. 6, n. 12. See also Schmidt, '37, Pls. VII-X (Hissar IC), XXI H 4797 (Hissar IIA).

¹⁸ At Sialk such line groups are shown once alone in the zone in Level III7 (Ghirshman, '38, Pl. LXX S.9 bis) and otherwise are found with elements in the field between. See also Schmidt, '37, Pls. VIII H 3359 and IX H 2287, 4501, for this design with elements between and Pls. IX H 3421 and XXI H 4693 without intervening motifs.

¹⁹ Cf. Schmidt, '37, Pl. IX H 4747, and with the same body form but stemmed feet, Pls. VIII H 4593 and IX H 3421 from Level IC and Pl. XXI H 4693, 4627, and 4796 from Level IIA. Also Ghirshman, '38, Pls. LXII S.654 and LXVII S.105 from Sialk III.

¹¹ Mackay, '43, Pls. XLIV 13, XLVII 6, and many other variants. Mackay (p. 130) notes this resemblance.

¹² Stein, '29, Pls. I-IV. Also in the Punjab at Bahūr, Stein, '37, pp. 63-64, Pl. II.

¹³ Piggott, '46, p. 15.

pare with that of the Buff-Ware culture of southern Iran. Striking parallels are found here, too; yet differences in form and the presence of red wares, painted exactly as are the buff, indicate a cultural admixture, which presumably occurred during the eastward displacement of the Buff-Ware culture. For this eastward movement a fair period of time should presumably be allowed. Until a Zhob culture assemblage is known—thus far we

have little but pottery—and sites in Afghanistan provide evidence of the stages between Iran and Baluchistan, it seems best to consider the Zhob culture in the stage seen in Rana Ghundai IIA as a later extension of the earlier Iranian culture.

With fair certainty the following can be said in summarizing the chronological position of Rana Ghundai (Fig. 2, last column), though it should be evident

IRAQ, IRAN &c (AFTER Mc COWN)						I N D I A					RANA GHUNDAL LEVELS
IRAQ	SUSA	SIALK	GIYAN	HISSAR	ANALI	QUETTA: AMRI: NAL	ZHOB	KULLI: SH. TUMP	CHANHU DARO	MOHENJO DARO	
ISIN LARSA						?				CEMETERY "H"	
III DYN. OF UR				?				SHARI TUMP	III		
AKKAD				?		NAL			I	NINE BUILDING PERIODS	III D
	D2		IV	III C		INUN DAR. A			?		III C
EARLY DYN-ASTIC				III B	III			KULLI			III B
	D1			III A		AMRI	PERIANO				
JEMDET NASR	C	IV	GAP	II B							IIA
	B3				II						?
URUK	B2	GAP									?
	B1		Vd	IIA							?
		III 7b									
		7				QUETTA WARE	SUR JANGAL				
		6		IC	IB						
		5	Vc								
		4		IB							
		3									
		2	Vb	IA							
		III 1									
UBAID	I										

FIG. 2.—Comparative stratigraphy of India, Iran, and Mesopotamia. This table, *excluding* the Rana Ghundai column, is taken from Piggott, '46, p. 25. The Rana Ghundai column represents the highly tentative conclusions of the writer as to the relative position of the levels at Rana Ghundai. The table as a whole represents the only attempt, so far made, to place the cultures of India and Baluchistan in relative and chronological order. Since Mr. Piggott's study may not be available to all readers, it is well to repeat his caution (*ibid.*, p. 9) that "the peasant cultures of Baluchistan may be subject to . . . scaling down in chronology." See also the writer's reservations, nn. 7 and 8 and p. 289.

that these statements are based on deductions and are not established facts. Rana Ghundai IIA represents an offshoot of the earlier Hissar culture of northern Iran and was established in Baluchistan by late Uruk or Jamdat Nasr times. It continued to develop in this area until at least the Akkadian period and in its latter days came into contact with the Harappa civilization.

Tentative as are the above conclusions, they do not detract from the value of the publication of this material, which now forms the basis for future work in northern Baluchistan. We require a better knowledge of the sequence at sites like Dabar-Kot and more material from the cultures represented by the levels at Rana Ghundai before we can reach more definite conclusions.

I. RANA GHUNDAI

BRIGADIER E. J. ROSS

INTRODUCTION

From 1935 to 1940, while in command of the troops in the Loralai and Zhob districts of British Baluchistan and possessing special facilities for travel, the writer was able to make a fairly complete study of the known prehistoric sites in that area as well as to locate a number of others which had not been previously noted.

Representative collections of painted ceramics from most of these were forwarded to the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, to whom my thanks are due for much interesting advice and encouragement. One small collection from Periano Ghundai on the Zhob River was also forwarded to the British Museum. These collections, though the material was interesting, were made from surface finds only and hence provided little direct evidence of the comparative chronological sequence of the various types of pottery.

It appears quite possible that a closer examination of this area will provide a link connecting the eastern and western areas of Chalcolithic civilization and may furnish valuable evidence for the spread of early civilization through the East. For geographically, of course, the area constitutes the natural land bridge between

Mesopotamia, northern Persia, and western India, and establishment of the internal chronology of the sites in the area and the introduction of some order into our knowledge of their ceramic remains appear to be necessary preliminaries to the correct assessment of such outside contacts.

So far little has been done in the way of systematic examination of any of these sites. Dr. Noetling, late of the Geological Survey of India, visited two of them in 1898. Sir Aurel Stein visited most of them and carried out some minor excavations in 1927, but his visit was of short duration and was intended only as a reconnaissance. While his results were of great value in establishing the interest and importance of these sites, they did little to solve the internal chronological succession of the various types of material found.

At first sight it appeared that, to secure any really valuable evidence of chronological sequence, it would be necessary to undertake excavations quite beyond the scope of the private means at our disposal, for a section would be required through the interior of one of these mounds. In this area there are many difficulties to be overcome in making such excavations. In the first place, the more important mounds are very large. Labor

is scarce and unreliable. The local tribesmen are armed and somewhat turbulent and view excavation with considerable distrust as a treasure hunt on their private preserves. As an example of the latter attitude, the Archaeological Department of the Government of India received a rude shock during the period of our investigations from the murder of Mr. Majumdar and his followers while carrying out excavations not very far across the Sind border. Finally, we had our military duties to perform and could spare only our scanty hours of recreation for work of this nature.

Fortunately, the mound of Rana Ghundai is situated only some ten minutes' drive along a good road from our military headquarters, and we could, therefore, easily visit it. Here for many years the villagers have been carrying out extensive excavations for manure earth which they use for their fields and fruit gardens. They dig out the softer ash strata wherever it is exposed and, by undercutting the base of the mound, cause successive earthfalls, which have finally produced an almost completely perpendicular face.

These excavations through the center of the deposits have exposed almost a complete section in which the various strata can be followed with considerable clarity. We therefore decided to concentrate all our energy and time in searching for chronological data on this exposed section. This was the more important, for it seems likely (if the present rate of destruction continues) that the whole body of the mound will have disappeared in a few years' time, and much valuable knowledge will be lost. Practically all the spare time of my wife, my daughter, and myself for the last six months of our stay in the area was spent in the exploration of this section, and my grateful thanks are due to these willing helpers for their unflin-

energy, patience, and interest. I would like to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Dr. D. E. McCown, of the Oriental Institute, for assistance in the preparation of the report.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF RANA GHUNDAI MOUND

Rana Ghundai mound is situated about eight miles east of the military station of Loralai, close to the Fort Sandeman Road. It had already been visited by Sir Aurel Stein.²⁰

Sir Aurel describes it as some 470 yards in circumference at ground level, with a height at its summit of some 40 feet above the surrounding plain. He mentions that, at the date of his visit (1927), extensive excavations had already been made by villagers digging for manure earth among the ash strata. Since his visit these excavations have been greatly increased, and it is now estimated that at least one-third of the whole mound has been demolished in this manner; the excavations now extend to within 15 or 20 feet of the center of the highest point of the mound.

These excavations in places reach to a depth of 14 feet or more below the existing ground level, and the culture strata obviously reach deeper still. They extend for a considerable distance under the surrounding cultivated plain to a degree which is impossible to discover without more intensive excavation.

The slopes of the mound and the bottom of the excavation are littered with thousands of fragments of pottery of all kinds, some of it plain, but much of it painted. Among this there is a large amount painted in various designs of black, red, or brown on a red slip, of the various types which are so familiar to all who have visited any of these sites.

²⁰ Stein, '29, pp. 52-53.

It will be noticed that, with the exception of two typical specimens from the first level, no plain coarse pottery has been included in this collection. This is not due to the scarcity of such fragments. They are common everywhere, but careful examination showed that there was little to distinguish the plain pottery of the various levels above the first, and, as transport and accommodation was a serious difficulty, we decided to retain only the more characteristic work from each horizon.

Although many of the remains of larger and coarser vessels found on the surface have handles, none was found *in situ*, and consequently none has been included in the collection. This must not, however, be taken as evidence that vessels with handles were not used, even in the early periods. General evidence from this and from other similar mounds in the vicinity, however, shows that these, if not altogether unknown, were at least scarce in the earlier periods.

An interesting feature of this site is the quantity of lumps of a vitrified slag which are found in great numbers both on the lower surface slopes of the mound and at the bottom of the recent excavations. We discovered that these included vitrified sherds of pottery, two of which, though only surface discoveries, are included in the collection. The painted design on these fragments can be clearly seen. The fineness of the pottery and the nature of the design show them to belong to Period III, and they can, I think, with some certainty be referred to Subperiod B or C. It would appear certain that these became vitrified during the final processing. Here, therefore, is conclusive evidence that some at least of this early pottery was manufactured on the spot.

Among these ceramic remains, small flint instruments and flint chips of reddish

pink or gray are common at all levels, and several cores were discovered from which these flakes had been struck. One or two of these cores showed signs of wear and must either have been rubbed down and polished or used as sharpening stones.

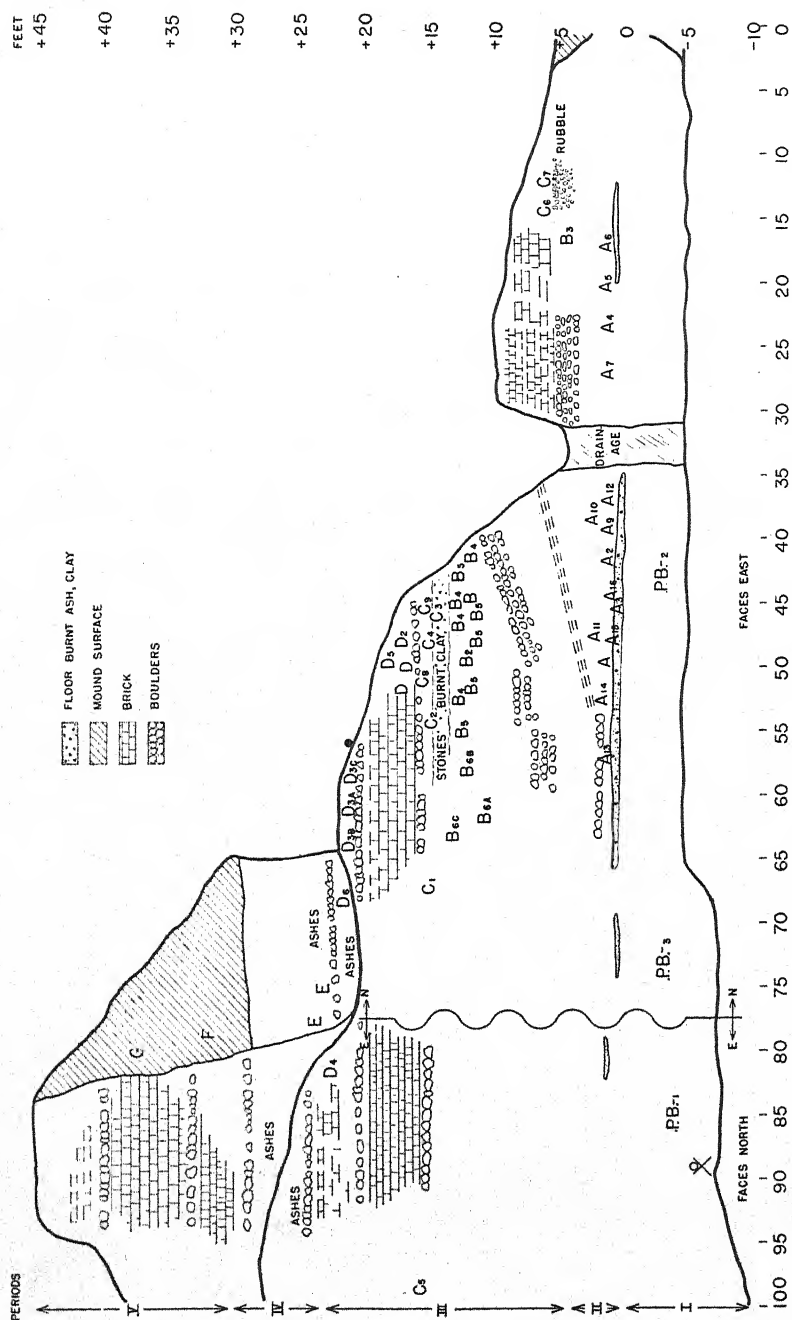
None of the terra cotta figurines so common at most of these sites was found by us here.

A peculiar feature of this and other mounds of similar type is the almost complete absence of anything in the nature of a weapon. The only instrument found which could reasonably be called a weapon was a stone ax included in one of my collections sent to the Archaeological Department of the Government of India. This ax head was found at a high level on the surface of the mound, approximately between Levels E and F of the section, and must be supposed, therefore, to be of comparatively recent date. It is possible that some of the flint artifacts discovered on this and other mounds may be arrowheads of a rude type. The majority of these, even if they are arrowheads at all, are so small as hardly to be suitable for warfare and are more likely to have been intended for hunting small animals or birds.

We have been unable to find either at the surface or at other levels in this mound any trace whatever of metal, except of obviously recent origin. This holds good at most of these sites, and, so far as we know, the only metal objects found in any of them have been recovered at comparatively high levels.

In general, the mound appears to be composed of a fairly uniform mass of ashes and clay, interspersed throughout with fragments of bone, small pieces of carbonized wood, and grains of charcoal.

One of the difficulties to be overcome in endeavoring to establish a chronological order for ceramics and flints in these sites



SECTION OF RANA GHUNDAI MOUND

FIG. 3.—Section of Rana Ghundai with find-spots

References are to the attached elevation of the section to scale of 15 feet = 1 inch.

In describing the location of discoveries with reference to the sectional elevation, a datum point has been taken at present ground level, at the northern end of the face, corresponding with the right-hand edge of the figure.

Where lateral and vertical references are given, the lateral measurement is given first, followed by the height above or below the datum point. Thus 50S, +10 means 50 feet south and 10 feet above the datum point.

It is to be noted that lateral measurements are not accurate beyond 75S, as at this point (shown by a vertical wavy line) the face bends almost at right angles to face nearly due north. For the sake of simplicity, however, the section has been dealt with as though it ran in one lateral plain, and measurements are given along the face of the section and not direct from the datum point.

is the frequency with which small fragments are discovered at high levels to which they have found their way by being included in the clay and other material used for mud-brick and construction work of later date. At this mound, for instance, the mud-brick work even at the summit of the mound includes in its substance a large number of flints and small fragments of pottery, some of it painted, as well as fine gravel. Any material of small size which could have been transported to a higher level in this way was treated, therefore, with great suspicion and was rigidly excluded from the collection.

Similarly, great care was taken to avoid the inclusion of material which could have found its way to a lower level through animal burrows or by being washed down by rain action. One of the reasons for the paucity of the specimens included in the collection is that all finds were rigorously excluded unless the surrounding strata could be thoroughly examined for evidence of intrusion.

A noticeable feature of Rana Ghundai mound is that, throughout the strata, with the exception of one minor level immediately above the first floor, there is no apparent gap in the strata and no clear signs of any level of nonoccupation. Levels of nonoccupation in this type of mound are normally easy to recognize, owing to the detritus left by the erosion of ruined mud walls, etc. It is possible, of course, that nonoccupation surfaces were removed in leveling sites or digging foundations for fresh construction, but the appearances were that occupation was practically continuous from the lowest to the highest level of the mound.

EXAMINATION OF THE FACE OF THE SECTION

It will be noticed (Fig. 3) that the great bulk of our finds were made toward the

northern extremity of the eastern face. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, there is no doubt that here we were lucky in striking a portion of the mound particularly rich in remains, especially of the first phase with painted pottery. Further, we were much helped in exploring this part of the face by recent and successive earth-falls. This not only allowed successive sections to be examined, but each fall left a perfectly clean surface in which objects were easily observed. The face toward the center of the mound was very inaccessible, owing to its height and steepness, and in places actually overhung, making close and detailed examination much more difficult. Finally, since the earth-falls toward this part of the mound were much older, weather had had more time to have effect, both by causing rain furrows, in which were many objects which had been washed down from above, and by covering the whole face with a hard, almost cement-like, coating of clay, which had to be painfully chipped away before the true face could be examined. Not only, therefore, were objects on this part of the face more difficult to distinguish from intrusions from above, but many of those actually *in situ* on the face were concealed by the coating of clay and were only laid bare when this was chipped away. This made the detailed examination of this part of the face much more difficult and often too laborious to be undertaken with the restricted means and time at our disposal.

When the examination of the face was first started, there had been no recent earth-falls, and practically the whole face was covered with the hard coating of clay just mentioned. During this period we devoted much of our time to making a collection of animal bones from the lower strata, for, as far as we knew, little was known of the domestic animals of this pe-

riod, and we hoped that an examination of them would throw some light on the cultural status of the inhabitants of the lower levels of the mound. The bones were all extracted between 50S and 95S at levels between 0 and -8, and were fairly uniformly distributed throughout this area. Most of them were imbedded in the harder parts of the material, generally in clay with an admixture of ash; none was found in the softer ash pockets. The majority of them turned to powder at the slightest touch. Sufficient, however, were extracted to allow of their expert examination by the Archaeological Department. A copy of the report on them is attached (pp. 315-16), in which are identified the domestic Indian ox, domestic sheep, ass, goat, and horse.

The domestication of the Indian ox at this period is, of course, already clearly indicated by the first painted pottery (in the succeeding "Bull" period), which unmistakably depicts cattle of the humped Indian breed.

The discovery of the bones of the domestic horse at this low level in the mound seems to us to be of very great interest. If, as Sir Aurel Stein and other experts state, these sites date from as early as the third or fourth millenniums B.C., interesting light is thrown on the antiquity of the domestic horse, for here it appears in the lowest stratum of the mound. It should be noted, moreover, that these remains are not, as might be expected, those of small pony-like animals. The teeth were examined by an expert veterinary officer before their dispatch to the Archaeological Department, and he assured us that they are practically indistinguishable either in structure or in size from those of our modern cavalry horses. This points to a very long previous period of domestication.

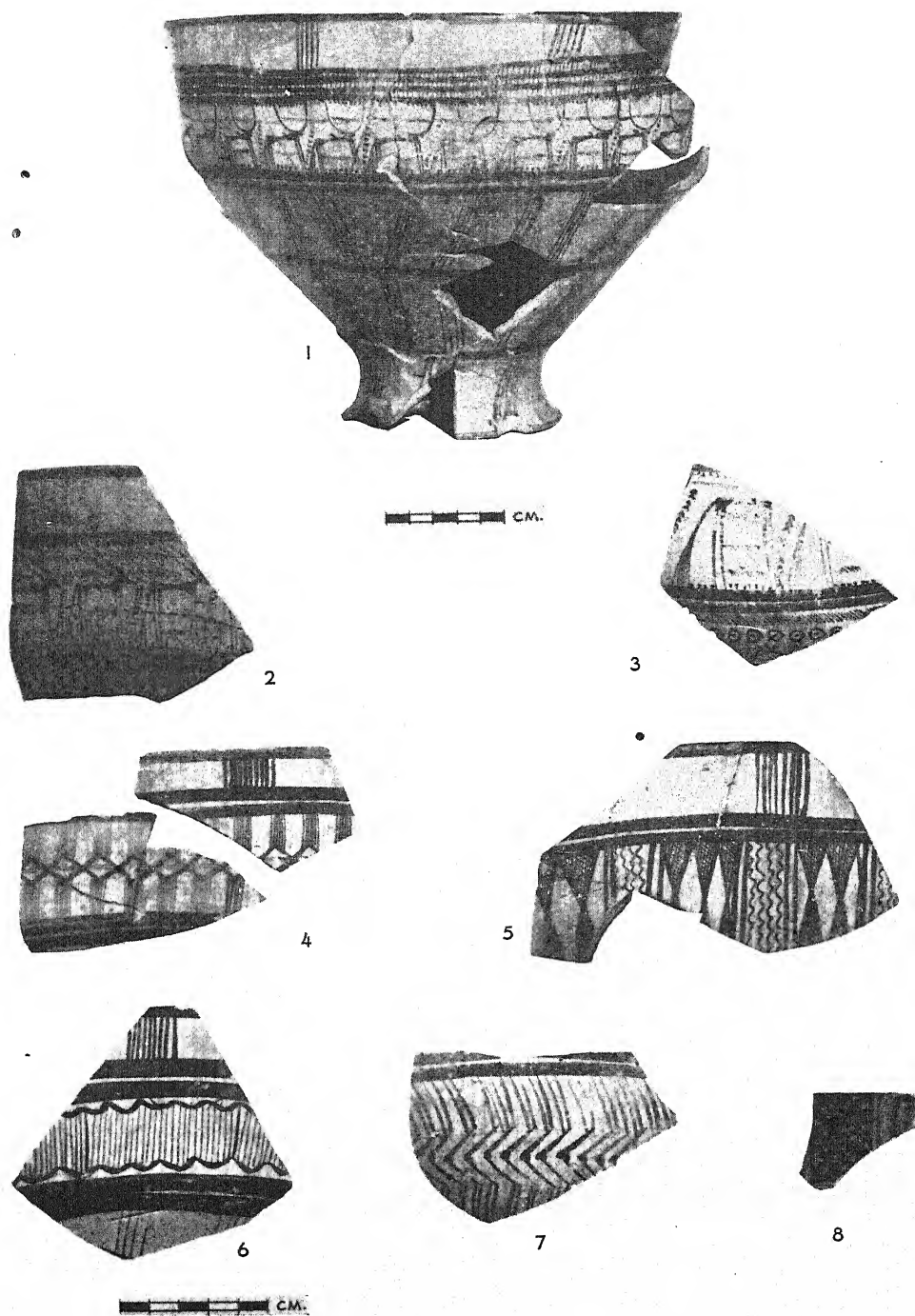
The bones of a human infant were found at 89S, -7, imbedded in very hard

clay. There can be no doubt that a complete skeleton was represented, but, owing to the hardness of the surrounding material and to the extreme fragility of these small bones, many of them were lost. The surrounding strata were very carefully examined for any break in continuity or for anything else which might indicate a burial. No evidence of any kind supporting this could be discovered, with the possible exception of one or two large stones imbedded in the material close to the bones. Such stones, however, are common everywhere, and there is no reason to suppose that their presence at this point was not accidental. The whole skeleton was completely flattened out by pressure, the bones lay in considerable confusion, and it was quite impossible to arrive at any conclusions as to the attitude in which the body lay.

A few flint chips and blades were discovered at intervals in the same horizon as the bones, and later two worked bone points and an eyed bone needle, as well as many more flint artifacts, were found in the same neighborhood. The bone instruments were in a very fragile state, and unfortunately it was possible to preserve only one of them. It appears to have been made from a flat bone and is smoothly rubbed down at the end to give a polished but rather blunt point. Both this and the other point were broken off just above the tip, and it was impossible to arrive at any conclusion as to their original length or use. They may have been composed of ivory and not bone, and the remaining point should be examined by an expert to determine this.

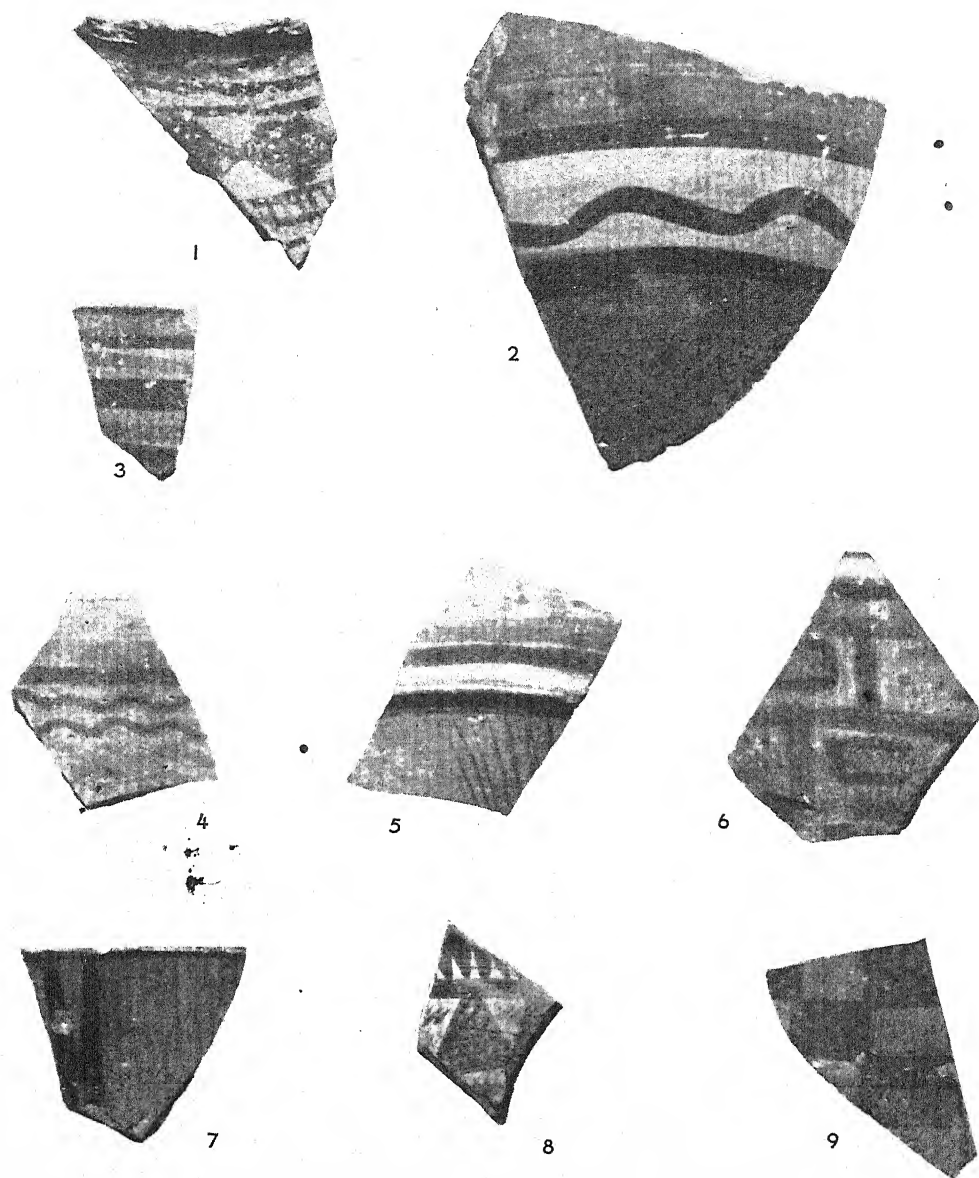
During the early days of our examination of this face the base from 35S to 70S was becoming more and more undercut by villagers in their extraction of manure earth. One day after heavy rain we returned to discover that extensive earth-

PLATE IX



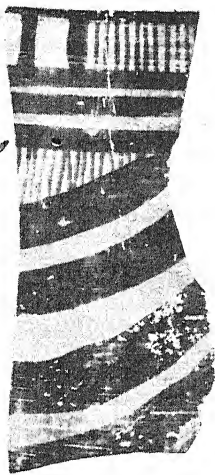
TYPE A POTTERY (ONE SHERD OF TYPE B). 1, THE "BULL VASE"; 2, THE "BLACK BUCK VASE"; 3, A11; 4, A14; 5, A15; 6, A13; 7, A16; 8, B7

PLATE X

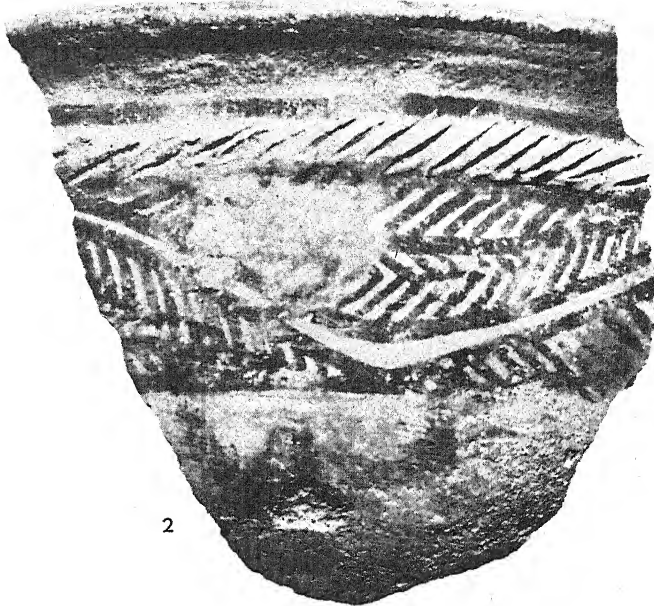


PRE-BULL AND TYPES B AND C POTTERY. 1, Pre-Bull 3; 2, B2; 3, B4(b); 4, B6; 5, B5; 6, B4(k); 7, C2; 8, C1; 9, C3

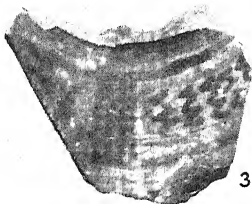
PLATE XI



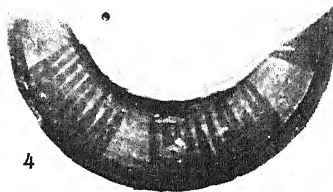
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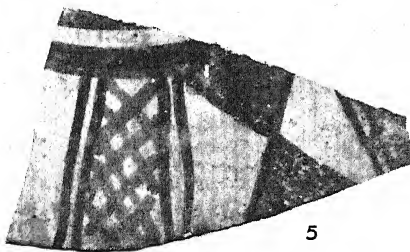
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3



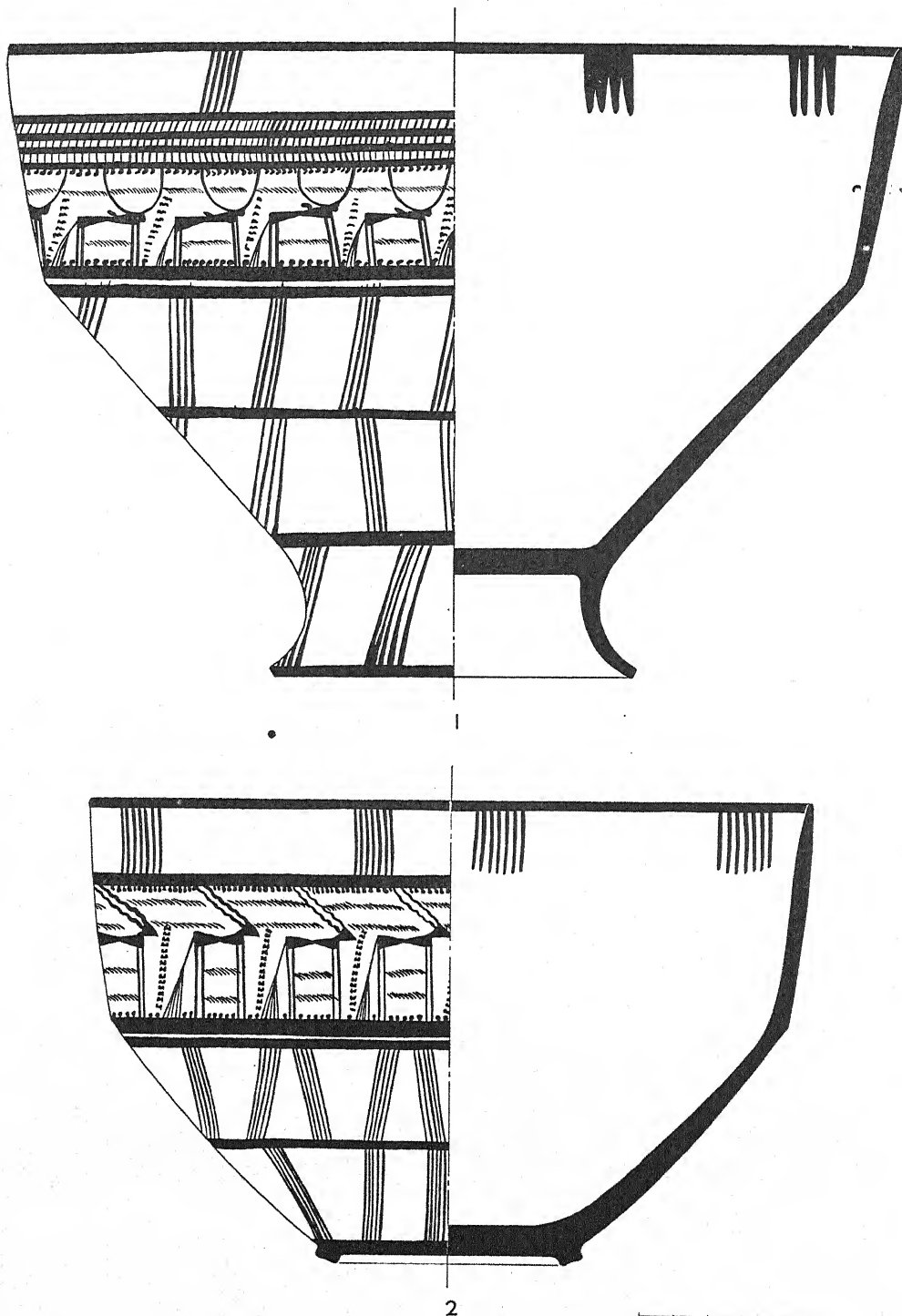
4



5



TYPES D AND E POTTERY. 1, D1(a); 2, E(4); 3, D5; 4, D3(a); 5, E2



TYPE A POTTERY. 1, THE "BULL VASE"; 2, THE "BLACK BUCK VASE"

falls had taken place along the whole of this portion of the face. Some four to six feet of material had split away from the main face along this frontage, leaving a clean and clear section of the whole of this face from top to bottom. The details of this are shown on the sectional elevation, (Fig. 3).

The most important feature of the lower part of the face is the clearly defined floor level of burned clay, ash, and a few rough stones about the 0 level, starting about 12S and disappearing into the interior of the mound between 80S and 85S. This becomes less well defined from 65S southward, but it is still recognizable at intervals until it disappears into the main mass at the angle of the face. It was along this floor level that the "Bull Vase," the "Black Buck Vase," and other ceramics of type A (Pls. IX:1-7, XII; Fig. 4:1, 2) were discovered. The number of these remains, the manner in which they were disposed all along this floor level, and the fact that many of them appear to have been complete when originally buried appears to preclude the possibility of this being a chance rubbish dump and indicates that they had intentionally been placed along the floor level on which they were discovered. The boulder foundations between 55 and 65S seem to be connected with this floor level, but there is nothing in the texture for several feet above this to indicate remains of mud or mud brick for construction.

Immediately above this floor level the clearly recognizable ancient sloping non-occupation level at 35-53S, and the corresponding boulder foundations slanting upward away from the main mound, may indicate a subsidiary mound at this spot. These boulder foundations are set in clay, as are those at 28-31S, +3.5-5.5.

Between this sloping nonoccupation level, and below the floor level at +15,

were discovered the typical B class ceramics (Pl. X:2-6, 11; Fig. 4:3-5). These were probably more numerous than the number of specimens collected would suggest, but this part of the face was somewhat inaccessible with the means at our disposal, while the material at this point was difficult to penetrate. It will be noted that north of 40S there is a break in the continuity of the strata, and only one piece of B type pottery was discovered north of this: B3, found at 17S, +5. This specimen may, therefore, be an intrusion, although the stratification affords no evidence of this interpretation.

Immediately above the B level is another clearly defined floor level of burned clay, ashes, and stone at +13 to +15 on the main face. This seems to be clearly separated from the base of the mud masonry starting at +17 and appears to extend well into the center of the mound. Traces of it can be seen underlying the foundation level between 80 and 85S, +10, beyond the main re-entrant on the face; it also appears just above the rubble area between 10 and 15S, +5, at the northern end of the face. The connection between these two areas, however, is not very clear. On the main face there is a stratum of somewhat softer ashes immediately above this floor level, and in it the bulk of the C type ceramics (Pl. X:7-9; Fig. 4:6, 7) were found. These, like the B type discoveries, were all fragmentary.

From +16 upward the mound consists of an unbroken series of boulder foundations with mud-brick walls resting on them. No less than six of these can be clearly recognized. From +16 to +22, D type ceramics (Pl. XI:1, 3, 4; Fig. 4:8-10) can be discovered at intervals.

It should be noted here that the eroded face 65 to 85S at levels +20 to +30 runs at an angle to the main section and faces approximately south of east, while it is

separated from the top of the main face by a portion of the existing surface of the mound from 5 to 20 feet wide. Between 85 and 100S the upper levels are stepped back 10 feet from this face across a part of the present surface of the mound. The foundation boulders at +22 on this face appear to correspond with similar foundations between 85 and 95S at height +24 on the main face, for in each case D type pottery is found immediately below the foundation level, while the most careful search disclosed none above this level.

Above this foundation layer, in the eroded face and in a deposit of comparatively soft ash, were found the coarse, embossed, incised, and painted pottery classified as E (Pl. XI:2, 5; Fig. 5). Considerably more of this was found than could be retained, owing to its weight and to transport difficulties. The specimens retained, however, were typical, and, except for one hard, fine, crudely painted fragment (E2, Pl. XI:5), there seems to be little variation in the type.

Above this level no painted pottery (except minute fragments, obviously intrusions brought up with the material used for construction of the mud walls) could be discovered, but a certain number of fine, plain, but very hard fragments were found, which appear to be remains of large vessels.

DETAILED EXAMINATION OF EACH LEVEL AND DESCRIPTION OF CERAMIC REMAINS DISCOVERED IN EACH²¹

We have provisionally divided the occupation periods of this site into five main periods:

- I. The "Pre-Bull" period, the long and apparently homogeneous period preceding the "Bull" culture

²¹ [Unfortunately, Dr. McCown was forced to leave for military service before the sherd samples arrived from Brigadier Ross. The sampling consists of 3 "Pre-Bull" period sherds, 21 type A painted sherds, 2 type A painted restorable bowls, 11 type B painted sherds,

- II. The "Bull" period, which appears to herald the sudden arrival of a new and more advanced culture from without (pottery type A)

1 type B painted restorable(?) bowl, 11 type C painted sherds, 1 type C unpainted sherd, 10 type D painted sherds, 1 type D cup (not from Rana Ghundai), 3 type E painted sherds, and 1 type E restorable bowl. Some of these sherds arrived in more than one fragment. On the basis of this sampling, I have added certain information to Brigadier Ross's text, as footnotes. Drawings of the restorable pots were made, the elevations of the design-bearing areas done intentionally without foreshortening, as well as the redrawing of Brigadier Ross's original section, by Miss Edna Tulane. Scales of drawings and photographs are indicated.

My general impression of the material was as follows. Brigadier Ross, as an amateur, turned in a more creditable piece of work than many so-called professionals might have. The Pre-Bull sherd samples are certainly distinct from the A-D type sherds. The cores of the A-D type wares are megascopically uniform, to my eye, as is the black paint. The red slip was probably an almost pure solution of ochre, which I would have preferred to call a "wash" myself, and it is unquestionably present on only three sherds of the A painted type (A5, A9[c], and A12). A fair proportion of the A type sherds (including the Bull Vase and the Black Buck Vase) show a rich orange-buff surface coloration, but this is the result of a low, although oxidizing, fire, rather than added color, to my notion. I should hesitate to call any of the buff-colored surfaces "slipped" in the true sense of the word, except for two examples in C type; the rest are all "self"-slipped, if at all. The red slip (or wash) becomes general on B type sherds and remains through D, where it has become quite opaque and dark red-orange in color. The D type examples, although generally completely oxidized, are more consistently a full orange-buff on the break, probably indicating a low but controlled fire, whereas the opposite was true with the A type sherds, some being full orange-buff and others the light greenish-buff of a high fire. There is also no question but that the "typical" E type ware is an entirely separate fabric, being rather rough and porous on the break, not completely oxidized, and of a sandy clay. The sherd E2 is not consistent with the "typical" E ware, nor is it like anything else in the sampling.

Brigadier Ross also included in his sampling two lumps of badly vitrified sherds (which from thinness of body wall and painted motifs would fall in the range A-D) and a small selection of flints. My wife makes the following statement on the flints: "The few flints included (eleven in all) consist of seven utilized blade sections, one scraper on a flake, a core tablet, and two flakes showing signs of use. The blades have a plain striking platform and have been used without retouch; only in one example is the back slightly blunted by nibbling retouch. None of the specimens examined was used as sickle blades. The blades are very slender, averaging 29 × 9 mm. The largest specimen is 42 × 13 mm. The delicacy of the blades would identify them as belonging to the eastern sphere of flint-working, embracing Iran and India."—R. J. BRAIDWOOD, February, 1942].

- III. A period of long and slow evolution on the spot, in which the finer pottery was normally painted black or red on a terra cotta ground (pottery types B, C, and D)
- IV. The period in which the finer pottery was unpainted and in which the coarse pottery was decorated with an embossed and incised ornament and painted in coarse designs of reddish-brown or black (pottery type E)
- V. The period in which no painted but only coarse plain and embossed pottery has been discovered

It is hoped that the following description of the various levels and their associated finds will make the reasons for this classification clear.

PERIOD I. THE "PRE-BULL" PERIOD

This period is represented by the whole uniform mass of the mound underlying the floor at height 0.

It is quite probable that this culture level rose to a greater height toward the center of the mound south of 90S, for the whole core of the mound below +15 in this area appears to consist of uniform material without signs of any definite floor or construction levels. The minimum thickness of the remains of this period is, therefore, at least 14 feet, and it may be considerably more, for even at the deepest point the base of this stratum has not been reached.

The pottery of this period was generally coarse, indifferently made, and plain (P-B1).²² Pottery of this type was fairly common and is evenly distributed across the whole face examined at this level.

One fragment with a red slip²³ was dis-

²² [The sherd P-B1 itself has an orange-buff core with fairly large mineral inclusions; the outer surface is lighter, being almost cream-color, and is quite rough.—R. J. B.]

²³ [The body clay of this sherd is megascopically similar to that of P-B1; the red slip is thin but quite opaque and has considerable sheen, probably owing to some sort of polishing, although burnish marks are not apparent. The sherd fragment is of a flat base.—R. J. B.]

covered at 44S, -4, some 4 feet below the "Bull" period floor.

A very careful search was made for painted fragments throughout this level, but only one piece was discovered (P-B3, Pl. X:1). Found at 74S, -4, this is a small vessel with a markedly outturned rim. It is painted with a bold black pattern on a red slip. The specimen²⁴ is small and much worn, but it appears to be much rougher and lacking the finish of the later periods.

So far as can be judged, the pottery of this period does not seem to have been made on the wheel, although the inner surface of P-B1 shows a few vaguely horizontal striations.

Bones of domestic animals are common throughout this period, and all those mentioned in the attached report were found at this level, either directly underlying the "Bull" period floor or in apparently identical strata to the south of it.

The majority of the flint instruments included in the collection were found in this layer, as were the bone points and the needle already described.²⁵ Flints of exactly similar type to those from this level were, however, discovered at all horizons in the mound.

In the lower and central part there are no signs of definite floor levels or of any structural remains, the lowest recognizable structural remains in the main mass itself being the floor level at which painted pottery was first discovered in quantity and the foundation layers immediately above it.

²⁴ [The body clay is a light red-orange, somewhat freer of mineral inclusions than the foregoing two sherds. The added ochrous slip stops below the lip on the outside, forming a background for the area on which the dull black paint is applied. There seems to have been some attempt to polish the slipped area before painting. The pattern is geometrical and the brushwork somewhat coarse, but the piece does not seem to be without artistic merit. It presents some resemblance to a coarser version of the C type pottery.—R. J. B.]

²⁵ [See n. 21 above.—R. J. B.]

Here and there toward the central part of the mound, at the lower levels—at 75–100S as high as +10—there are thin strata of ashes, while minor changes in the constitution of the material give the face of the section a laminated appearance (each layer an inch or less in thickness), as though it had been built up gradually but with no prolonged period of occupation at any one level. This fine stratification is parallel to the existing ground level, and there is no appearance of the face having been built up at any point by refuse material thrown down a slope. Larger pockets of ash can be found at some points, while the material includes occasional boulders and shapeless masses of very hard reddish-yellow clay. The latter are often several feet in diameter, bear no recognizable shape, and give no appearance of being structural remains. They may, of course, be the remains of ancient mud or clay walls; but, if so, their texture and plan has completely disappeared.

At one point, apparently in this level, there is a large deposit of a fine white-powdered substance. This is of a texture and appearance similar to the powdered lime used in making ordinary whitewash. Samples were taken with a view to its examination by experts, but unfortunately this could not be carried out.

The general impression is that of a people living either a seminomadic or a pastoral life, occupying the same site for countless years, without erecting any permanent structures. Certainly any constructions they may have erected were too flimsy to leave permanent trace, but the charcoal content of the mound may be due to remains of wooden or brushwood huts.

PERIOD II. THE "BULL" PERIOD

TYPE A CERAMICS

This is perhaps the most striking and interesting culture level in the whole

mound. Its pottery style is so clear cut, so striking, so artistic, and of such a high level of technical skill that it is impossible not to hope that it will eventually prove an important link connecting the stratigraphy of this mound with that of other early cultures to the east and west. The standard of artistic spirit and technical skill shown by the ceramics of this period is quite unexpected at such an early date.

The objects of this period brought to light during our investigations were confined to the floor level at 0. Except for the ceramics, a few flint instruments of the uniform type found at all levels of the mound, and a few scattered animal bones, there is nothing to give a clue to the cultural status of the inhabitants.

The typical ceramics of this period (Pls. IX:1–7, XII; Fig. 4:1, 2) are beautifully finished and decorated bowls of a very finely levigated and fired material.²⁶ The usual color is a pale pinkish terra cotta or buff with or without a darker slip.²⁷ The color of both body and slip varies from a dark terra cotta, as in A5, A6, and A7, to a grayish-yellow, as in A2, etc. The finer pieces are, as a rule, of a somewhat lighter shade, the most beautiful being of a pale pinkish-buff. The paint is a thin, opaque brown-black, without sheen.

Certain pieces blend two colors—the lower part is darker, and the upper portion on which the bull frieze is painted is of a lighter shade (A9, A11, Pl. IX:3). In some cases (A1, Pl. IX:2) this change may be due either to faulty firing or to chemical action through the ages. This is

²⁶ [Complete oxidation of the core is general; the resulting fabric is fairly brittle, with smooth and straight fracture, and little abrasion of edges or surface is evident.—R. J. B.]

²⁷ [The slip, when used, is thin but opaque and covers the outer design-bearing surface, but it is stopped as a broad band ± 2 cm. below the lip on the inside.—R. J. B.]

possibly the case in the Black Buck Vase (A1), in which the color neither of the upper part of the bowl nor of the basal portion is uniform.

Typically, these bowls are shaped as follows: from a small and well-finished base the material slopes widely and gracefully, without any bulging, to a distinct shoulder, whence the angle is considerably steeper to the fine rim. The material is beautifully graduated to give strength near the base, becoming light and fine toward the rim. The surface finish is often so fine as to give a polished feeling to the touch, the interior being always specially well finished. These vessels²⁸ are obviously made on the wheel.

The typical ornamentation is as follows: around the base, a narrow black band; at the angle of the shoulder, a wider black band, sometimes two, often ornamented with what appear to be stylized flowers on the upper side; halfway between the base and the shoulder, another black band connected with both the base and the shoulder by groups of four or five parallel lines, these being finely drawn in the better pieces but often somewhat crudely applied in the coarser pieces.

The decorative motif on the basal portion of these bowls may well be derived from the close-fitting grass or rush nets in which earthenware pots are so often carried to this day in India, especially in Kashmir and among the fisherfolk of the great marshes of Sind. It may, therefore, have originated in a similar way to the motif of the "Net" pottery of predynastic Egypt.

An inch or so below the rim of the vessel is another series of bands, often connected with one another by diagonal shad-

ing strokes, and ornamented on the lower side with the same stylized flowers(?) as appear above the shoulder band.

Between these two series of bands are painted, on the more upright part of the vessel above the shoulder, the animal friezes which are so distinctive of this period. These, in every case except one, consist of stylized representations of humped Indian domestic cattle (Pl. IX:1, 3; Fig. 4:1, 2). In the one exception (A1) the place of the cattle is taken by what is very obviously the Indian antelope or black buck (Pl. IX:2, XII:2). The details of these animal friezes are discussed below.

Over the banding immediately above the frieze is generally a plain space, on which the only decoration consists of groups of vertical hachure strokes connecting the frieze with a black edge round the rim.

The rim is fine and is generally painted black both within and without. The interior of the bowls appears in every case to be undecorated, except for groups of thick hachure strokes extending downward for a short distance from the rim. In two of the darker specimens (A9[c] and A12) there is a band of darker slip extending for an inch or so below the rim, the rest of the interior being paler.

In addition to the fragments carrying animal decoration, there came to light the fragments of four bowls (A13, A14, A15, and A16, Pl. IX:4-7) carrying quite a different motif of decoration. These appear to have been similar in general style to the bull type, but the animal frieze is replaced by beautifully drawn scroll or geometrical designs of very fine brushwork. Of these, A13 (Pl. IX:6), which carries an extremely beautiful scroll design, appears to have been of abnormally small size.

A15 (Pl. IX:5) is a portion of a large

²⁸ [The section drawing of the Bull Vase (Pl. XII:1) shows how the profile is quite straight in spots—especially the inner base, which probably indicates the use of a flat-edged tool in the manner of a template.—R. J. B.]

vessel painted with an intricate and bold geometrical design, while A14 (Pl. IX:4), which also carries a geometrical design, appears to have been considerably smaller. All these are of fine technical and artistic merit, and, while they lack the animal frieze, the general shape and layout closely resembles the typical bull type. It is hard to arrive at a conclusion as to the shape of A16 (Pl. IX:7), but it appears to have a rounder contour.

That all these bowls did not have the straight face and the angled shoulder of the typical bull type appears to be borne out by A11 (Pl. IX:3) as well as by A16. Although both fragments are too small to give a definite clue as to their shape, they seem to be parts of bowls of a much more rounded contour. Both appear to be somewhat exceptional in their ornamental layout, but they still seem to possess some similarities to the more normal type.

In some cases the ornamentation appears to be dark brown instead of black (A2, A13, A14, etc.). This may, however, be due only to a more diluted use of the same pigment or to the base color's showing through the ornamentation. The red painting so common at later periods does not yet appear.

The fineness and control of the brushwork are essentially distinctive marks of this period. Not only is the artist capable of producing lines of hairlike fineness (see the tail of the bulls in the Bull Vase or in the Black Buck Vase), but much of the beauty of his designs rests on his skilful brush control (see the tapering strokes which add so much to the grace of the design in A13, Pl. IX:6). It will be noted that from this period this skill with the brush dies away, until the brush becomes merely a means of transferring color to a surface and not a tool producing beauty in itself.

The animal friezes themselves are

worthy of the closest study. They appear to be in a transition stage between the naturalistic and the stylized. No one familiar with the Indian antelope, for instance, can hesitate to say that it is drawn with a hunter's eye. It is a live black buck standing in its natural surroundings. Yet the detail is highly stylized—the long legs so commonly exaggerated in the bull friezes, the bull's tail instead of its natural tail, and the details of the background. All these show a long period of stylization.

The background, presumably representing pasturage, has also been considerably stylized and is portrayed in almost exactly the same way on each piece. Each animal is depicted in a parallelogram bounded by grass or other herbage, which can hardly fail to give the impression of some sort of inclosure. To one familiar with the small irrigated fields of the plains of present-day Baluchistan, with its checkerboard-like system of small, grass-covered banks or ditches, this background is at once recognizable. It is an exact reproduction of the scenery of a modern irrigated area. This at once explains the rings surrounding dots which appear in pieces like A3 (Fig. 4:2) and the parallel wavy zigzag lines in A2. These represent the *karez* systems or the irrigation ditches which so often bound the village fields in this area to this day.

No one examining this bull pottery can fail to be struck by the variation in quality of the various pieces, although all were found at the same level and in close proximity to one another. Had they not been found *in situ*, they would doubtless have been assigned to widely different periods of the same culture. As it is, one is almost forced to the conclusion that the finer pieces are examples of the culture as introduced to the site and that the coarser examples are crude imitations made by

less efficient but contemporaneous workmen on the spot.

Everything points to the fact that the "Bull" culture was introduced suddenly, fully developed, and was not progressively evolved here, for there does not appear to be any connection as regards pottery with the strata underlying it. Where it came from we can at present only guess. So far as we know, nothing like it has been found elsewhere, except for a few pieces from the neighboring mounds of Sur Jangal and Moghul Kala.²⁹ The depiction of the Indian ox, and of the Indian antelope, would incline us to look for an Eastern origin. The latter, I believe, has not been found west of the Indus River in historical times; nor is it likely, unless there have been some great climatic changes, that it ever could have withstood the hard, dry, rigorous climate of the Baluchistan Plateau at an elevation of 4,500 feet above the sea, which is the general level of the valley bottoms in this area.

It is almost impossible not to suspect some religious or cult meaning in the bull motif. The concentration of so many vessels bearing this motif in one small area, the superior quality of many of them, and possibly the fact that they were contained in what appears at one time to have been a subsidiary mound are all facts which appear to afford some evidence of religious significance. To this must be added the appearance of figurines of bulls in other mounds of at least comparatively similar antiquity. We ourselves discovered at a neighboring mound one of these figurines. This was only a surface discovery, but it was surrounded by pottery of an early period, while the material of which it was composed—hard, pale pinkish-buff, with black ornamentation—accords very closely with the pottery of this period. Fig-

urines of bulls were also discovered by Sir Aurel Stein at Periano Ghundai.

The following notes on the discovery of the more important ceramics of this period may be of interest.

1. *The Bull Vase—A* (Pls. IX:1, XII:1).—The first thing we noted after the previously mentioned earth-falls was the well-defined floor level at 0 level. Projecting from the main face immediately above this floor level at 50S, 0, were two or three of the larger fragments of this vessel, including a portion of the base. After some examination we were able to identify the corresponding face of one of the large cubical blocks, weighing several tons and of cement-like hardness, which had split away from the main face at this point. This had to be demolished bit by bit and searched in detail. This resulted in the discovery of more of the fragments spread throughout several cubic yards of hard material. Search was rendered more difficult by the presence in this material of other and somewhat similar fragments.

The blocks which had split from the main face were piled up in considerable confusion, and many of the fragments had fallen into deep recesses between the blocks and the face. Altogether, nearly all our spare time from our military duties for over a month was spent in searching for and identifying the fragments of this one vessel. The results have, we think, fully justified our efforts, not only on account of the beautiful specimen now available for examination, but because we now have in this partially reconstructed vessel a most useful guide to the understanding of other isolated fragments.

2. *The Black Buck Vase—A1* (Pls. IX:2, XII:2).—This vase was exposed in a similar way. One of the fragments now attached to the base, and a portion of the rim, were discovered in the main face at 37S, 0. Other fragments were discovered

²⁹ Stein, '29, Pl. XIII, M.K. 2, and Pl. XXI S.J. iv 4 and S.J. iv 7.

in the earth-fall. The base itself was a chance discovery, as it lay some twenty feet from the face, on the bottom of the excavation, where it had apparently been thrown by some careless villager. But for our previous examination of the Bull Vase we should probably have passed it over as a surface, and consequently a valueless, find. As it was, however, we were struck by its resemblance to the basal part of the Bull Vase. A closer examination proved, to our joy, that it fitted one of the fragments found *in situ* with part of the rim.

Unfortunately, there is no actual fit between the basal fragments and the rim portion. The close association of the fragments *in situ*, and the correspondence both in size and in color, leave no doubt that these fragments are all of one and the same vessel. It will be noticed that the change of color in the rim portion is also apparent on the basal part of the vessel.

3. *A2*.—Parts of this vessel were originally found intermixed with fragments of the Bull Vase during our endeavors to recover as much as possible of that vessel. Other fragments were found in the main face.

4. *A15* (*Pl. IX:5*).—This was almost the last of our discoveries. Parts of it were found projecting from the main face; others were found on digging more deeply into the surface of the face. Time did not permit of deeper search for more fragments.

The remaining specimens were all recovered either from the main face or from identifiable and corresponding levels in the earth-falls. These falls did not disintegrate but, being of cement-like hardness, retained their shape, merely splitting into huge blocks, most of many cubic yards' content. This made identification of levels easy but rendered search for fragments very arduous.

PERIOD III. LEVELS B, C, AND D

We have provisionally grouped all the ceramics of B, C, and D levels together in one period, during which at least three building levels can clearly be discerned. The evidence disclosed by the ceramic remains points to a steady evolution of one culture on the spot rather than to the introduction of any very marked innovations from without.

The commencement of this period appears to be marked by the introduction of red in addition to black in the painted designs, while it is probable that the use of white bands in decoration (as in B2 [*Pl. X:2*] and B3) also dates from the commencement of this period.

In studying the ceramics of this area, it is necessary to be extremely cautious of any attempt at classification based solely on apparent similarities of motif or on details of design. The fact is that, there are, on most of these sites, thousands of painted fragments lying on the surface, almost every one of which bears an original design of its own. The result is a bewildering variety in design, and it is possible, with a little superficial knowledge and imagination, to find apparent affinities with almost any design which the mind of man can devise.

A further difficulty arises from the difference both in material and in type of decoration between the larger vessels (B2, B3) and those of the finer and smaller vessels (B4, B6, *Pl. X:3, 4, 6*; *Fig. 4:3, 5, 11*). The smaller vessels, however, apparently represent the highest technical and artistic developments of the various periods. In our classification, therefore, we have been guided so far as possible by this type of vessel.

Where such an enormous variety exists in the use of material, color, and design and method of application, it must be clearly understood that no one character-

istic can be taken rigidly to include any one fragment in a single period. Classification can be based only on a number of general tendencies and especially on the evolution from one type to another as time progresses. In this case we are particularly fortunate in having so clearly defined a type, such as the ceramics of the "Bull" period, from which to trace this evolution.

The most important points to be considered in this classification would appear to be (a) the shape of vessels of corresponding types; (b) the material used; (c) the ground color; (d) the color of the pigment used in ornamentation; and (e) the method of applying the ornamentation, i.e., brushwork, shading, flat surfaces, etc. Each of these not only must be looked at individually but must be regarded from the aspect of its evolution from the general type of the level immediately preceding it.

It is clear that this small collection of finds *in situ* affords too little material for definite classification of this nature. We would like to make it clear, however, that the material found *in situ* has been compared with many hundreds of surface fragments from this and other mounds in the area, as well as with Sir Aurel Stein's results from similar sites in this area, and we are confident that the characteristics emphasized here do afford an accurate outline on which future and more complete classification can be based. No one realizes better than we do that many types of pottery quite familiar as surface finds on these sites are excluded from this classification, which deals only with such types as have actually been found *in situ*.

SUBPERIOD B

The ceramics of this period have obviously been evolved from those of type A. The most striking innovation of the period is the introduction of red in the painted

designs.³⁰ It is probable that pink and brown decoration also appeared at this stage, although such decoration has not yet been found on fragments *in situ*.

The majority of the finer vessels are of a pinkish or buffish clay, nearly always with a darker terra cotta, sometimes almost a plum-colored, slip.³¹ The finish of the actual material is excellent, possibly on the average better than that of the "Bull" period.

There are two characteristics which show very clearly that the bowls of this period were evolved from those of the "Bull" period preceding it. The first of these is their general shape. Although it has been impossible even partially to reconstruct one of these vessels, it is clear from the examination of such pieces as B5(a), B4(b), and B5(c) (Fig. 4:4, 11) that the outline of these vessels presented the same wide straight spread from base to shoulder and the same sharp angle at the shoulder which characterizes the "Bull" type bowls. It would appear, especially from B5(c) (Fig. 4:4), that this wide angular spread has even been exaggerated, so that the whole basal part of the bowl must have been wider and shallower in proportion to the size of the vessel. The sharp angle of the shoulder has also been developed to form a well-defined external flangelike ridge following the circumference of the shoulder angle. This may have been developed as an aid to carrying or

³⁰ [The appearance of broad light-buff encircling bands on sherds of large vessels is actually effected by leaving a portion of the original buff surface unslipped, as a reserved band, which band may be bordered with black bands and carry a wavy black band itself (B2, Pl. X:2), so that the effect here is also of three colors.—R. J. B.]

³¹ [Here the use of the slip is general. It seems to resemble exactly the solution used more rarely on the A type pottery, and it may stop as a rim band on the inside, or apparently be applied all over the inside. The red paint is probably no more than a more concentrated solution of the same pigment (ocher?). The black paint is for all intents and purposes that of the A ware.—R. J. B.]

handling and is suggestive when considered along with the "carrying net" motif of the basal portion. This motif is obviously derived from the "Bull" period, and it is interesting to note how it has become stylized (B4[b] [Fig. 4:11] and B5[a]) as though its original meaning was becoming forgotten.

Brushwork is still fine in designs of this period, and much of the line work is extremely fine and accurately applied. There is, however, more dependence on fine, regular line work and even shading, and less on controlled and tapered brushwork, to get the effects desired. One feels that the artist of this period took pride in the fineness and regularity of his lines, while his predecessor of the "Bull" period found highest pleasure in his brush control.

Designs at this period are rarely applied as solid even surfaces or solid black bands. Darker effects are more often obtained by close line shading.

Parallel rather thin close bands, some straight and some wavy, and alternate thin bands of red and black become common. This is a common motif close to the rim.

The checker pattern so common at this and other neighboring sites first appears at this period (B7, Pl. IX:8), and it is often very finely and neatly applied and combined with other line work in red.³²

So far as is known at present, the pottery of this period reached its finest and highest development at the neighboring small site of Sur Jangal, which has been described by Sir Aurel Stein. An examination of his results and our own collections from that site clearly show that the bulk

³² [One small sherd (B3) indicates that the inner surface of a bowl may now carry more than the conventional lip bands or fringes already seen in type A. What can be seen on the inner surface of B3 is that the normal surface color has been left reserved from the slip and that the reserved area carries design in black paint—a wavy band bordered by plain bands, with perhaps some zigzag motif above.—R. J. B.]

of the pottery there can safely be classified as of this B stage,³³ though a few pieces are undoubtedly of the "Bull" period.

SUBPERIOD C

This period appears to appertain to the floor level +13 to +15 between 45S and 55S and to the area between 10S and 15S, level +5 on the main face. The number of painted fragments found *in situ* at this level was disappointingly small. On the other hand, quite a large number of hard, fine, well-baked, unpainted fragments of a pinkish body and slip of type C9 came to light. It appears, therefore, that at this level a good deal of the finer pottery was unpainted, whereas at the lower levels practically all the hard, well-finished fragments found were decorated.³⁴

At this level there appears to have been a pronounced change in the type of the smaller vessels. The bowl with the sharp definite angle at the shoulder is not represented in the sampling, and a more rounded form appears to have been adopted. There is a tendency not previously observed for vessels to curve outward at the rim.³⁵

Smaller vessels of a carafe-like shape with contracted necks and expanded rims begin to appear (C4, Fig. 4:7). It is probable that the tall, narrow vessels of a type represented by Sir Aurel Stein³⁶ first became common during this period, for, although no fragments of these were

³³ In this connection, see his report, *op. cit.*, Pls. XX and XXI, S.J. vi 13, S.J. i 8, S.J. 31, S.J. 71, S.J. 37, etc. Although the designs on all these vary to an extraordinary degree, the main characteristics referred to can readily be distinguished.

³⁴ [From the sherds present in the sampling, it might be that the unslipped examples of C9 type are fragments from a reserved area and that there may have been slip on the vessels above and/or below the areas represented by these sherds. The body clay cannot be distinguished from the general run of sherds.—R. J. B.]

³⁵ [These may represent the flared, added collar of the form indicated by sherd C4.—R. J. B.]

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, Pl. XX, S.J. i c.

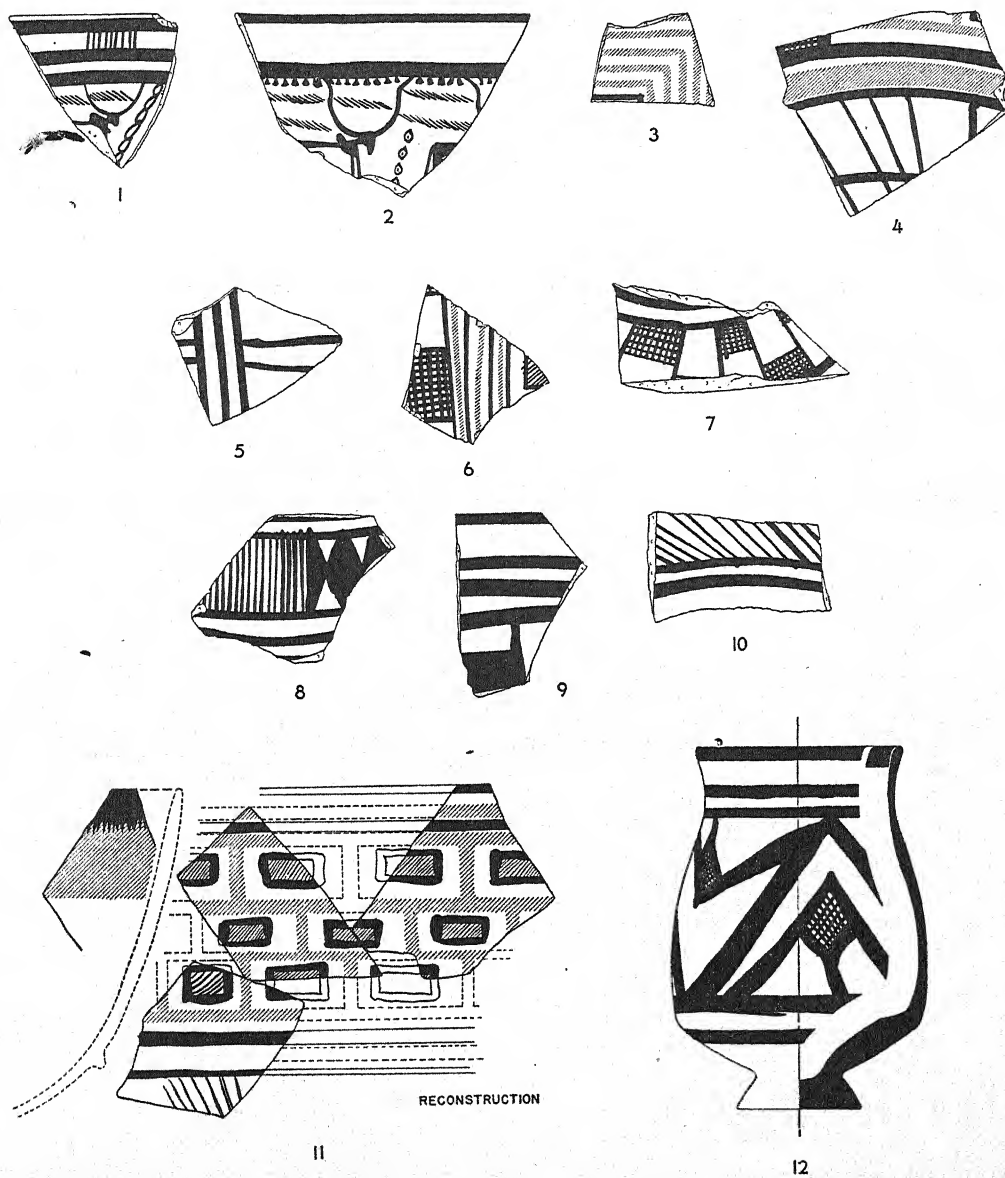


FIG. 4.—Types A-D pottery. 1, A7; 2, A3; 3, B4(h); 4, B5; 5, B6; 6, C5; 7, C4; 8, D2; 9, D4; 10, D1; 11, B4; 12, from Periano Ghundai.

found definitely *in situ*, fragments of this type in corresponding near-surface levels are abundant.

The material used is still red-slipped and fine, in some pieces extremely so, but the surface finish appears as a rule to be somewhat rougher to the touch than in the finer pieces of the preceding period.³⁷

The fine line work of the previous period begins to deteriorate and gives way to coarser line decoration, large plain black surfaces being rare (Pl. X:7-9; Fig. 4:6, 7). The checker pattern is still common (C4, C5, C7, etc.; Fig. 4:6, 7) but is not as a rule so carefully drawn. Checkers often deteriorate into mere rectangular figures formed by rather carelessly drawn networks of vertical and horizontal lines (C4, C5, C6). One fragment (C7) shows this pattern in the interior and appears to be part of a wide, shallow bowl.

On many vessels the interior is covered with a pale creamy-buff slip, with a band of darker slip extending for an inch or so below the rim (C2, C4).

A rim decoration of vertical red lines, separated by deep, black, bold geometrical or V-shaped markings, is common, especially on what appear to be taller vessels (C2, Pl. X:7).

This period is not so well defined as the others and appears in some ways to be transitional. Although the material found *in situ* was scarce, a considerable amount of near-surface specimens could be fairly safely allocated to this period.

SUBPERIOD D

The pottery of this period appears to be connected with two building levels—that between +16 and the foundation level at +20, and the foundation level at +20 itself. The hard, pink, fine, undecorated ware of type similar to C9 is still common.

³⁷ [The red and the black paint are not distinguishable from those of the B type sherds.—R. J. B.]

The decorated pottery, although it still retains some of the characteristics of type C, is, on the whole, very distinctive and is the type most common and most characteristic of nearly all the ancient sites in this area. The great profusion in which it is found at nearly all sites may well point both to a longer period of occupation and possibly to a larger population. It is, however, to be remembered that, lying at a higher level in these sites, a greater proportion of it is likely to have been laid bare by erosion.

Two characteristics connect it closely with type C: the expanded rim of many vessels (D2[c], D3[b]) and the pale interior slip (or self-slip), with the darker band below the rim (D3[b], D1[a]).

In general, both the color of the material and the color of the slip are similar to those of the preceding two periods.³⁸

Tall, narrow vessels such as D1(a) (Pl. XI:1) become common. These may be cinerary urns, but none was found within larger vessels as were similar vessels discovered both by Sir Aurel Stein and by the writer at Periano Ghundai.

In the decoration of this period fine line work seems almost entirely to have disappeared (Pl. XI:1, 3, 4; Fig. 4:8-10). In general, we get a much bolder type of design carried out in broad black bands, of various geometrical, waved, and festooned types, intermingled with geometrical figures of plain solid black. Red decoration has become scarcer or has disappeared, although in some cases the space between the black bands appears to have been painted a darker red³⁹ than the rest of the body.

The broad black bands and other

³⁸ [The normal red (outer surface, inner rim) slip is now of a somewhat denser, opaque red-orange, and the sherds sampled show a greater tendency toward spalling.—R. J. B.]

³⁹ [The normal slip is now so dark that the red paint would have shown little contrast to it.—R. J. B.]

heavier parts of the decoration, especially of the festoon type, are often connected by suspensory brush strokes, either vertical or diagonal. Similar vertical brush strokes, interspersed with solid black geometrical figures, are especially common as decorations near the rim.

Vessel D3(a) (Pl. XI:4) is a curious fragment⁴⁰ apparently designed as a lid to a larger vessel. That lids were used at this period has been clearly proved by our

many sites in this area and may be a stylized representation of birds in flight.

With this D level the familiar red pottery with black decoration comes to an end, and above it we seem to be dealing, so far at least as ceramic remains are concerned, with an entirely different culture.

PERIOD IV. E TYPE

At foundation level 80S to 85S, +24, and 65S to 78S, +22, there appears to be

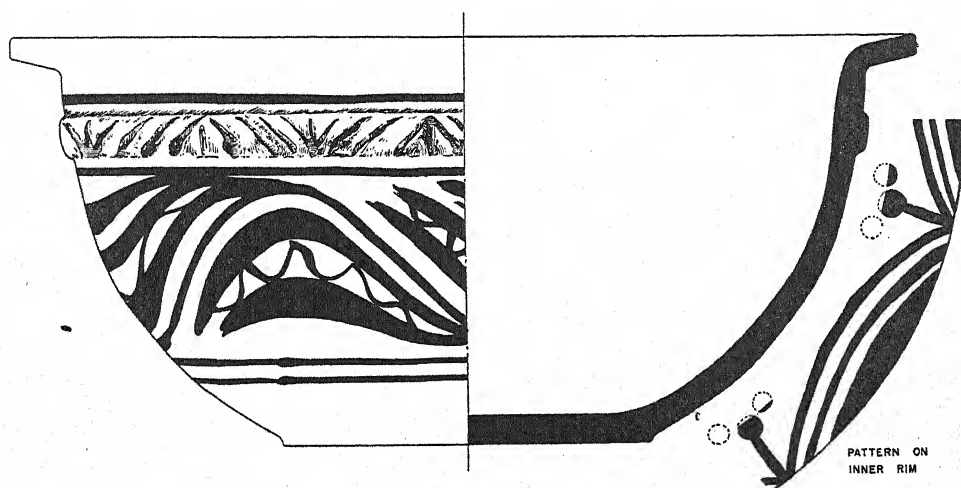


FIG. 5.—Type E bowl. E3. Scale 1:3

previous discovery at this site, in corresponding near-surface levels, of large unpainted vessels with saucer-like lids painted in black on red in the typical style of this period.

Vessel D5 (Pl. XI:3) is another curiosity, both in shape and in decoration. It appears to be a fragment of a small vessel with a narrow top and outcurved rim of carafe-like shape. It resembles more closely, both in form and in decoration, pottery of type C. It may therefore be an intrusion, though no evidence of this could be found. The wavy pattern is common at

a complete break in the ceramic culture series of the mound, although there is nothing to indicate a period of nonoccupation. It is suggestive, however, that the ash content of the material at this level becomes much higher, and everywhere overlying the foundation level at +20 there are pockets of ashes, as though some great conflagration had taken place.

At this level the familiar painted pottery of black decoration on a red ground completely disappears. The fine pottery is now almost invariably unpainted, though some of it (such as E1) is fine and hard and closely resembles C9. One comparatively fine hard fragment (E2, Pl.

⁴⁰ [In my opinion, it is not impossible that D3 was a pedestal base fragment.—R. J. B.]

XI:5), with a rudely painted design, has, however, been found at this level. This is a portion of a large gray vessel, coarsely painted with a rough geometrical design in black, red, and possibly brown. It is quite unlike any other type of pottery found on the site, and the design is harsh and tawdry and has no technical or artistic merit.⁴¹

The typical pottery of this period consists of large open bowls of coarse gray material.⁴² The design is painted in a thick wavy or foliage pattern in dark brown, black, or purplish-red (Pl. XI:2; Fig. 5). Both the material and the decoration are coarse, but the latter is bold and not altogether unpleasing in a somewhat tawdry style. This type of pottery is extremely common both *in situ* and on the surface. Owing to its weight and to transport difficulties, only a few specimens could be retained in the collection, but there appears to be little variation in type, and those retained were thoroughly typical (E3 and E4, Pl. XI:2; Fig. 5).

Judging by surface finds, large jars with handles were common, but none of these was discovered *in situ*. Small, well-finished vessels appear to have disappeared or become scarce.

This period also seems to have ended in a conflagration, judging by the very high ash content of the eroded face immedi-

ately above the connected foundation level. No painted pottery could be found above this level.

Flint artifacts are still common on the surface, but these may have been brought up with building material from lower levels.

PERIOD V. BUILDING LEVELS F, G, AND H

Here again we appear to have a change in culture, so far at least as the ceramic remains are concerned. No painted pottery could be discovered, but a certain amount of plain coarse gray or granulated pink fragments of large pottery vessels were found, together with similar fragments of a finer, yellowish material.

All the fragments discovered *in situ* were undecorated, but quantities of coarse embossed fragments, including many with handles, cover the surface of the mound on its upper slopes; and many of these probably belong to this period. The embossed designs included rope, "cowry-shell," and "wheat-ear" designs.

Many flint artifacts of the usual type lie on the surface with these fragments, apparently too many to have been brought to this elevation by chance. There is still no visible trace of metal.

The stone ax already mentioned as found between Levels E and F, on the surface, almost certainly belongs to this period. No other weapon was found anywhere on the mound.

It must be remembered, in commenting on the scarcity of remains *in situ* at this elevation, that at this high level little remains of the mound except mud walls and boulder foundations. Nearly all the intervening softer parts of the material have been removed by erosion, leaving only the harder portions which are least likely to contain remains.

The mud-brick wall at Level G (+33-40) is interesting, for the bricks

⁴¹ [The core of this sherd is an oxidized orange-buff, with fair-sized mineral inclusions; the outer surface has a light orange-buff self-slip and is a smoothly warped surface. The inner surface is bumpy and shows no regular horizontal wheel marks; it is covered with a grayish layer of salty dirt. The paint is brown-black, except for the vertical panels, which are cross-hatched in red-orange; both paints are dull surfaced. This sherd is not of the "typical" ware.—R. J. B.]

⁴² [It is oxidized to a more or less light orange-buff on inner and outer surfaces. The body wall is fairly thick, and the core has a fairly heavy concentration of varicolored sandy inclusions. The inner surface and the outer median body have a more or less continuous horizontal burnish application. There is a raised plastic "rope," with plain hatch impressions just below the flared rim.—R. J. B.]

appear to be laid with a binding layer of some dark, almost black, material. This has crumbled to dust but may possibly be the remains of some bituminous substance.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

It is impossible, from internal evidence, to arrive at any useful conclusions, or even to hazard a guess, as to the length of time which has elapsed since this site was abandoned or as to the length of the period of its occupancy. That it was occupied for a long period is clear, for the strata extend from a depth of at least 14 feet, and probably more, below the existing level of the surrounding plain, up to a height of nearly 45 feet above it. For the greater part of this depth, moreover—from -14 to +15 feet—there appears to have been little building construction which would leave masses of ruins and so cause the height to increase rapidly.

It has been suggested that some clue to the antiquity of the site might be obtained by a consideration of the depths to which the strata extend below the level of the existing cultivated surface, for the rise in level of the surrounding fields can be due only to the deposit of silt brought down by irrigation or rain flood water. We do not see, however, how any useful result can be obtained from such a calculation, for it is impossible to tell for how long irrigation has been practiced, or, for that matter, what the average annual deposit of silt is.

That irrigation must have been in use from a very early period appears fairly certain. Unless there has been some considerable climatic change, of which we have no evidence, it seems very unlikely that this area could have supported the settled population indicated by the size and numbers of these sites unless irrigation was practiced to an extent at least

comparable to that of the present day. It should be noted here that these sites are far more numerous than was supposed at the time of Sir Aurel Stein's visit. We have already referred in detail to the landscape background of the friezes on the Bull pottery, which appears to us to depict cultivation by minor irrigation on a system very similar to that of the present day.

Even if irrigation was continuous, however, the rate of deposit would be exceedingly slow, for the silt content of local streams or *karez* systems is extremely small and quite infinitesimal compared with that of large rivers such as the Indus, the Euphrates, or the Nile. We have ourselves witnessed the irrigation of fine grass lawns with water from similar sources only a few miles from this site. These lawns were flooded to their fullest capacity at least once a week practically throughout the year and received probably ten times as much water as any normal irrigated field. Yet the silt deposit was almost negligible and cannot have amounted to more than a minute fraction of an inch in the four years of my occupancy. There cannot, moreover, be much silt deposit from rainfall flood drainage at this site, which is far from the slopes of any hills, while the rainfall seldom exceeds more than nine or ten inches a year.

At the lowest level in the mound we seem to have evidence of a long occupation by a rude agricultural people who had domesticated the Indian ox, the horse, the sheep, and the ass, but who had little constructional ability, perhaps no knowledge of metal, and to whom the potter's wheel was unknown.

A fresh culture then arrived from without—that of the makers of the "Bull" period pottery, evidently a race with considerable technical skill and artistic perception who made their pottery on the

wheel. We have no evidence as to the region whence this culture came or where it was developed, but the motifs of the Indian ox and the Indian antelope lead us to suspect an Indian origin, or at least a sojourn in the Indian region before the culture came to northwestern Baluchistan.

This culture developed and evolved without any important ceramic innovations, through four occupation levels, to the typical black-banded pottery of Period IIID, when it suddenly disappeared and was replaced by an entirely different type of ceramic culture, that of the embossed, incised, and painted pottery of Period IV (type E).

While there appears to be a complete change in ceramic culture at this point, there is no stratigraphical evidence of a period of nonoccupation. It may be that such evidence was removed during construction of foundations for the mud walls of the upper levels. It is possible, therefore, that the culture of Period IV established itself on the site by directly ousting and destroying the culture of Period III without any lapse in the continuity of the occupation. This may be to some extent confirmed by the high ash content of the material at this point, indicating a large conflagration.

There is little evidence from finds *in situ* of the connection between Period IV and the levels above it. Much of the embossed and incised pottery found on the surface levels of the upper part of the mound, however, appears to belong to Period V. This, in spite of the absence of painted decoration, seems to have much in common with type E. We are, we think, therefore justified in viewing Period V as either a development of, or as closely allied to, the culture of Period IV.

One of the most striking features of the whole of the period of painted pottery is the absence of any signs of warlike tend-

encies on the part of the inhabitants, such as are now the chief characteristics of the inhabitants of this tract. We have spent days in searching the rich surface deposits at many of these sites, but, with the exception of one stone ax, and a few doubtful and small arrowpoints, we have found nothing which could reasonably be classified as a weapon. It is true that Sir Aurel Stein discovered a few weapons at some of the Zhob sites, but these, if they belonged to this period at all, certainly pertained to the extreme later end of it. On the whole, therefore, we are justified in concluding that weapons of war took a very low place in the products of the period.

The peaceful atmosphere of the time is amply confirmed by the situations of the settlements. The great majority of these are located entirely with a view to peaceful pursuit of agriculture and with no regard to the requirements of defense, although at almost every one of them a move of a few hundred yards would have provided a position atop a precipitous ridge almost unassailable except by modern weapons. The settlement sites of these people offer a very marked contrast, for instance, to those of the Buddhists of the Swat Valley at the other extremity of the frontier, where, although the topography is similar, the towns and hamlets are placed entirely with a view to defense on precipitous slopes above the fertile valleys. Evidently the ancient men of Baluchistan had no hostile neighbors to fear.

We have already suggested that the culture of the "Bull" period came from without. We would go a stage further and suggest that the whole of this culture provides evidence of introduction from some very different climate outside the area. It seems to us that a culture which finds its highest development in pottery, which essentially depends on a plentiful supply of

water, is one of the arts least likely to develop spontaneously in a dry and almost desert country like this, where water is at a premium and rainfall seldom exceeds nine inches a year.

Again, Baluchistan is a country whose chief product is stones, and these of a flat and easily split type, most suitable for primitive building work. And yet, at no site which we have visited is there any sign of stone building work which could reasonably be assigned to an early period. Even the rough boulders on which the sun-dried brick walls rest are usually round waterworn stones and not the flat and much more suitable slabs of rock which could be procured in plenty within easy reach of any one of these sites. Surely the use of mud brick as the universal building material, in a land where suitable building stone lies ready on every side, is a definite indication that the culture was introduced at a fairly advanced stage from some other and very different type of country.

It is now, we think, fairly easy to establish the rough chronological relationships among the various sites within the area. To make these clear, we refer to Sir Aurel Stein's report on Periano and Moghul Ghundai in the Zhob Valley, and Sur Jangal and Dabar-Kot in the Loralai agency, and to the material illustrated by him from these sites.

We have little hesitation in referring the greater part of the pottery found on the surface at the Periano Ghundai site to the later part of Rana Ghundai, Period III, for the most part to Subperiod D. Such vessels as P.S.W. b 1, and b 4, Plate VII, are definitely typical of Rana Ghundai, IIID. It will be noted, moreover, that these vessels were found at a level which accords very closely with the D level at Rana Ghundai (i.e., fairly high up in the mound). We have, moreover, in

our possession a very similar small vessel which we extracted at Periano Ghundai at a very similar elevation, showing clearly the typical black banding of this sub-period (Fig. 4:12).

If the upper levels correspond, it is probable that the same accord will be found at the earlier levels, and, although Rana Ghundai IIIC is a transition period, and so difficult to determine with accuracy, it is easy to see in the cross-hatching of such pieces as Stein's P22 and P28, and in the checker pattern of P10, all Plate V, a very close accord with the C level at Rana Ghundai.

With regard to Rana Ghundai IIIB, we are on firmer ground, for the types of this period are far more distinct, and we have found at Periano Ghundai a number of specimens showing both the "carrying net" motif on the basal half and the shoulder flange at the shoulder angle, each of which appears to be distinctive of this period. While it is difficult to judge similarities from photographs of small fragments, we have little doubt that Stein's P62, Plate VI, has both the "carrying net" motif on the basal part (at the top in the photograph) and the flanged shoulder, while the neat checker pattern surrounded by rectangular red (or brown?) lines accords very closely with typical specimens of this period.

Of the "Bull" period there is little or no trace at Periano Ghundai, but it must be remembered that few finds of surface pottery of "Bull" type have been made at any site, owing to its low level and the consequent unlikelihood of its becoming exposed by erosion. Even at Rana Ghundai, where excavations for manure earth have exposed the "Bull" stratum, only one or two surface finds have been made at the bottom of the excavation, although we now know that fragments of this period are very common *in situ*. One piece of

Sir Aurel Stein's from Periano Ghundai, P89, Plate VI, does, however, appear to accord very closely with the "Bull" type, both in finish at the rim and in the treatment of the decorated band near the shoulder. So far as we can judge from a photograph, moreover, this vessel must have had the sharp shoulder angle, and the upright angle toward the rim, which are so characteristic of this period.

Taking all these factors into consideration, we have little doubt that all the periods of Rana Ghundai are closely represented at Periano Ghundai, possibly at slightly different stages of development, and that excavations at this site right down to the deeper levels would solve once and for all the chronological order of the various types of painted pottery found in the area.

Of Moghul Ghundai, unfortunately, we have less personal knowledge, for we have been able to visit it only once and that in vile weather. The only data we have to go on, therefore, are Sir Aurel Stein's remarks and the illustrations of his specimens. It will be noticed that, while the motifs are in general similar to the D type from Periano Ghundai, the method of carrying them out shows a distinct difference. There is a general tendency to replace plain black bands and surfaces of the D period by similar bands darkened by line-shading or cross-hatching. This dependence on fine line work in lieu of more solid black decoration would appear to coincide closely with the C period of Rana Ghundai. There are, however, certain points in which this pottery approaches a still earlier type, especially in the neatness of the line work and in certain of the black waved lines on broad light bands on some of the larger pieces. We are inclined to think, therefore, that this pottery represents an earlier stage of period C, when it

still approximated closely the very fine work of period B.

We need add little to our previous remarks regarding Sur Jangal. We have already pointed out the complete agreement between the bulk of its pottery with that of Rana Ghundai IIIB. This is quite clear from the "carrying net" motif of the basal part of bowls and the flange at the sharp shoulder angle and also from the finely executed line work, including red and brown. For some reason the artists of Sur Jangal seem to have excelled those of other sites, and the pottery from there may be taken as the finest available type of this period. Fragments of "Bull" pottery have also been found at this site, and it would be easy and interesting to examine the lower levels of this small settlement to ascertain if any clue could be discovered as to the evolution and development of the "Bull" type of pottery.

Dabar-Kot has been very fully described by Sir Aurel Stein, and we have little to add to his remarks. The chief impression gained from visiting this site is one of complete bewilderment at the variety and quantity of the surface remains of pottery. The site is enormous, and everywhere the slopes are littered with fragments of pottery of all sizes, shapes, and types which it would take months to sort. Certain points, however, are worthy of notice. First, pottery discovered *in situ* at high levels in this mound accords very closely both in painted and in embossed designs with that of the E level at Rana Ghundai. Second, among the fragments covering the lower slopes of the mound are many which obviously correspond to Rana Ghundai Period III. Among these we have found several showing the "carrying net" motif, the typical shoulder flange, and the fine line decoration in black and red of Rana

Ghundai IIIB. It is therefore fairly obvious that Dabar-Kot was occupied not only in comparatively recent times but also throughout at least the greater part of the earlier periods.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that somewhere here, in this mound, must lie the key to outside contacts, especially those with the civilizations of the Indus Valley. It must be remembered, too, that this mound is situated geographically at exactly the point where such contacts are most likely to have been established. It is, in fact, situated in what must always have been a fertile valley close to the head of the long gorge which the Beji River has cut through the hills to form the ancient highway connecting Sibi and the Indus Valley with the uplands of Baluchistan, southern Afghanistan, and Persia.

In this paper we have made no mention

of outside contacts or of relations with culture outside the area. We leave these to others better equipped with knowledge, reference books, and material. We will, however, conclude with one word of warning. It appears to us, in dealing with this question, that there is far too great a tendency to see in chance resemblances of motif evidence of relationship between very widely separated cultures. Among the pottery of this period in this area there is an immense variety in material, in motif, and in design. With a little imagination it is possible to find at almost any site a motif resembling that of almost any other culture. In establishing outside contacts, the greatest care must be taken to exclude all possibility of chance resemblances and to include only such basic features of each type as are known to persist in the type itself.

II. REPORT ON THE SKELETAL REMAINS

B. S. GUHA AND B. K. CHATTERJEE

The collection of bones excavated at Rana Ghundai comprises the skeletal remains of a newly born human infant and broken pieces of bones of several large mammals. The bones are of a pale fawn color and are very fragile in nature. The organic matrix has completely disappeared, and considerable chemical changes have taken place in the mineral constituents of the bones. Calcium phosphate has largely been replaced by calcium carbonate, and there is only a trace of magnesium and silica. There is no indication, however, of fossilization, and the bones must be considered to be of comparatively recent times.

Detailed descriptions of the bones are given below.

A. REMAINS OF THE HUMAN INFANT

There are altogether twenty-four fragments from the parietal, occipital, frontal, and orbital regions of the skull. Some of the fragments were joined together, but it was not found possible to reconstruct the entire skull, since several pieces were missing. Besides these, the two lateral halves of the mandible are also present. These were not united at the symphysis. The ramus is short and oblique, the body of the mandible is shallow, and the mental foramen is open below the socket of the first deciduous molar tooth, none of which were erupted. The angle formed by the ramus with the body was found to be 138° . All these characters tend to show that the remains were those of a newly born infant.

In addition to the cranial bones, there were the two scapulae, fourteen ribs, and twenty-three vertebrae belonging to the same infant.

B. ANIMAL BONES

The animal bones belonged to *Ovis vignei* Blyth, *Equus caballus* Linn., *Bos indicus* Linn., and *Equus asinus* Linn., as shown below:

Bos indicus Linn. (the domestic Indian cattle)

1. Fragment of the distal end of the left humerus
2. Fragment of the proximal end of the right tibia
3. Fragment of the left astragalus
4. Two fragments of the proximal end of the right and left phalanges
5. Fragment of the distal part of the third and the fourth metatarsal
6. Fragment of the head of the femur
7. Lunar
8. Fragment of the cervical vertebra

9. Fragment of the distal end of the right humerus
10. Fragment of the shaft of the femur
11. Two fragments of the third and fourth metatarsal

Ovis vignei Blyth (the domestic sheep)

1. Fragment of the right pelvis
2. Fragment of the distal end of the humerus
3. Fragment of the distal end of the tibia
4. Fragment of the thoracic vertebra
5. Fragment of the cervical vertebra
6. Molar and premolar teeth of the upper and lower jaw, ten in number

Equus asinus Linn. (the ass)

1. Fragment of the proximal end of the phalange
2. Fourth premolar, upper right jaw

Equus caballus Linn. (the horse)

1. One first molar tooth, upper left jaw
2. One second molar tooth, upper left jaw
3. One second premolar tooth, upper left jaw
4. One first premolar tooth, lower right jaw

